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THE

HISTORY AND MYSTERY

OF

METHODIST EPISCOPACY,

OR,

A GLANCE AT

"THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH,

AS WE RECEIVED THEM FROM OUR FATHERS."

BY ALEXANDER M'CAINE.

ELDER IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.....*St. Paul.*

He who has no right to the thing he possesses, cannot prescribe or plead any length of time, to make his possession lawful.....*Dr. Barrow.*

BALTIMORE:

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1827.

8782

DISTRICT OF MARYLAND, TO WIT:—

[L S.] BE IT REMEMBERED, that on this thirtieth day of March, in the fifty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, ALEXANDER M'CAINE of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:—

"*The History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy; or, a Glance at "the Institutions of the Church, as we received them from our fathers." By Alexander M'Caine, Elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.—*St. Paul.*

He who has no right to the thing he possesses, cannot prescribe or plead any length of time, to make his possession lawful.—*Dr. Barrow.*"

In conformity with the act of Congress, of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and also to the Act, entitled "An Act supplementary to the Act, entitled An Act, for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof, to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

PHILIP MOORE,
Clerk of the District of Maryland.

PREFACE.

It may be thought extraordinary, that the writer of the following essay, should call in question, the validity of the claims of the bishops and travelling preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, after having himself been a preacher in connexion with them, for upwards of thirty years.

Previous to the general conference of 1824, his attention had been invited to a consideration of the complaints and demands, of the laity and local ministers; and being fully convinced of the justice of those demands, he could not avoid looking with deep solicitude to the fate of the many memorials, which were about to be sent up to the general conference. After the conference had risen, a circular appeared, in which, they declare, they "know no such rights, they comprehend no such privileges" as were asserted in the memorials, praying for *Representation*. To those who urged the necessity of introducing the representative principle into the legislative department of the church, no room was left to hope, that any abatement would be made, at a future day, in the pretensions of the travelling preachers; for the conference declared, in terms sufficiently intelligible, their purpose to have and to hold forever, all power, legislative, judicial and executive, as a legacy which they had inherited from their "fathers."

Such declarations, coming from the general conference, were sufficient to rouse every man who knows how to respect his rights, whether civil or religious. The writer of this essay was alarmed at such declarations, because he considered them to be indications of priestly domination; and moreover, he considered them offensive, because they were addressed to citizens of these United States. New thoughts were waked up, and forebodings felt, which he had never before experienced. He determined, therefore, to examine the grounds of such unheard of claims. He was resolved, if possible, to ascertain, the means by which travelling preachers had arrived at these pretensions, and find the authority which Mr. Wesley had given to justify them in saying, he "recommended the episcopal mode of church government." When, lo! the first discovery he made, was, that whilst Mr. Wesley the testator, was yet living, the title

of bishop was assumed, and the episcopal mode of government adopted without his recommendation; and more, that his most solemn remonstrance and entreaty did not avail in causing them to relinquish the one, or change the other. Still pursuing the investigation, he found, that a more extended research served only to increase his conviction, that claims had been set up, for which there was no warrant; and authority was said to have been given, which, he believes, can no where be found.

The result of his investigation was read before the Union Society of reformers in Baltimore; and the writer was requested to print it for the information of his brethren. But before he would consent to its publication, he thought it would be fair and honourable to apprize the bishops of his purpose, and signify to them the probable effect it would have, on the *office* which they fill. He accordingly addressed to each of them the letter No. I. in the appendix; but from neither of them, has he received one word in reply. Failing to obtain information from this quarter, he addressed the letter No. II. in the appendix to each of six of the oldest preachers in the connexion, men who were in the general conference of 1784. And from the answers he has received from them, collated with other documents, he is fully established in the opinion that there never was a document, letter or paper, received from Mr. Wesley, in which he recommended the episcopal mode of church government, to the American Methodists.

In presenting this view of the origin of our episcopacy to his readers, he wishes it to be distinctly understood, that the doctrines of the Methodists—the general rules which have had their approbation since the days of Mr. Wesley, and which indeed are an epitome of the gospel rules of morality and vital godliness—class meetings—love-feasts, &c. have his unqualified approbation. That having, himself, been twice in the travelling connexion, he heartily approves of an itinerant ministry. And that he has no personal misunderstanding, with either of the bishops, nor any other man in authority.

It may be asked, what are his reasons then, for making this publication? He will answer this question candidly. He felt it to be his duty to make this investigation, and having made it, he now feels it his duty to set forth the measures that were taken to lay the foundation of claims which are so much at variance with the rights of the people. He thinks, by having these things before them, the laity and local ministry, may be induced to persevere in demanding their rights, the enjoyment of which, he deems to be necessary to the purity of the ministry and the unity of the church.

He conceives it to be his duty, and the duty of every friend to mutual rights, to resist the first obvious encroachments on the liberties of the people, made by men in power: and to expose the pretensions of those who could hold such language to their equals, as "pardon us if we know no such rights, if we comprehend no such privileges."

He thinks this exposure will tend much to lessen, if it will not totally overcome, the opposition of travelling preachers to "*representation.*" For he cannot conceive, how the bishops and present race of travelling preachers, who are clear in this matter, can deny representation to the laity, when they learn by what means their "fathers" contrived to monopolize exclusive legislation to themselves.

It is due to Mr. Wesley, that he should be exculpated from the charge of "recommending the episcopal mode of church government" and the creation of bishops, after saying, "Lord King's account of the primitive church, convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order." And especially, after he had expressed himself in the following manner: "Men may call me a *knave*, or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me *bishop*."

It is believed that a community living under the influence of such a form of government as that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, where the members are not permitted to participate in legislation, will sooner or later prefer a monarchical form of civil government to the pure republican institutions of our happy country. And it is desirable that the government should be revised and placed on such a foundation, that the rights of all our ministers and members shall be secured, and that posterity may be able to look back with veneration at the institutions of the church, as they shall have received them from their fathers.

Baltimore, April, 1827.

HISTORY, &c.

SECTION I.

We hold as incontrovertible truths, that in the different forms of civil government, there are first principles which must be equitable, in order that the government may be secure: they must be known, in order that they may be respected: and, they must be properly administered, in order that they may contribute to the happiness of the people. But, when the principles of a government are unjust or oppressive, it becomes necessary to keep them concealed from the eyes of the multitude; for the perpetuity of a government founded on such principles, must depend on the ignorance of the people, or on physical force. Hence the necessity of large standing armies in all monarchical and tyrannical governments to keep the people in awe.

The principles of ecclesiastical government, as laid down in the New Testament, are just; and the divine author of them, has enjoined an examination of them, that their equity may be known. In his word, they stand at an equal distance from ignorance or force; and they are calculated to promote and secure the happiness of every member of the Christian church.

For a considerable time past, we have thought our ecclesiastical polity is susceptible of great improvement; and the more closely we have examined the principles of the government of our church, the more fully we are convinced of the correctness of our opinion. We have, it is true, occasionally taken the liberty of expressing our sentiments upon this important point, and are very conscious, that in doing so, we never intended to give any offence. Actuated by the same motives, we again declare, that we disclaim all intention of giving offence by any of the remarks, we shall make in stating our objections to the present form of church government. And, from the part we have, hitherto, taken in the work of reform, we conceive it is a duty we owe to God and truth—to ourselves and our children—to the church to which we belong—nay to the whole Christian community, to be explicit and candid in stating our objections.

In the year 1784, Dr. Coke received authority from Mr. John Wesley to visit these United States, for the purpose of superintending the societies which were at that time formed, and of ordaining

ministers to administer the sacraments to the same. He was invested by Mr. Wesley, with an authority to *superintend* the said societies, not to *create* any new ecclesiastical officer, unknown to the primitive church. As soon as the Doctor arrived in the United States, he hastened to meet Mr Asbury ; and upon their first interview, " they consulted together about the plan," by which the church should be governed ; (see Rev'd. J. Lee's history of Methodism, page 93) and accordingly, in a short time thereafter, the preachers who met in conference in Baltimore, formed themselves into an episcopal church, and said, that in doing so, they " *foll wed the counsel of Mr John Wesley, who recommended the Episcopal mode of church government.*" See the minutes of conference for 1785. Where this " counsel" is to be found, or in what official paper this recommendation is contained, we have never yet been able to find out. And after searching for it for thirty-five years, we are no nearer the discovery now than we were when we commenced the search. No such " counsel" is given by Mr. Wesley in his letter to Dr. Coke, nor in that which he addressed to " Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America." So far from this " counsel" being contained in those official papers, the term " *episcopal*" is not to be found in either of them. Nor is there any expression, coming from Mr. Wesley's pen, which we have ever seen, in those papers, or elsewhere, that would justify us in saying, he " *recommended*" the Episcopal form of church government to the Methodist societies in the United States.

As it is to our episcopacy we attribute the rupture which took place between Mr. Wesley and the American conference, and as it is to the unscriptural powers claimed and exercised by it, we ascribe the greater part, if not the whole of the troubles and secessions which the church has experienced since it has been organized, it may not be amiss to examine the foundation upon which our episcopal edifice has been erected. And, latterly, our attention has been directed to this point in particular, because the last general conference, in their circular, rested their refusal of representation on *prescription ;* and avowed their determination to support " the institutions of the church as we received them from our fathers." As they denied our right to representation, we deemed it proper to investigate their right to preclude us from it. As they declared they could " not comprehend such privileges" as we aspired after ; we thought it was highly necessary to examine their title to exclusive legislation. While we were revolving this matter over in our mind, " Moore's life of Wesley" in which Mr. Wesley's letter to Mr. Asbury under date of Sept. 20th 1788, condemning him and Dr. Coke for assuming the title of bishop, was issued from the press ; and gave us such a view of the subject as we never had before. This letter we have collated with other documents, and it has produced a conviction in our mind, that our brethren's title to their ecclesiastical estate is not quite so valid as they may have supposed it to be. In making this assertion, we are aware of some of the objections which may be preferred against our sentiments. Indeed, we are

prepared to expect something more ; but as a candid inquirer after truth, we are determined to follow her whithersoever she may conduct us. It, surely, would be imposing too heavy a tax on us, for our itinerant brethren to demand a tacit acquiescence in their *pretensions*, under pain of their displeasure ; or to require us, contrary to the dictates of our conscience, to allow them to retain, what we believe belongs to us of right. If they are sure they are able to sustain the high ground they have taken, they may possibly feel a pleasure in being called into open court to substantiate their claims. If they have "a good and sufficient title" they can. and no doubt will produce it. If they decline the call, or are silent upon the subject, the public will be at no loss to perceive to what cause their silence is to be attributed.

In the minutes of conference for 1785, we are told, that in adopting the present form of government, the conference "*followed the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of church government.*" And in the book of discipline, see chapter 1. sec. I. we are informed, that this form was adopted because "*Mr. Wesley preferred the episcopal mode of church government to any other.*" Now, these are the only public records of the society ; and from the above quotations, it will be perceived, that no previous expression of the wishes of the members of the society, nor any scriptural precedent or authority was offered as a reason for the adoption of this particular form ; but it was made to rest *solely* and *exclusively* on Mr. Wesley's authority. Surely then, it was incumbent on those who gave Mr. Wesley's name as the only sanction for the measure, to have shewn where he gave them such authority. They ought to have told us in what part of his writings he gave the advice, which they say he gave the societies, to adopt the episcopal mode of church government. Unless this is now done, and we are constrained to believe it never can be done, we must demur respecting the authenticity of the fact, and in the meantime we shall proceed to to shew our reasons for so doing.

First. We shall enquire, what views do ecclesiastical writers give us, of an episcopal form of church government ?

Secondly. Did Mr. Wesley, by appointing Dr. Coke a superintendent over the Methodist societies in America, intend to constitute him a bishop, and institute for those societies an episcopal form of church government ?

First. What views do ecclesiastical writers give us of an episcopal form of church government ?

1 "Episcopacy is that form of church government in which diocesan bishops are established as distinct from and superior to priests or presbyters." Buck's Theological Dictionary. Art. Episcopacy.

"Episcopalians, in the strict sense of the word, are those who maintain that episcopacy is of apostolic institution, or that the church of Christ has ever been governed by three distinct *orders*, bishops, presbyters or priests, and deacons ;—that no one has a right to execute the ministerial office, without having previously received

a divine commission ;—and the exclusive right of granting this commission is vested in the bishops as successors of the apostles." R. Adams's Religious World Displayed, vol. 2. Art. Episcopalians.

" The question between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians" says the same writer " is not, what degree of power and splendour the primitive bishops enjoyed, or what might be the precise extent of their dioceses? but simply and solely whether they were the same as the Presbyters, or whether they were a distinct order? The Episcopalians contend for this last opinion." vol. 2. page 282.

2. " As bishops and presbyters are distinct officers, so there must be distinct powers appropriated to each of them. For as the notion of an office implies power, so distinct offices do necessarily infer distinct powers." Archbishop Potter on Church Government. page 197.

3. " The lineal succession of bishops from the apostles was a thing undoubted. Ibid. page 154.

And again, " Bishops were ordained in all churches by the apostles, and derived from them in a constant succession." page 155.

4. " It is a principle universally established among Episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order superior to and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite without which a *valid Christian ministry* cannot be preserved ; and that such bishops alone possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to feed the flock of Christ."

5. " There cannot be more than one bishop at the same time in a church ; a second bishop is no bishop at all ; and they who adhere to him, are schismatics and have no title to the church's communion, or the privileges of the new covenant." Archbishop Potter. page 161.

" I shall then lay down as sure, that there was but one supreme bishop in a place, that was the ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος the bishop, by way of eminency and propriety. The proper pastor and minister of his parish, to whose care and trust the souls of that church or parish over which he presided are principally and more immediately committed. So saith Cyprian, there is but one bishop in a church at a time." Lord King. page 12.

6. " For since the distinction of bishops and presbyters has been of divine appointment, it necessarily follows that the power of ordination, which is the chief mark of this distinction was reserved to the bishops by the same appointment." Potter. page 260.

7 According to the usage of the church of England, " The Archbishop, by the King's direction, confirms the bishop, (elected by the dean and chapter) and afterwards consecrates him by imposition of hands, according to the form laid down in the Common Prayer Book. Hence we see, that a bishop differs from an Archbishop in this, that an Archbishop, with bishops, consecrates a bishop, as a bishop with priests, consecrates a priest." Nicholson's Encyclopedia. Art. Bishop.

We have here some of the most prominent features of an episcopal church, as laid down by writers of great celebrity We would

now ask our brethren, who say, Mr. Wesley "recommended the ep scopal mode of church government," if there is in any of the letters which he wrote, a single line that would lead us to suppose, that he held any one of the foregoing particulars? Nay, did he not positively say, he did not hold them? What kind of an episcopal government then must it be, that has not in it a single feature of episcopacy as described by ecclesiastical writers?

Secondly. We shall now proceed to enquire, whether Mr. Wesley intended by appointing Dr. Coke a superintendent over the Methodist societies in America, to constitute him a bishop, and institute for those societies an episcopal form of church government? We answer, he did not, and assign for our opinion the following reasons.

1. Because, in the document which is given as proof, Mr. Wesley is totally silent on the subject. He did not once use the term "bishop" or "episcopal," in his letter with reference to us; nor did he, as far as we can perceive, express any wish, or give any recommendation to the American Methodists to adopt the episcopal form of government in preference to any other. A fairer opportunity, surely could not have offered, to recommend episcopacy, if he had been inclined to do so: and we are utterly at a loss to conceive, how he could have recommended this particular form of government, and never once have mentioned it by name. As it has been asserted however, that he did recommend it, we shall transcribe the chapter from our book of discipline, in which this assertion is made, and then give Mr. Wesley's letter, that every one may compare these two documents, and judge for himself.

"The preachers and members of our society in general, being convinced that there was a great deficiency of vital religion in the church of England in America, and being in many places destitute of the Christian sacraments, as several of the clergy had forsaken their churches, requested the late Rev. *John Wesley*, to take such measures, in his wisdom and prudence, as would afford them suitable relief in their distress.

In consequence of this, our venerable friend, who under God, had been the father of the great revival of religion now extending over the earth, by the means of the Methodists, determined to ordain ministers for America; and for this purpose, in the year 1784, sent over three regularly ordained clergy: but prefering the *episcopal* mode of church government to any other, he solemnly set apart, by the imposition of his hands, and prayer, one of them, viz. *Thomas Coke*, doctor of civil law, late of Jesus-College, in the University of Oxford, and a presbyter of the Church of England, for the *episcopal* office; and having delivered to him letters of *episcopal* orders, commissioned and directed him to set apart *Francis Asbury*, then general assistant of the Methodist society in America, for the same *episcopal* office, he, the said *Francis Asbury* being first ordained deacon and elder. In consequence of which, the said *Francis Asbury*, was solemnly set apart for the said *episcopal* office, by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the said *Thomas Coke*, other

regularly ordained ministers assisting in the sacred ceremony. At which time the general conference, held at Baltimore, did unanimously receive the said *Thomas Coke*, and *Francis Asbury* as their *bishops*, being fully satisfied of the validity of their *episcopal* ordination." [*Book of Discipline, chap.* 1, *sec.* 1.]

The following is Mr. Wesley's letter taken from the minutes of Conference for 1785.

"Bristol, September 10th, 1784.

"*To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America.*

"1. By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British empire, and erected into Independent States. The English government has no authority over them either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the State Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice: and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"2. Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace's sake; but because I was determined, as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"3. But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, and but few parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here therefore my scruples are at an end: and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

"4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury, to be joint *Superintendents*,* over our brethren in North America. As also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as *Elders* among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper.

"5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"*As the translators of our version of the bible have used the English word *Bishop* instead of *Superintendent*, it has been thought by us, that it would appear more scriptural to adopt their term *Bishop*."

"6. It has indeed been proposed, to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, 1, I desired the bishop of London to ordain one only; but could not prevail: 2, If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3, If they would ordain them *now*, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously, would this entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the State, and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other.—They are now at full liberty, simply to follow the scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty, wherewith God has so strangely made them free." JOHN WESLEY."

We have now placed these two documents before our readers, and invite their particular attention to them. The one was written by somebody, we know not by whom, for it has no name affixed to it, and has found its way into our book of discipline. The other was written by Mr. Wesley himself, and bears his signature. The former was written several years after the adoption of the present form of government, which event took place in 1784; and it speaks of Mr. Wesley as "the *late* Rev'd. John Wesley" who died in 1791. The latter is dated "Bristol Sept. 10, 1784" and is given (we repeat it) as the sole authority for our episcopal mode of church government. Between the former and the latter, there is manifestly a great disagreement. In the former the term "episcopal" occurs six times, and the word "bishops" once. In the latter, neither "episcopal, nor "bishop," in their application to our church, is to be found at all. We are at a loss to conceive, how it could have been said, that "Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of church government." when there is not, in this letter, a single word recommendatory of it, from beginning to end. Those who could find such a recommendation here, must have looked through the eyes of Pope Innocent III, who discovered a Pope in the first chapter of Genesis. "For the firmament of heaven (i. e.) of the universal church, God made two great lights, (i e.) he ordained two dignities or powers, which are the pontifical authority, and the regal power; but that which rules the days, (i. e.) spiritual matters, is the greater, but that which governs carnal things is the lesser."*

Having searched our book of discipline in vain, for a recommendation of the episcopal mode of church government, we shall now examine the prayer book abridged by Mr. W. for the use of "the Methodists in North America." To this work we find the following prefatory remarks, in which there is a recommendation it is true, but it is a recommendation of his abridged edition of the "COMMON PRAYER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND," to be used by the Methodist "Societies in America."

"I believe there is no LITURGY in the world, either in ancient or

* Dr. Barrow on the Pope's supremacy. page 105.

modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety than the "COMMON PRAYER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND." And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it, not only, pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

Little alteration is made in the following edition of it (which I recommend to our *societies* in *America*) except in the following instances:

1. Most of the holydays (so called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end.

2. The service of the LORD'S DAY, the length of which has been often complained of, is considerably shortened.

3. Some sentences in the offices of baptism, and for the burial of the dead are omitted. And

4. Many psalms left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation.

JOHN WESLEY."

Bristol, September 9, 1784.

It is obvious that there is nothing about bishops, or episcopacy here; nor any recommendation of the episcopal mode of church government, nor, indeed, of any government at all. But as it is upon the Prayer Book our episcopal mode of government is made to rest, and as this is the only authority which is attempted to be produced for it; we shall examine it with such a freedom, as we suppose it would have to undergo in a court of law, if submitted to the good sense of twelve honest and impartial freeholders on oath. We will suppose, then, that a member of our church, an advocate for the present mode of government, is brought into court and is called on to answer the following questions:

Q. To what church do you belong?

A. To the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Q. What is the form of government of your church?

A. "It is in fact and name, episcopal."

Q. When was this form of government adopted?

A. In the year 1784 when the church was organized.

Q. By whom was it adopted?

A. By the travelling preachers.

Q. Had the societies nothing to do in adopting this mode of government?

A. They had not.

Q. Am I to understand you to say, that the laity had no representation in the conference, when the church was organized; and that they were not consulted respecting the mode of government by which the societies were to be governed?

A. They had no representation in that conference, nor were they consulted about the form of government.

Q. Can you tell why it was, that the travelling preachers adopted the episcopal form of government in preference to any other?

A. Because Mr. Wesley recommended it.

Q. Is Mr. Wesley's recommendation the only reason you can assign why the travelling preachers adopted it.

A. It is the only reason.

Q. Are you sure there was no other ?

A. I never heard of any other.

Q. As you say Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of government, can you tell where that recommendation can be found ?

A. In the remarks he makes on the *Liturgy* of the church of England prefixed to his prayer book, printed in London in 1784.

Q. Are you sure Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of government in these remarks ?

A. I have always understood he did. But I can give his own words.

"I believe there is no Liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety, than the Common Prayer of the church of England. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it, not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree. Little alteration is made in the following edition of it (which I recommend to our societies in America.") These are his words and his name is subscribed to what I have read.

Q. Very well. But will you undertake to say that when Mr Wesley recommended his "*edition* of the COMMON PRAYER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND," he meant to recommend the *episcopal mode of church government ?*

A. I will not say he did.

Q. Do you not think that if Mr. Wesley had intended to recommend the episcopal form of government, he would have expressed himself plainly on the subject ? and not recommend an *edition of the Liturgy*, when he intended to recommend an episcopal mode of church government ?

A. I think he would.

Q. Why, then, is Mr. Wesley made to say, in your book of discipline, he recommended the episcopal mode of government, when he only recommended his *edition of the Liturgy ?*

A. Perhaps those who drew up the account in the discipline thought Mr. Wesley recommended this form of government.

Q. If they really thought so, why did they not give his own words ? Was it not as easy to transcribe what he wrote, as to substitute the phrase "the episcopal mode of church government" for "the Common Prayer of the church of England ?" and does not substituting the one for the other look a little like design ?

A. ———

But there is another Prayer Book, says one, which was printed in London in the year 1786 ; in which "the general minutes of the Methodist episcopal church in America" are bound up : and surely, this fact, if it will not prove that Mr. Wesley recommended this form of government, will at least, prove that it met his approbation when adopted. This prayer book now lies before us, and we find

it differs from the one published by Mr. Wesley in the title page—the addition of a new "Article of Religion"—and the inserting of the "general minutes." In other respects the Prayer Books are so much alike, that the one printed in 1786 is not announced as a *second* edition of that work; nor is any note prefixed explaining the reasons for adding a new article of religion, or for inserting "the general minutes" Every thing, as far as we can discover, stands just as it did in the Prayer Book of 1784; and every thing, which according to usage we had a right to look for in an altered or improved edition, is carefully omitted.

These minutes, containing seventy-six questions with their answers, occupy thirty-three pages of the Prayer Book, and are headed as follows:

"The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, forming the Constitution of the said church."

Let the reader bear in mind that this Prayer Book and these "Minutes" were printed in the year 1786; and that they bear internal marks which render it doubtful, whether they were printed for Mr. Wesley. But even if they had been printed for him, they can avail nothing towards proving the matter at issue, viz: that Mr. Wesley "recommended the episcopal mode of church government" to the American Methodists, for these "general minutes" were taken at the conference, *two years before* this Prayer Book was printed, and consequently the inserting of them in it, cannot be converted into a recommendation of this particular form of government.

Nor will the inserting of these "minutes" in the Prayer Book prove that Mr. Wesley approved of the title "the Methodist Episcopal Church;" for in the progress of this work, documents will be found, which unequivocally declare his disapprobation of the proceedings of the conference in relation to every thing appertaining to episcopacy.

These "minutes," so far from availing any thing in favor of the hierarchy, will, we conceive, do it great dis-service. For 1. if the minutes inserted in the Prayer Book, be the true and correct ones, those published and issued from our book room in a bound volume, cannot be genuine; one or the other must have been altered, we leave to the admirers of episcopacy to say which. 2. If "the Minutes" in the Prayer Book be the genuine ones, then according to the title, they "form a Consitution for the Methodist Episcopal Church." So that those who say the restrictive rules of 1808 are a constitution, must be mistaken: or, if they are not mistaken, then we have *two* constitutions, the one a new, and the other an old one.

We intimated above, that the Prayer Book printed in 1786 in which "the general minutes of the conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church" are inserted, was not printed by Mr. Wesley. In proof of this point, it may be necessary to state that Mr. Wesley had his own printing office, types and printing presses, where he had his books printed, as may be seen by the following clause in his will.

"Feb. 25, 1789.

"I give my types, printing presses and every thing pertaining thereto, to Mr. Thomas Rankin and George Whitefield, in trust, for the use of the conference.

JOHN WESLEY."

Those who would offer the inserting of the "general minutes" in the Prayer Book, as proof of Mr. Wesley's approbation of the form of government,or the title of the Methodist Episcopal Church, should first prove that the Prayer Book was printed by Mr. Wesley, and the Minutes inserted with his knowledge and consent. This cannot be done; for we have evidence from the Prayer Book itself, that it was *not* printed at Mr. Wesley's press, but at that belonging to "Frys and Couchman." The circumstance, therefore, of its being printed by "Frys and Couchman," and *not* by Mr. Wesley, renders the whole affair suspicious, and will, when taken in connexion with the statements made by the conference before and after its publication, nullify any argument that may be attempted to be adduced in favor of Mr. Wesley's approbation.

We shall now give the title page of three Prayer Books, that our readers may perceive wherein they agree and wherein they differ.

NO. 1.	NO. 2.	NO. 3.
"The Sunday service of the Methodists in *North America*, with other occasional services. London, printed in the year MDCCLXXXIV."	"The Sunday service of the Methodists in the *United States of America*, with other occasional services. London, printed *by Frys and Couchman, Worship street, Upper Moorfields*, 1786."	"The Sunday service of the Methodists with other occasional services. *The fourth edition*, London, printed in the year 1792."

That which we have designated by No. 1, was printed by Mr. Wesley—was brought out to "North America" by Dr. Coke was adopted by the conference of 1784, and was used by the preachers after the church was organized. In this Prayer Book there is nothing about episcopacy, nor any recommendation of the episcopal mode of church government. No. 2, was printed in London, by "Frys and Couchman," where Mr. Wesley had his printing office. It was printed for somebody, (we know not for whom; perhaps for Dr. Coke, who in 1786, was under censure by Mr. Wesley, for the address he presented to general Washington,) and contains an Article of Religion, not contained in Mr Wesley's Prayer Book, and the Minutes of the Conferences of theMethodist Episcopal Church, a title which we believe Mr. Wesley never approved. No. 3, was printed after Mr. Wesley's decease, for the Methodists in Europe, and is introduced here, merely to shew the coincidence in the *imprint*, no printer's name being affixed to those which were printed at Mr. Wesley's press. We might also mention, that after the publication of the Prayer Book of 1786, a rule was passed in the conference that no book should be sold among his societies, which was not printed at his press. But whether this rule was passed with special reference to the Prayer Book of 1786 or not, we cannot say.

We shall notice only one question, in the general minutes, with its answer, and then we shall have done with the Prayer Book.

"Q. 3. As the ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs of these United States have passed through a very considerable change by the revolution, what plan of church government shall we hereafter pursue?

A. We will form ourselves into an episcopal church, under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our Liturgy, and the form of discipline set forth in these minutes."

The reader is now requested to compare this account of the origin of our episcopacy and church government, with the account published in our Book of Discipline, and with the one in our Book of Minutes. The difference is so glaring, that every one must see it. In this answer there is nothing about Mr. Wesley's "*recommending the episcopal mode of church government*"—nothing about his "preferring" that mode to any other—nothing about his "counsel" to ordain a *third* order of ministers—nothing about a "separate and independent church." Nothing of all this; for to use the language of a preacher, who was a member of the conference of 1784.—"These names were born in America, and never had Mr. Wesley's approbation."

We have one thing more to offer, namely, the third section of the fifth edition of the Book of Discipline, printed in New York in 1795, which is as follows:

"On the Nature and Constitution of our Church.—We are thoroughly convinced, that the Church of England, to which we have been united, is deficient in several of the most important parts of Christian discipline; and that (a few ministers and members excepted) it has lost the life and power of religion. We are not ignorant of the spirit and designs it has ever discovered in Europe, of rising to pre-eminence and worldly dignities by virtue of a national establishment, and by the most servile devotion to the will of temporal governors: and we fear, the same spirit will lead the same church in these United States (though altered in its name) to similar designs and attempts, if the number and strength of its members will ever afford a probability of success; and particularly to obtain a national establishment, which we cordially abhor as the great bane of truth and holiness, and consequently a great impediment to the progress of vital Christianity.

"For THESE REASONS, we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an independent church. And as the most excellent mode of church government, according *to our maturest judgment*, is that of a *moderate episcopacy;* and as we are persuaded, *that the uninterrupted succession of bishops from the apostles*, can be proved neither from the scripture nor antiquity; we therefore have constituted ourselves into an *episcopal church*, under the direction of *bishops*, elders, deacons and preachers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our Prayer Book, and the regulations laid down in this form of discipline."

At what precise time this section was written, we are not able to say; but think it was about the year 1787, that being the year in which Mr. Wesley's name was left off the minutes, the term "bishops" introduced—and the church declared "independent." We are pretty confident it was written after the Prayer Book of 1786 was printed, and the "General Minutes" were published. Had the inserting of the minutes in the Prayer Book been considered any proof of Mr. Wesley's approbation of the form of government or the title of the church, no doubt the conference would have noticed that fact, and appealed to it as proof. Instead of that, there is no reference whatever made to those minutes, nor is Mr. Wesley's name once mentioned in the section. Indeed, reasons are assigned in it for declaring themselves an independent church, and for adopting the episcopal mode of government, very different from all that was given before. At one time such reasons are assigned as grew out of the changes "in ecclesiastical and civil affairs produced by the revolution." At another, we are told it was because "Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of church government." And here we are told it was because the church of England (altered in name) had lost "the life and power of religion, a few of her ministers and members excepted,"—because as "she had ever discovered designs of rising to pre-eminence in Europe," fears were entertained that the same spirit would lead to similar designs and attempts in these United States—and to prevent a national establishment, they thought it their duty to become an "independent church," and adopt a "moderate episcopacy."

If we are mistaken in fixing the precise period when the above section was written, we cannot be mistaken respecting the judgment which will be pronounced on the person who wrote it, when it shall have been known, that he made a proposition to be united to this very same church, himself and his colleague in the episcopacy, to receive consecration from one of its bishops, and the preachers who had been ordained by himself to be re-ordained by this same gentleman.

2. We think Mr. Wesley never intended to create Dr. Coke a bishop, because he says, "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the *same order*." As he believed, with Lord King, that there were but *two* orders of ministers in the church, namely bishops or presbyters, and deacons—as he believed that bishops and presbyters were the same order, and that there was no higher order than a presbyter, he could not have intended to create a third. The distinction between bishops and presbyters being the foundation of the episcopal form of government, and this distinction having no existence in fact, nor in Mr. Wesley's creed, our episcopal superstructure falls to the ground.

3. As he believed bishops and presbyters are the same order, he believed also, they possess the *same powers*; for he says, "they have the *same right to ordain*." If so, then Dr. Coke, being a presbyter of the church of England, had as good an ecclesiastical right to or-

dain ministers for the Methodist societies in America as Mr. Wesley himself had, if the preachers would have submitted to receive ordination from the Doctor's hands. But knowing that Mr. Asbury had declared "he would receive no coadjutor in the superintendency of the work;" he thought it best to guard against every objection that might be made, or difficulty that might arise in carrying into effect Mr. Wesley's wishes. This will appear from the following extract of a letter which he wrote to Mr. W dated August 9th, 1784. See Moore's life of Wesley. vol. 2, page 276.

"HONOURED AND DEAR SIR:—

"The more attentively I consider the subject, the more expedient it appears to me, that the power of ordaining others should be received by me from you, by the imposition of your hands: and that you should lay hands on brother Whatcoat and brother Vasey, for the following reasons: 1. It seems to me the most scriptural way, and most agreeable to the practice of the primitive churches. 2. I *may want all the influence in America which you can throw into my scale.* Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds, that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which he observed "*that he would not receive any person deputed by you to take any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him,* or words evidently implying so much."

4. "The *uninterrupted succession* I know to be a fable, which no man ever did, or can prove." Rev'd. J. Wesley. In this short sentence Mr. Wesley not only denies the uninterrupted succession, but the exclusive right of bishops to ordain, and in denying these, he denies the *Jure Divino* of bishops which has always been made to rest upon apostolic and uninterrupted succession.* See Archbishop Potter.

5. Mr. Wesley, by appointing Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury joint superintendents, did not intend to create them bishops; for then there would have been a plurality of bishops at the same time, having the pastoral charge of the same church, a thing contrary to primitive usage, as has been already stated by Lord King.

6. Because Mr. Wesley in the letter he wrote to Mr. Asbury, Sept. 20th, 1788, in which he intended to make known his utter dis-

*"Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's cross, Jan. 12th 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino* and directly from God This doctrine had never before been publicly broached in England: it was new and strange to both Puritans and Churchmen. Till this time it had been always supposed, that the order of bishops, as distinct from, and superior to presbyters, was a mere human institution. Statesmen took the alarm at the power of bishops being derived from God, and not from the magistrate, as this struck at the Queen's supremacy ‡ But the new doctrine soon became fashionable among the clergy; and the nonsense which we have since heard about the episcopal succession, sprung out of it." Isaac's Church Claims Investigated. page 71.

‡ Neal's history of the Puritans. vol. 1. chap. 7.

approbation of Mr. Asbury's assuming the title of bishop, and allowing himself to be called by that name, concludes with the following remark.—"Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better." Why does Mr. Wesley introduce the Presbyterians here? And what connexion has this sentence with the rest of his letter? We perceive none. The fact is, this sentence without an explanatory key, is not intelligible. But if we connect it with a sentence in Dr. Coke's letter to the Bishop of London, dated March 29th, 1799, we think the key is found, which makes his meaning quite clear. The Doctor says, "But I return with a full conviction that our numerous societies in America would have been a *regular Presbyterian church*, if Mr. Wesley and myself had not taken the steps which we judged it necessary to adopt." With this sentence before us, we think we understand Mr. Wesley's meaning, with reference to the Presbyterians. It seems probable that Dr. Coke, or Mr. Asbury, or both, had attempted to make an apology, and explain to Mr. Wesley the alleged reasons, for having organised an episcopal form of church government; and, together with other things, urged the necessity there was for taking such a course to prevent the Presbyterians from gaining too much influence. But after all that was advanced in justification of the measure, including all that could be said about the Presbyterians and the disposition of the people to be Presbyterians, Mr. Wesley disapproves of their procedure, and says, "Men may call me a *knave* or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent, call me a bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this. Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better." Thus denouncing in the most severe and unqualified terms, the very thing which it is said he "recommended."

But it may be asked, if Mr. Wesley did not intend to create Dr. Coke a bishop, why did he lay his hands on him, and give him letters of ordination, inasmuch as the Doctor was, at that very time a presbyter of the church of England, as well as himself? This, we acknowledge, was always a matter that appeared to us to be involved in mystery; but since the publication of Mr. Wesley's letter upon the subject, we think this mystery is happily cleared up. Let it be distinctly noted (1.) that Mr. Wesley acknowledged in the letter which he gave Dr. Coke, (a letter of appointment, not of ordination as it has been called, for the term ordination is not found in it) that the Doctor was his *equal* in point of *order*; for in speaking of himself, he styles himself "a presbyter of the church of England," and when he speaks of the Doctor, he styles him "a presbyter of the church of England" also. (2) Mr. Wesley declared his conviction, a conviction produced by reading the writings of Lord King, that presbyters and bishops are the same *order*; and that there was no higher order in the church than that of a presbyter. (3) To suppose then, that Mr. Wesley intended by the imposition of his hands, to create the Doctor a bishop, after the unequivocal declaration he made of the identity of bishops and presbyters, would be to affix, on

Mr. Wesley the charge of inconsistency, if nothing else. Nor will the matter be mended by saying, as some have done, he secretly intended the thing, but not the name; and that he recommended, to the American societies, the episcopal form of church government, although he so strongly opposed the use of the term bishop! And, is it possible, that any one can entertain such an opinion of Mr. Wesley? If so, no opinion can be more incorrect and ill-founded. We appeal to the whole of Mr. Wesley's long and eminently useful life for a refutation of this sentiment. When did he ever act in the above disingenuous and Jesuitical manner? When was he ever known to practise that kind of double dealing? O! how unjust to load his name and memory with such obloquy, for the poor and paltry satisfaction of trying to support our episcopacy? (4) If Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke a bishop, in the common acceptation of that term, then did he create a church officer greater than himself; and of consequence he brought himself into subjection to Dr. Coke, by making the Doctor his superior. The same remark will hold good with respect to his subjection to Mr. Asbury, and every other person, that might be raised to the episcopate. (5) If the Doctor was constituted a bishop, he was raised to a rank above a presbyter, and invested with superior powers. In that case, he that was sent, was greater than he that sent him; thereby affording an instance of conduct in both parties, that has no parallel in either civil or ecclesiastical history. For then, Mr. Wesley who was only a presbyter, and consequently inferior to a bishop, assumed the prerogative to send his superior to do a work in his name, which he himself could not go to do. And he not only gave him instructions how to act, but provided for and supported him in the execution of the duties assigned him. Nay more, the inferior called his superior to an account for his conduct, and from the mere sovereignty of his own will, punished that superior by leaving his name out of the minutes of the British conference for one year. (6.) If the Doctor, by the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands, is created a bishop, the objection of the Rev'd. Doctor Horne, bishop of Norwich, lies in full force. He says, "if a presbyter can ordain a bishop, then the greater is blessed of the less, and the order of all things is inverted."

To illustrate this argument, let us suppose that any three local elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, should pretend to ordain another elder, a bishop, by the imposition of their hands, would the person thus ordained be a bishop? And would he be received as a bishop by the rest of his brethren? Whether he would be a bishop in the common ecclesiastical sense of that word or not, we shall not now decide, but we are pretty certain, he would not be received as such by our church. Let those, then, who advocate "*three orders*," tell us how "any three elders of the general conference," can do, what local brethren of the *same order* cannot do? See Book of Discipline, chap. 1. sec. 1. ques. 2. Or, let them tell us how Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors, who were only presbyters of the church of England, could create an *order* of ministers in the church of Christ

greater than themselves? This is done already, says one, in the "Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy," page 42. where the author proposes this very objection, and answers it. "But says the objector, 'have presbyters authority to constitute a minister superior to themselves?' Undoubtedly. It will be admitted, that the apostles were a grade of ministers superior to the elders; and yet St. Paul was ordained by a body of elders. Acts 13, ch. 1, ver. 4" From this answer we are justified in supposing, that the author of a "Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy" thought St. Paul was *not* an apostle before this transaction; and that he was raised to be an apostle by the imposition of the hands of those *prophets and teachers*, whom he calls "elders" All this however, is in flat contradiction to what St. Paul himself tells us He says, he was "an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father." Gal. ch. 1, ver 1. Dr. Macknight, in his comment on this text, says, "St. Paul was first made an apostle by Christ, when he appeared to him in the way to Damascus, Acts IX. 15. And three years after that, his apostolic commission was renewed. Acts XXII. 20. So that he was first sent forth, neither by the church at Jerusalem, nor by that at Antioch. The Holy Ghost, indeed, ordered the prophets at Antioch (Acts XIII 2.) to seperate Paul and Barnabas; but it was to the work whereunto he had called them formerly. This separation was simply a recommending them to the grace of God by prayer. And in fact it is so termed. Acts XIV. 26.

Archbishop Potter says, "this rite of imposing hands, whereby other ministers were ordained, *was never used in making apostles.* It was a distinguishing part of their character, that they were immediately called and ordained by Christ himself, who gave them the Holy Ghost by breathing on them; but neither he, nor any other is ever said to lay hands on them." page 264.

7. As Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke were of the same order, to wit, the order of presbyters, the Doctor had as good a clerical right to ordain Mr. Wesley a bishop, as Mr. W. had to ordain the Doctor. This was the case according to Mr. Wesley's own views of ecclesiastical usage, and this is the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Moore, Mr. Wesley's biographer. "As presbyters of the church, they had, certainly, the same right to ordain; and if Dr. Coke had been the father of that great work which is called Methodism, he would in that case, have had a right to ordain Mr. Wesley to superintend any part of that work." Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. 2, page 278. If we contemplate the subject then, as it presented itself to Mr. W's. own mind at the time he laid his hands on the Doctor, it will assume a different aspect from that, in which it has been represented by the friends of the hierarchy. Mr. Wesley considered himself, under God, the father of all the Methodists in Europe and America. He considered, that he had a right to govern those societies which had been raised by his instrumentality, and had put themselves under his care. He considered it to be his prerogative to transfer the power of governing the societies, which he could not personally superintend, to Dr. Coke, or any other person, he might see fit to ap-

point. Who could think, that, by making this transfer to Dr. Coke, and appointing him to *superintend* the societies in the United States, Mr. Wesley intended to create a *third order* in the church, and establish for those societies, an episcopal mode of government? Especially when he substantially affirmed that he believed there were but TWO ORDERS; and in the same letter declared "*they* (the American societies) *are at full liberty to follow the scriptures and the primitive church.* Yet this is the whole of the authority upon which the friends of espiscopacy rest their cause.

SECTION II.

If it be argued that the Doctor was a bishop, raised above the order of presbyters by the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands, how shall we account for his conduct in making proposals to bishop White of Philadelphia, to become united with the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, and to have the preachers in the Methodist Episcopal church re-ordained by bishop White, and himself and the gentleman connected with him, *consecrated** for the episcopal office.

The following is a copy of his letter attested by bishop White "*Right Reverend Sir:—*

Permit me to intrude a little on your time, upon a subject of great importance.

You, I believe are conscious that I was brought up in the church of England, and have been ordained a presbyter of that church. For many years I was prejudiced, even I think, to bigotry, in favor of it: but through a variety of causes and incidents, to mention which would be tedious and useless, my mind was exceedingly biassed on the other side of the question. In consequence of this, I am not sure but I went further *in the separation* of our church in America, than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that our entire separation should take place. He being pressed by our friends on this side the water, for ministers to administer the sacraments to them (there being very few clergy of the church of England then in the states) *he went farther, I am sure, than he would have gone if he had foreseen some events which followed.* And this I am certain of—*that he is now sorry for the separation.*

But what can be done for a re-union which I wish for; and to accomplish which, Mr. Wesley, I have no doubt would use his influence

* "Or, it may have been the CONSECRATION of himself and the gentleman connected with him, for this measure was hinted in a conversation that afterwards took place between us, altho' he desired me to remark, that it was not made a condition of the union."

Extract of a letter, dated Philadelphia, Sept. 13, 1806. Signed,

WILLIAM WHITE.

to the utmost? The affection of a very considerable number of the preachers and most of the people, is very strong towards him, notwithstanding *the excessive ill usage he received from a few.* My interest also is not small; and both his and mine would readily and to the utmost, be used to accomplish that (to us) very desirable object: if a readiness were shown by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to re-unite.

It is even to your church an object of great importance. We have now above 60,000 adults in our society in these states; and about 250 travelling ministers and preachers; besides a great number of local preachers, very far exceeding the number of travelling preachers; and some of these local preachers are men of very considerable abilities; but if we number the Methodists as most people number the members of their church, viz.—by the families which constantly attend the divine ordinances in their places of worship, they will make a larger body than you possibly conceive. The society, I believe, may be safely multiplied by five on an average, to give us our stated congregations; which will then amount to 300,000. And if, the calculation, which, I think some eminent writers have made, be just, that three-fifths of mankind are un-adult (if I may use the expression)at any given period,it will follow that all the families, the adults of which form our congregations in these states amount to 750,000. About one-fifth of these are blacks.

The work now extends in length from Boston to the South of Georgia; and in breadth, from the Atlantic to lake Champlain, Vermont, Albany, Redstone, Holstein, Kentucky, Cumberland, &c.

But there are many hindrances in the way. Can they be removed?

1. Our ordained ministers will not, ought not, to give up their right of administering the sacraments. I dont think that the generality of them, perhaps none of them, would refuse to submit to a re-ordination, if other hindrances were removed out of the way. I must here observe, that between 60 and 70 only, out of the two hundred and fifty have been ordained presbyters, and about 60 deacons (only). The Presbyters are the choicest of the whole.

2. The other preachers would hardly submit to re-union, if the possibility of their rising up to ordination depended on the present bishops in America. Because, though they are all, I think I may say, zealous, pious and very useful men, yet they are not acquainted with the learned languages. Besides, they would argue, if the present bishops would waive the article of the learned languages, yet their successors might not.

My desire of a re-union is so sincere and earnest, that these difficulties make me tremble: and *yet something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley, otherwise I shall despair of success:* for though my influence among the Methodists in these states as well as in Europe, is, I doubt not,increasing, yet *Mr. Asbury whose influence is very capital, will not easily comply, nay, I know he will be exceedingly averse to it.*

In Europe where some steps had been taken, tending to a separation, all is at an end. Mr. Wesley is a determined enemy of it, and I have lately borne an open and successful testimony against it.

Shall I be favoured with a private interview with you in Philadelphia? I shall be there, God willing, on Tuesday the 17th of May. If this be agreeable, I'll beg of you just to signify it in a note directed to me at Mr. Jacob Baker's, merchant, Market street, Philadelphia: or if you please by a few lines sent me by the return of the post, at Philip Rogers' Esq. in Baltimore, from yourself or Dr. Magaw: and I will wait upon you with my friend Dr. Magaw. We can then enlarge on the subjects.

I am conscious of it that secrecy is of great importance in the present state of the business, till the minds of you, your brother bishops and Mr. Wesley be circumstantially known. I must therefore beg that these things be confined to yourself and Dr. Magaw, till I have the honor of seeing you.

Thus you see that I have made a bold venture on your honor and candour, and have opened my whole heart to you on the subject as far as the extent of a small letter will allow me. If you put equal confidence in me, you will find me candid and faithful.

I have, notwithstanding, been guilty of inadvertencies. Very lately I found myself obliged (for the pacifying of my conscience) to write a penitential letter to the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, which gave him great satisfaction: and for the same reason I must write another to the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew.

When I was last in America, I prepared and corrected a great variety of things for our Magazine, indeed almost every thing that was printed, except some loose hints which I had taken of one of my journeys, and which I left in my hurry with Mr. Asbury, without any correction, entreating him that no part of them might be printed which could be improper or offensive. But through great inadvertency (I suppose) he suffered some reflections on the characters of the two above mentioned gentlemen to be inserted in the Magazine, for which I am very sorry: and probably shall not rest till I have made my acknowledgments more public; though Mr. Jarrat does not desire it.

I am not sure, whether I have not also offended you, sir, by accepting one of the offers made me by you and Dr. Magaw of the use of your churches, about six years ago, on my first visit to Philadelphia, without informing you of *our plan of separation from the Church of England*. If I did offend, [as I doubt I did, especially from what you said to Mr. Richard Dallam of Abingdon] I sincerely beg yours and Dr. Magaw's pardon. I'll endeavor to amend. But alas! I am a frail, weak creature.

I will intrude no longer at present. One thing only I will claim from your candour—that if you have no thought of improving this proposal, you will burn this letter, and take no more notice of it, (for it would be a pity to have us entirely alienated from each other, if we cannot unite in the manner my ardent wishes desire) but if you will further negocitate the business, I will explain my mind still more fully to you on the probabilities of success.

In the mean time permit me, with great respect, to subscribe myself, Right Reverend Sir,

Your very humble servant in Christ,

[Signed] THOMAS COKE.

The Right Reverend Father in God,

BISHOP WHITE.

Richmond, April 24th, 1791.

P. S. You must excuse interlineations, &c. I am just going into the country and have no time to transcribe."

The Doctor, having, in this letter proposed "a private interview" with bishop White, "if agreeable," waited on him upon his arrival at Philadelphia. The following extract of a letter from the bishop to one of his friends contains the substance of the conversation which passed at the time between himself, Dr. Magaw, and Dr. Coke.

Philadelphia, July 30th, 1804.

"Reverend Sir:

In the spring of the year 1791, I received a letter from Dr. Coke, on the subject of uniting the Methodist Society with the Protestant Episcopal Church. An answer was returned. In consequence of which, Dr. Coke, on his coming to town made me a visit, having not then received my letter, but having heard that I had written. Our conversation turned chiefly on the aforesaid subject. The general outlines of Dr. Coke's plan were, a re-ordination of the Methodist ministers, and their continuing under the superintendence then existing, and on the practices of their peculiar institutions. There was also suggested by him, a propriety, but not a *condition made of admitting to the Episcopacy*. himself and the gentleman associated with him in the superintendence of the Methodist societies. This intercourse was communicated at the time from Dr. Coke to Dr. Magaw. I do not know of any other person then informed of it. unless I may except the gentleman above alluded to, by whom, i I have been rightly informed, my letter to Dr. Coke was opened in his absence; such a freedom being understood, as I supposed, to arise out of the connexion between the two gentlemen. But for this part of the statement I cannot vouch. It was understood between Dr. Coke and me, that the proposal should be communicated to the bishops of the Episcopal Church at the next convention, which was to be in September 1792, in New York. This was accordingly done. After which I perceived no use of further communication on the subject; and I have not since seen Dr. Coke, nor heard from him, nor written to him.

It appears to me that the above comprehends either *explicitly* or by *implication*, all the points to which your letter leads. It would have been more agreeable to me, if no occasion of this testimony had occurred; and it is now given, merely to prevent the matter being understood otherwise than it really is.

The above is what I have written to Mr. McClaskey: and I remain, &c. &c.

Your affectionate brother,

WILLIAM WHITE."

Upon this correspondence, we shall make a few remarks. The first is this: The Doctor declares that Mr. W. "did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority." If we remember correctly, this is the only place that we have seen, in which the Doctor explicitly states that Mr. Wesley "did invest him with *episcopal authority*." But whether he considered this investiture to grow out of the letter of appointment, or as he calls it, the "commission" which he received from Mr. Wesley, or the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands, or both, he does not say. Let him, however, ascribe it to what he may, the declaration is attended with one most extraordinary qualifying phrase, namely, "AS FAR AS HE HAD A RIGHT SO TO DO." Why this limitation? Was the Doctor unacquainted with ecclesiastical usage in consecrating a bishop? Was he ignorant of the nature of the office or meaning of the word? No. Did he not know that "wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis; he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood: the force of wealth, or lowness of poverty doth not render a bishop more high or more low. That one bishop might exceed another in splendour, in wealth, in reputation, in extent of jurisdiction, as one king may surpass another in amplitude of territory; but as all kings, so all bishops are equal in office, and essentials of power."* Why then, in writing to a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who knew these things as well as he did, did he use this language, "*as far as he had a right so to do?*" Must he not have known, that this Rev'd gentleman would construe these words into an acknowledgement, that Mr. Wesley, who was only a presbyter of the church of England, had no right to ordain another presbyter a bishop, or "invest him with episcopal authority?" Even common readers must be struck with surprise at such a sentence, and would be ready to reason on the subject in the following manner. Mr. W. had a right to ordain Dr. Coke a bishop, or he had not. If he had this right, why did the Doctor express himself in such a way as to make this right questionable? If he had not, why did he say "Mr. Wesley did indeed solemnly invest me with episcopal authority?" It is pretty obvious, we think, that the Doctor was conscious of being in a strait. Six years had elapsed, since, in his letter to General Washington, he had assumed the title of bishop. Wishing now to become connected with another church, he feels the embarrassing situation in which the assumption of that title had placed him. To relinquish his claim to it, he does not seem to have been disposed; and to support it, he is obliged to make Mr. W. act in a ridiculous manner, and himself to speak a language that is not reconcileable with common sense. For what is the plain meaning of the words under consideration? That Mr. W. did a *complete* act, for which he had only a *partial* right. To us indeed they seem to contemplate his right as only a *fractional* part of an entire whole. A right, but not an *entire* right to ordain a bishop!!

*St Jerome, quoted by Dr. Barrow on the Pope's supremacy. page 151. and Archbishop Potter, page 182.

Who can understand this? and even if it were intelligible, it would be necessary to ascertain how "*far*" he had a right to go, or what proportion of the whole right this part was, whether one quarter, one half, three quarters or seven-eighths. We feel no inclination to pursue this subject farther, for really, it will not bear a serious investigation.

The second point, upon which we shall bestow a few thoughts, relates to the "separation of our church in America." The Doctor says, 1. "I am sure that he (Mr. W.) went farther than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed." 2. That "he is now sorry for the separation." And 3. "that he would use his influence to the utmost to accomplish a re-union." In speaking of a separation, the Dr. could not mean a separation from the present Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, to which he here proposed to be united. Because, 1. neither Mr. W. nor the Methodist Episcopal Church had ever been united with her. Indeed, she had no organised existence until some time after the Methodist Episcopal Church was organised. Nor 2. could he allude to the church of England, considered abstractly from Mr. W.; for our American brethren were totally disentangled from the state and the English hierarchy before Mr. W. was applied to for his advice. "The English government," says he, "had no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland." From which it is evident, that all connexion between the Methodists in America and the church of England had ceased before Mr. Wesley took any steps to supply us with ministers.

The separation, then, to which the Dr. refers, is a separation from Mr. W. himself and the Methodists in Great Britain as a component part of the established church. And that Mr. W. was sorry that the societies here had thrown off all connexion with himself we readily believe: especially as he was induced to ordain ministers for them, in consequence of their representations, and expressing a "*desire to continue under his care*, and still to adhere to the doctrines and discipline of the church of England." Nor, is it difficult to suppose that he went farther than he would have gone, if he had foreseen "the separation which followed" Farther, we believe he was sorry, extremely sorry, that both Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury transcended the limits of their authority, and assumed to themselves the title of bishops, contrary to his express directions. The Rev. Henry Moore, Mr. Wesley's biographer, speaks out plainly upon this subject. "With respect to the title of bishop, I know that Mr. Wesley enjoined the Doctor and his associates, and *in the most solemn manner*, that it should not be taken. In a letter to Mrs. Gilbert, the widow of the excellent Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq. of Antigua, a copy of which now lies before me, he states this in the strongest manner.—In this and in every deviation, I cannot be the apologist of Dr. Coke; and I can state, in contradiction to all that Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Hampson have said, that Mr. Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things; nor was he the author of one line of all that Dr. Coke published in America on this subject.

His views, on these points, were very different from those of his zealous son in the gospel. He knew that a work of God neither needed, nor could be aided, nor could recommend itself to pious minds by such additions." Moore's life of Wesley, vol. 2. page 279. 280.

The third thing which we shall notice, relates to the proposed union of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the Portestant; the re-ordination of the preachers, and "the propriety of admitting to the episcopacy, himself and the gentleman who was associated with him in the superintendence of the Methodist Societies." Upon this point we shall say but little, but that little shall be to express our astonishment that the Doctor should have stooped to make such an offer, on the supposition that he considered himself a bishop. As we believe his heart was free, in every part of his public life, from the love of ease and the love of money, we can see no other reason for the overtures he made to Bishop White, than that he did not conceive he was in the common ecclesiastical sense of the word, a bishop.

Fourthly and lastly. Had this union taken place, and had Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, the superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, not been admitted to the episcopacy, what would then have been the name of our church and the nature of our government? But we may be told, the proposed union failed. Granted. But what prevented it? The subject was proposed to the next Protestant Episcopal Convention, held in New York, Sept. 1792. And had it not been for the death of Mr. Wesley, it is difficult now to say what would have been the results.

About eight years after the above proposition was made to Bishop White, Dr. Coke made a similar one to the Bishop of London, requesting him to ordain "a given number" of preachers of the Methodist connexion in England, as may be seen by referring to his letter, published in "Drew's Life of Dr. Coke," page 288. An extract of which is here given.

"May it please your Lordship,

I have felt a strong inclination for more than twelve months past, to take the liberty of writing to your lordship on a subject which appears to me of vast importance; I mean the necessity of securing the great body of Methodists, in connexion with the late Rev. John Wesley to the church of England. * * * * * * * A considerable number of our body have deviated in this instance," [receiving the Lord's Supper from their own preachers] "from the established church; and I plainly perceive, that this deviation, unless prevented, will in time, bring about an universal separation from the establishment.

But how can this be prevented? I am inclined to think that if a given number of our leading preachers, proposed by our general conference, were to be ordained and permitted to travel through our connexion, to administer the sacraments to those societies who have been thus prejudiced as above; every difficulty would be removed. I have no doubt that the people would be universally satisfied. The men of greatest influence in the connexion would, I am sure, unite with me; and every deviation from the church of England would be done away.

In a letter which, a few months past, I took the liberty of writing to your lordship, on the business of our societies in Jersey, (island) I observed that for a little time I had been warped from my attachment to the church of England, in consequence of my visiting the states of America; but, like a bow too much bent, I have again returned. But I return with a full conviction that our numerous societies in America would have been a regular Presbyterian church, if Mr. Wesley and myself had not taken the steps which we judged it necessary to adopt.*

If this point be worthy of your lordship's consideration, I could wish that something might be done as soon as convenient; as some of my most intimate friends, to whom I have ventured to disclose this plan, are far advanced in years. These are men of long standing, and of great influence in our connexion. The plan meets their decided approbation, and cordial wishes for success; and I have no doubt they would lay down their lives with joy, if they could see so happy a plan accomplished as I have now proposed. If an interview shall be thought necessary, on your lordship's signifying it, I will visit London for the purpose next month.

I did myself the honor, about a year ago, to lay this whole plan before the Attorney General, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted at Oxford; and so far as a cursory view of the business could enabable him to speak, he greatly approved of it, and some months past, encouraged me to lay the whole at the feet of your lordship. This I have now done; and I pray you, my lord, whatever be your lordship's judgment, to forgive, at all events the liberty I have now taken. I have the honor to be,

My Lord, &c. &c.

T. COKE."

Manchester, March 29th, 1799.

As Mr. Wesley no where *explicitly* declared that by appointing the Doctor and Mr. Asbury superintendents, an order of bishops was contemplated, or an episcopal form of church government recommended, neither are the ordinations which he conferred viewed by writers among the English Methodists, who wrote in justification of Mr. Wesley's right to ordain, as favouring our title of episcopacy.

"Mr. Wesley suffered not the ecclesiastical authorities to interfere with the internal management of his societies: he would not suffer them to be controlled by any parochial clergyman in the three

*The Doctor refers to church government, not to doctrines contrary to those of the church of England, which he held to be Arminian. 2. He intimates that the "numerous societies in America" preferred a presbyterian form of government, to an episcopal one. 3. That to prevent the societies from becoming a regular Presbyterian church, he and Mr Wesley took the steps they did. (How far Mr. Wesley was in reality concerned will be seen in this work). And 4. from the whole we infer, that the episcopal form of church government was not such as the people would have adopted, if it had been submitted to their choice; but in consequence of certain measures, it was imposed upon them contrary to their inclination and without their consent.

kingdoms ; he gave the Lord's supper himself in unconsecrated chapels, and employed clergymen to do this: he gave up episcopal ordination as understood by high churchmen ; and in pursuance of his belief in the validity of presbyterian ordination, he ordained preachers to give the sacraments ; so that according to strict church notions, he sanctioned what some would call lay administration.

The great principle of the validity of presbyterian ordination, *which is the ordination of the conference*, was established by Mr Wesley, who himself acted upon this principle by giving ordination;* and thus he renounced entirely the notion of bishops and presbyters being distinct orders." English Methodist Magazine for July, 1825. page 464, 465.

" The ordination or appointment of preachers among us more nearly assimilates to the Presbyterian form, than any other. But what do the high ecclesiastics say to all this? They deny that any ordination is valid but episcopal ordination, and in this, they assimilate to the Romish church. We give them their opinion with all its benefits." ibid, page 467.

The preceeding pertinent and lucid remarks, on the ordinations conferred by Mr. Wesley, will not be called in question by any one, who credits what Mr. Wesley has said, respecting the parity of bishops and presbyters ; nor will they be contradicted by any who is acquainted with primitive ecclesiastical usage. And, with this view of the subject, coincide the opinions of the great body of the ministers and members of our church. These remarks were drawn up, we believe, by the book committee of the British connexion, and may be considered as an expression of the opinion of the British conference. Besides, they were republished by our book agents, as conveying correct information for our members ; and yet, notwithstanding all this, a contrary statement coming from our book agents, has been published in one of the most popular works in this country. A work which is highly and deservedly appreciated by the different religious denominations of Protestant Christians ; we mean Buck's Theological Dictionary. In the last edition of this work, published in 1825, by Mr. W. Woodward of Philadelphia, there is an " Appendix, being an account of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States; for which the editor of this complete edition of Buck's Dictionary is indebted to Messrs. N. Bangs and J. Emory, publishers for the Methodist Episcopal Church." In the account furnish-

*At the conference of 1785, says Mr. Miles, in his History of the Methodists, page 168, Mr Wesley " set apart three of our well tried preachers, John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, and Joseph Taylor, to minister in Scotland. He also recommended to the Scotch Methodists the use of the Abridged Common Prayer. This latter they declined ; the former they were thankfulfor."

Also, at the conference of 1787 Mr. Wesley " set apart for the sacred office by the imposition of his hands and prayer, Messrs Alexander Mather, Thomas Rankin and Henry Moore, without sending them out of England ; strongly advising them at the same time, that according to his example, they should continue united to the established church, so far as the blessed work in which they were engaged would permit. The former of these brethren Mr. Mather, he ordained a bishop or superintendent." page 175.

ed by these gentlemen, is the following sentence. "As to the government, the title sufficiently ascertains its distinctive character, it being in fact and name *episcopal*. Three orders of ministers are recognized, and the duties peculiar to each are clearly defined." "*Three orders* of ministers!" What a pity we have not been told what these "three orders" are. One of these gentlemen (Mr. N. Bangs) has published a book entitled "A Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy," in which, after treating of the order of deacons, he has "demonstrated" the identity of presbyters and bishops; and to make out the third order. he says, a Methodist bishop "*very much resembles a primitive evangelist*!"* Whether this is the "third order" which is here alluded to, or not, we cannot say. But waiving this, we may be permitted to ask, who authorised these Rev. gentlemen to furnish the editor of Buck's Dictionary, with such an imposing account of the Methodist episcopal church? And if we and the public are obliged to receive *their* statement of "*three orders*" as a "fact," because *they* have said so? We believe no man, nor body of men, except the general conference, is competent to pronounce judgment in this matter for the church: and even if the general conference had made the assertion, and had not supported it by better proof than we have yet seen, we would continue to believe that our "episcopal government" has nothing of episcopacy in it, as understood by episcopalians. but the "name."

In opposition to the doctrine of "three orders," so pompously laid down by the "publishers for the Methodist episcopal church," we shall present our readers with an extract of a letter, from one of those old preachers who was a member of the general conference of 1784 and who is still in the itinerant connexion, received in answer to our letter, marked No. 2 in the Appendix. Speaking of Mr. Wesley's appointing Dr. Coke a superintendent, he says "but that he did not consider it to be a *third order*, is evident from his own declaration of his full belief that bishops and presbyters were the same order in the primitive church, and had the same right to ordain. He could not, therefore, give any counsel or order to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, or any person to ordain a third order of ministers in our church, that is to say, an order of bishops distinct from, and superior to, an order of presbyters. There was therefore, I am bold to say, no such letter or paper in existence as you enquire for." Here, then, is the opinion of one who was a member of the conference when the church was organized, who does *not* "recognise three orders of ministers;" and farther argues, that Mr. W. himself did not recognise three orders because he declared his belief in the identity of bishops and presbyters.

Nor is this venerable brother singular in his opinion, respecting *two orders* only. For, whatever pains may have been taken, to impress the public mind with the belief, that our church recognises *three orders*, it must be evident, that the conference of 1789 did not recognise *three*; or if they did, they acted a most inconsistent part, by placing Mr. Wesley's name on their minutes, as a bishop. The first question on those minutes is as follows:

* The same doctrine seems to have been advanced in the Methodist Magazine for Jan. and Feb. of the present year, and perhaps, by the same hand.

"Who are the persons that exercise the episcopal office in the Methodist church in Europe and America?

Ans. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury.

By this answer, Mr. Wesley is announced as one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But every body who knows any thing of the matter, knows that Mr Wesley was no more than a presbyter of the church of England. The conference having asserted the identity of their offices respectively, it follows of course, that if Mr. Wesley was not a bishop, neither were the other two; and that the episcopal office, in the Methodist episcopal church, is filled by mere presbyters. Or, in other words, that in our church, there are *not* "three orders," or an order of bishops distinct from and superior to an order of presbyters. But we cannot dismiss this subject without making some further remarks; for considerations here present themselves which emphatically claim attention. In the year 1787, two years before the date of the minutes, of which the above question and answer is a part, Mr. Wesley's name had been left off the American minutes. In the interim, he had written the letter printed in "Moore's Life of Wesley," in which this great and good man had said to Mr. Asbury, "men may call me a *fool* or a *knave*, a *rascal*, or *scoundrel*, and I am content, but they shall never by my consent call me a *bishop*." And yet, after it was known that the very term was so extremely offensive to him, his name was fixed at the head of the American minutes as one of their bishops! Nor was this all. The conference had declared themselves "independent" of Mr. Wesley, because, as we have been told, they considered it improper in him, to attempt to exercise any authority, by appointing a superintendent over the preachers on this side the Atlantic; and yet, the conference not only entered him a bishop on *their* minutes for the American Methodists, in opposition to his most positive disapprobation of the term, but they entered him a bishop for the Methodist Church in Europe! These, it will be allowed, are strange acts; and, although some may feel themselves unable fully to understand them, yet we are very unwilling to attempt an explanation.

Had Mr. Wesley, however, been misunderstood as to his design in recommending the Liturgy, and appointing Dr. Coke a superintendent, or had the conference reasoned differently upon these subjects, from what we have done, there was no possibility of mistaking him in the following letter which he wrote to Mr. Asbury in little more than three years after the episcopal mode of government went into operation. See Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. 2, p. 285.

"*London, Sept. 20th* 1788.

"There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the Americans, and the relation wherein I stand to *all* the Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists; I am, under God, the father of the whole family. Therefore, I, naturally care for you all, in a manner no other person can do. Therefore I in a measure, provide for you all; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you, he could not provide, were it not for me—were it not, that I not only permit him to collect, but support him in so doing.

But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid both the Doctor and you differ from me. I study to be *little*, you study to be *great*, I *creep*; you *strut* along. I found a school, you a *college*. Nay, and call it after your own names! O beware! Do not seek to be *something!* Let me be nothing, and Christ be all in all.

One instance of this your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called a *bishop?* I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call *me* a *knave*, or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me a *bishop!* For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.

Thus my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart, and let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

Having in this letter* expressed himself so pointedly against the title of bishop, which the Doctor and Mr. Asbury had assumed; it was most assuredly incumbent on them and on the American conference, if the latter were made acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, to have done Mr. Wesley justice, by honestly stating in their minutes, that he was opposed to the very name of bishop, and thus have taken upon themselves all the responsibilities of creating an episcopal form of government. This, however, was never done. The above letter was suppressed. Its contents were never suffered to transpire. But Mr. Wesley was made to speak a language, we believe he never spoke. His name was used to give a degree of sanction to their measures, which, it was thought would disarm resistance, if any were offered; and by this means was an episcopal government established; the name of the Rev'd. John Wesley being offered as a passport to all the contemplated ecclesiastical honours.

SECTION III.

Among the resolutions entered into at the conference of 1784, the preachers made the following solemn declaration —"During the life of the Rev'd. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands." Yet when he expressed a wish that Mr. Whatcoat should be appointed a superintendent with Mr. Asbury, the conference objected to the appointment, and would not receive him.

* "1789. South Carolina, March 15th. We reached the city, having rode two hundred miles in about five days and two hours. Here I received a *bitter pill* from one of my greatest friends." Asbury's Journal, vol. II. pa. 45. Query. Could this *bitter pill* be the above letter?

"*London, Sept. 6th*, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

I desire that you would appoint a general conference of all our preachers in the United States, to meet at Baltimore, on May the first, 1787. And that Mr. Richard Whatcoat may be appointed superintendent with Mr. Francis Asbury. I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

To the Rev'd. DR. COKE.

There is something in the style of this letter, and in the authority exercised by Mr. Wesley in expressing this desire, compared with the minutes of conference of 1785, which we do not fully understand. Mr. Wesley's letter is dated Sept. 6th, 1786, and yet his name was left off the minutes of 1785. How is this? Did he know that the connexion which had heretofore existed between him and the American Methodists was dissolved, and his authority disowned? And did he, notwitnstanding a knowledge of these facts, proceed to exercise his authority, as formerly, by desiring that Mr. Whatcoat should be appointed a superintendent? We cannot think so. Indeed, there is a mystery hanging over the whole of the proceedings of those times; if there is not a studied obscurity and evasion in the records of the church. We know it to be a fact that Mr. Wesley's name was left out of the minutes of conference; and many of our old members are acquainted with this fact as well as ourselves. But how many are acquainted with all the circumstances of the case? We presume but very few. We are free to acknowledge we are not.* And because it is a subject which so few understand, we bring it out before our elder brethren, who may have some knowledge of the proceedings of those early times; that some one or other may cast a ray of light upon a transaction which, down to the present hour, is enveloped in darkness. This we conceive is an act of justice due both to the dead and to the living. In the mean time we shall examine this matter according to the best lights we have, and in doing so, shall inquire, First, when was Mr. Wesley's name left off the minutes? Secondly. By whom was it done? And Thirdly for what reasons?

In the minutes of conference for 1785, we have the following account of the origin of the Methodist episcopal church. "As it was unanimously agreed at this conference, that circumstances made it expedient for us to become a separate body under the de-

*We had written these remarks, on the omission of Mr. Wesley's name, before we could procure the Prayer Books, and the Rev'd. Mr. Morrell's pamphlet. Finding, however, that the conclusions, which we had previously argued out, were established by these documents, we determined, rather than alter our manuscript, to let what we had written stand, and insert those documents, in such places as might best suit. This circumstance will account for the apparent want of connexion in some parts of our arrangement; and will serve to explain, why we anticipated a subject which is more fully treated elsewhere.

nomination of the Methodist episcopal church, it is necessary that we should here assign some reasons for so doing.

The following extract of a letter from the Rev'd. Mr. John Wesley, will afford as good an explanation as can be given of this subject."

Then follows the letter which we need not insert here, as it was inserted at page 12 of this essay, and the account is closed in the following manner:

"Therefore at this conference, we formed ourselves into an independent church; and following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of church government, we thought it best to become an episcopal church, making the episcopal office elective, and the elected superintendent or *bishop*, amenable to the body of ministers and preachers."

Respecting this account, we have one or two inquiries to make. 1. Was it actually drawn up at the conference of 1784; and if so, by whom was it done, or was it written some time, perhaps years, afterwards? Standing where it does, and without a date, it is certainly calculated to make an impression on the reader's mind, that it was drawn up at that very conference; and such has always been our view of the subject, until very lately. Yet we think, upon a close inspection of the document itself, it will be found to afford *prima facie* evidence, that it was not written then, but some time afterwards. Hence the uniform use of the past tense; "circumstances *made*," "we *formed* ourselves" we "*thought* it best," &c. all evidently proving that it was not written at that conference. 2. On the supposition, that it was drawn up, just as it is, at the conference of 1784, did the conference acknowledge that Mr. Wesley had any jurisdiction over them or not? If they did, why is his name left out of the minutes, and thereby his authority disowned? If they did not, why did they publish an *extract* of his letter, as giving as good an explanation of the subject as they could give, and besides this, declare that they adopted the episcopal form of government in compliance with his recommendation? There seems to be here, something inexplicable, or something unfair; and we know not how to account for it, unless upon the following hypothesis. That the conference held in Baltimore in Dec. 1784, acknowledged Mr. Wesley's authority, but for some reasons or other, it was subsequently disowned. That in consequence of the rejection of his authority, it became necessary to amend or alter the phraseology of the minutes of the conference of 1784, so as to make them quadrate with subsequent proceedings. We are led to this conclusion from three considerations. 1. Because it seems strange, if not unreasonable, to suppose, that they would give Mr. Wesley's name as the only authority for the adoption of the episcopal form of government, and at the very same conference, determine to reject him. 2. Because in quoting Mr. Wesley's letter in the above "account," that part of it which relates to the Liturgy is omitted. That there was no resolution passed at that conference to suppress that part of his letter we argue from the fact, that the Prayer Book, which had been abridged and recommended by Mr.

Wesley was used by the superintendents and many of the preachers, subsequently to the conference of '84: and we cannot believe that they would do a thing, the authority for doing which, they had previously and formally rejecte . 3. Because we have the testimony of the Rev'd. Jesse Lee to prove that the minutes of conference *were altered.* "In the course of this year (1787) Mr. Asbury reprinted the general minutes, but *in a different form from what they were before.* The title of this pamphlet was as follows:

"A Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in American; considered and approved at a conference held at Baltimore in the state of Maryland, on Monday the 27th day of December 1784. In which the Rev'd Thomas Coke L. L. D. and the Rev'd. Francis Asbury presided. Arranged under proper heads, and methodized in a more acceptable manner."

"This was the first time that our superintendents ever gave themselves the title of bishops* in the minutes. They changed the title themselves without the consent of the conference; and at the the next conference they asked the preachers if the word *bishop* might stand in the minutes, seeing that it was a scriptural name, and the meaning of the word *bishop* was the same with that of superintendent.

Some of the preachers opposed the alteration and wished to retain the former title, but a majority of the preachers agreed to let the word *bishop* remain." Lee's History of Methodism, page 128.

Besides the words already noticed, there are other expressions in this "account," which should, by no means, be passed over in silence; because, in our opinion, they, also, will go to prove, that this account was not drawn up in its present form at the conference of 1784. And, that every one may have a full understanding of the reasons which influence our judgment, we shall give Mr. Wesley's letter to Dr. Coke, when he appointed him a *Superintendent;* or as it has been sometimes called, his letter of ordination. This is a very important document, and it is a matter of great surprise, that this letter was not published in the minutes of conference with Mr. Wesley's letter "to Dr.Coke, Mr. Asbury and the brethren in North America." Why it has not been suffered to see the light, either in those minutes, or in the book of discipline, we will not say. But, although it has no place in our official records, Mr. Drew, in his life of Dr. Coke vouches for its authenticity in the following words. "The following is a faithful copy, transcribed from the original, *in Mr. Wesley's own hand writing,* preserved among the papers of the late Dr. Coke.

"To all to whom these presents shall come: John Wesley, late fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford, presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting:

Whereas, many of the people in the Southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to

* It is somewhat remarkable that as soon as Mr. Wesley's name was left out of the minutes, the term bishop was introduced into them.

the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the same church; and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers.

Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America, And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayers, [being assisted by other ordained ministers,] Thomas Coke, doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred, and eighty-four. JOHN WESLEY."

What are the prominent points in this letter which offer themselves to our consideration? 1. That a representation had been made to Mr. Wesley, that the Methodist societies in America, were "greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, *according to the usage of the church of England.*" 2. That application, had been made to Mr Wesley "to supply them with ministers" for the purpose of administering the same. 3. That those who applied to him expressed a "*desire to continue under his care.*" This item the reader is particularly requested to notice and remember, because it will serve to explain subsequent proceedings, and will stand as a justification of Mr. Wesley's conduct. And 4th. They assured him that the societies here would "still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of the church of England." Such were the representations, and such the promises which induced Mr. Wesley to abridge the Prayer Book of the Church of England—to ordain ministers for the American Methodists—and to appoint Dr. Coke his substitute to superintend or take care of these "destitute sheep in the wilderness."

In this situation, matters stood at the opening of the conference in 1784. Dr. Coke and his associates had arrived, with letters of authority, from Mr. Wesley; and the long cherished hopes of the preachers were about to be realized, by having ordination conferred on themselves. That they felt elated with their prospects, is reasonable to suppose. And, although Mr. Asbury had said, "he would not receive any person deputed by Mr. Wesley to take any part of the superintendency of the work entrusted to him;" yet neither he, nor the conference refused to receive Dr. Coke in the character in which Mr. Wesley had sent him. Indeed, to have shewn the least symptom of opposition, either to Mr. Wesley, or to Dr. Coke, at this juncture, would have been to prevent the accomplish-

ment of the most ardent wishes of Mr. Asbury and the preachers. It would have been to dash the cup from their lips when they were upon the very point of tasting its sweets. No opposition, therefore, was made. No resistance was offered. Every thing went on smoothly; and whether from prudence or policy, inclination or interest, Dr. Coke was received as a superintendent, and Mr. Wesley's authority acknowledged and respected But how soon was the face of things changed? Scarcely had Mr. Asbury begun to exercise the functions of his new office, when Mr. Wesley's authority was rejected and his name left out of the minutes. It is to this transaction, we think the terms "separate" and "independent" in the account refer. "Circumstances made it expedient for us to become a *separate* body" Separate from whom? Not from the Church of England abstractly considered, no more than from the Lutheran church, the church of Scotland, or the church of Rome. No connexion had ever been avowed between the Methodist societies in America and any other body of Christians, except Mr. Wesley and the English Methodists, as the minutes of conference will prove. From whom then did they "separate"? The plain and obvious answer is, from Mr. Wesley and the English Methodists. Again it is said, "at this conference, we formed ourselves into an independent church." Independent of whom? Of Mr. Wesley, and in accordance with this declaration, his name was struck off the minutes of conference.

Our next inquiry is "by whom was it done"? A candid inquirer after the truth of the history of this fact would be ready to conclude before he entered upon the search, that there would be no difficulty to ascertain all the circumstances of the case by turning to the records of the church. But, how would he be surprised to find, that the conference have observed the most profound silence upon the subject: so much so, that the precise time when, and place where it was done, cannot be learnt from the minutes. This is the more extraordinary as it is contrary to the usage of Methodism. It is a fact well known to every Methodist, that the relation, in which every preacher stands whose name has been entered upon the minutes as a *member* of conference, is recorded upon the same. Does he, on account of his age or bodily infirmity, cease to travel at large? He is entered "superanuated," or a supernumerary." Does he locate? He is entered "located." Does he withdraw from the connexion? He is entered "withdrawn." Is he expelled for a crime? He is entered "expelled." And if he dies in the work, his death is announced, and some short account of his life and labours is placed upon the minutes.* But there is no notice whatev-

*In the minutes of conference for 1792, the year after Mr Wesley's death, we have obituary notices of the following preachers. "Thomas Weatherford, an European aged 56, upwards of *four* years a labourer in the vineyard of the Lord &c." "Peter Massie, who laboured faithfully in the ministry upwards of *three* years, &c. And, "George Browning *two* years and a *half* in the field of labour &c" But when Mr. Wesley died, who had laboured upwards of SIXTY YEARS, who was the father and founder of Method-

er taken of Mr. Wesley. And we believe his case is the only one in the history of Methodism, where a preacher's name had been dropped without something having been said on the subject, or some reason having been assigned for so doing. That such a remarkable occurrence should have taken place in the case of Mr. Wesley, who was so signally owned of God, by being made his instrument to raise up the people called Methodists, is surely the most extraordinary occurrence in the history of that people. That a man like him, who had filled the eye of the religious world for half a century, and who was known over Christendom by his labours and his writings, should be treated in this manner, is sufficient to awaken suspicion in the breast of every man, that those by whom this deed was done, were conscious that their conduct would not bear the light. All we know of the affair is, what Mr. Wesley himself tells us, that "*Mr. Asbury quietly sat by, until his friends by common consent, voted my name out of the American minutes.*"*

And for what reason was it done? This is our third and last inquiry. And from what we have said already, it will be perceived that we do not pretend to be able to give the reasons for this most extraordinary transaction. All we presume to offer is, the result of our investigation; and if mistaken, we hope we shall be pardoned for not learning what we had not more ample means of knowing. We infer then, that Mr. Wesley's name was not voted out of the American minutes at the conference held in Baltimore in December, 1784, when the church was organised: 1st, because Dr. Coke was present at that conference, and Mr. Wesley never complained of the Doctor, nor involved him in the censure which he pronounced on Mr. Asbury and his friends, for doing as they did: 2d, because, nearly two years after that period, Mr. Wesley went on to exercise the same authority over the American Methodists that he always had done, by directing "a general conference of all our preachers to meet at Baltimore, on May 1st, 1787; and by desiring that Mr. Whatcoat should be appointed a superintendent with Mr.

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ism, and who was entered on the minutes as a bishop, at the time of his death, not one word is said about him, nor the least notice taken of his death. And he is thus treated with this cold neglect, if not contempt, notwithstanding all the pains which had been taken to impress the public mind with the belief that it was on account of the respect that was entertained for *him*, and because, "*he* preferred the episcopal form of government to any other," that it was adopted!! O! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon.

* One of the preachers to whom we addressed the circular, No. 2, in the Appendix, writes thus, "I have shed many tears over your *fourth query*. I think it was done at a conference held in May, 1787. A vote was taken, it is not for me to mention the name of the mover. Dr. Coke was sorrowful, and I was sorrowful for many months, yea, I may say years. The pretext seemed plausible. It was done, and eternity will disclose the moving cause!!"

Another of them says, "I was not present at the time when Mr. Wesley's name was stricken from our minutes: a number of the elder brethren met and did the deed before we juniors, were admitted!!" And Dr. Coke says, "Mr. Wesley *received excessive ill usage from a* FEW."

Asbury;" and 3d, because among the resolutions entered into at that conference, was the following. "Q. What can be done in order to the future union of the Methodists? A. During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands. And we *do engage*, after his death, to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion, in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our *union* with the Methodists in Europe."

As for the reasons; we have heard it asserted by some, that the conference thought, if Mr. Wesley's name was retained on the minutes, church property would be jeopardised. But we cannot see how this could be the case. The revolutionary war was terminated before this period; peace followed; and the independence of the United States was fully acknowledged by the powers of Europe. We do not believe that considerations of this kind influenced those by whom this deed was done. For if those reasons had operated upon them in the first instance, we think it probable, they would have continued to operate on them, and that his name would have been kept from being placed on the minutes again, which was not the case.

A second reason is assigned by a writer, from whose work we make the following extract. "In 1786, Mr. Asbury complained of the long Latin word *superintendent*, and wished it to be termed *bishop*. This was not all. but he proposed to the Rev. Mr. Wesley, Mr. T. Mr. W. and Mr. A. as three persons to be appointed bishops for the United States, to act under Mr. Asbury.—Mr. Wesley's answer was to this purport, and is worthy to be engraven in characters of gold. 'During my life, there shall be no ARCH-BISHOPS in the Methodist church; but send me the man of your choice, and I shall have him appointed *joint superintendent* with you.' Mr. Asbury objected to either of these men proposed as *joint superintendents* with him; but desired Mr. Wesley to send a man of his choice, and he would receive him." Mr. Wesley accordingly appointed Mr. Whatcoat.

Another reason for the omission of his name, grows out of the authority he exercised, by his letter of September 6th, 1786, in which he directed that Mr. Whatcoat might be "appointed to superintend with Mr. Asbury; but this was a thing which the American preachers would not consent to. The Doctor, who was now on his second visit to the United States, and was present at the conference, contended that the preachers were obliged to receive Mr. Whatcoat, because they had said in the conference of 1784, during the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands. Apprehensive that if Mr. Whatcoat was ordained, Mr. Wesley would recall Mr. Asbury to England," (Lee, page 126.) they renounced connexion with him, and voted his name out of their minutes.

The same reason has been assigned in a pamphlet entitled, "Truth Discovered, by Rev. Thomas Morrell, E. M. E. church."

" But you have struck Mr. Wesley's name from your minutes, in 1787," said Mr. Hammet, in his controversy with this gentleman. 'Yes,' said Mr. Morrell, and the reasons were substantial; and for the same causes, we struck it on again, in 1789. Early in 1787, Mr. Wesley intimated a design of removing Mr. Asbury from America to Europe, and of sending us a superintendent of his *own* nomination. When the conference assembled, some of the eldest and most sensible of the elders observed that Mr. W. had no authority to remove Mr. A. much less could he *impose* a superintendent on us without our choice; for it was written in our constitution, 'that no person should be ordained a superintendent over us, without the *consent* of the majority of the conference; that no such consent had been given; that though they highly venerated Mr. Wesley, and were willing to receive his advice, and preserve and promote our union with him and our Methodist brethren in Europe, as far as the political interest of our country would authorise us; yet, they could not give up their rights to any man on earth. And after a number of arguments to shew the impropriety and impolicy of *any man* having the power to exercise such an uncontrolable and unlimited authority over us as Mr. Wesley wished to do; and to prevent him from exercising this power in the present case, by virtue of his name standing at the head of the minutes, they moved it should be struck off. The vote was carried, and his name was omitted. Mr. W. complained we were ungrateful; we felt ourselves grieved that the good old man was hurt, and determined to give him every satisfaction in our power, consistent with our rights; and in 1789, the conference consented his name should be restored on the minutes, in testimony of our *union* with and *respect* for him; but inserted in such a manner, as to preclude him from exercising an unconstitutionable power over us." pa. 16 17.

Although it has been asserted in the above extracts, that the conference disowned Mr. Wesley's authority and omitted his name, because he had appointed Mr. Whatcoat a superintendent, yet we must beg leave to say we cannot believe that this was the reason. That this may have been the ostensible cause, we readily admit. And that those who have given it, may have believed it to be the sole cause, we will allow. But with all due deference for the opinion of those who may be supposed to have had much better means of information respecting this matter, we shall proceed to shew the reasons for our dissent. 1st. Mr. Wesley says, "I desire that Mr. Whatcoat may be appointed a superintendent." This is Mr. Wesley's language; and this is the sum total of his offence. It will be seen then, that *he* does not "appoint" Mr. Whatcoat a superintendent, but simply expresses a "*desire*" that he "may be appointed" one. 2. But allowing that expressing this "desire" is tantamount to the act of appointing him, what was there culpable in his doing so? Would not the age, the piety, the wisdom, the experience of Mr. Wesley justify him, as the father of the Methodist people, in giving them a word of advice, even if that advice had been perfectly gratuitous. And would not a people who were so

young, and so inexperienced, as the Methodists in this country were at that time, be thankful for the advice of a person of his years and experience, if they had been influenced by a proper spirit? 3 But it was not a gratuitous act; it was not a voluntary tender of an opinion, nor an obtrusive officiousness, on the part of Mr. Wesley; but it was an imperious act of duty, growing out of the relation in which he stood to them. Let it be distinctly remembered, that he had been repeatedly solicited to provide ministers for the American societies, and that he had been assured that "*those societies wished to be under his care*" That at the general conference of 1784, the preachers renewed these assurances, and declared that "during the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands." Now if all the former protestations were made with any other view, than merely to to prevail on Mr. Wesley to give them ordination; or if the resolution of the conference was passed in good faith, we see not how Mr. Wesley could suppose that expressing such a desire as this, would bring down upon him the displeasure of the conference, or that from such an appointment, he could anticipate such a dreadful punishment as an expulsion from their minutes.* Indeed had he not manifested his fatherly concern for their welfare, in some way or other; had he not given some evidence that their prosperity lay near his heart; had he been totally silent upon those matters that vitally affected their interests, then they might, with a greater shew of justice, have construed his silence into indifference or neglect, and declared that a name, which was in no respect, serviceable to them, should be struck off their minutes. 4. But, suppose, for argument sake, that Mr. Wesley had committed an offence by making the appointment, did his offence merit such treatment? Was there in the eye of justice, no disproportion between the punishment and the crime? Upon this point, we are confident there will be, there can be, but one opinion. Had Mr. Wesley, in his zeal to serve the American connexion, exceeded their wishes, and encroached upon what the conference considered their "rights," could not the conference have remonstrated with him upon the subject? Could they not have communicated their sentiments before they proceeded to such extremities? And could they not have informed him that they held those rights sacred, and that he must not pretend to encroach upon them; nor think of doing so with impunity? Yes, they could have done this, and a great deal more, if they had been inclined to do so, or if a determination had not been previously formed to get rid of him and his authority as quick as possible.

A fourth reason is connected with the following "Address of the *Bishops* of the Methodist Episcopal Church," to General Washington, (See Arminian Magazine, vol. 1, page 284-6.) and the treatment Dr. Coke received on his return to England, from Mr. Wesley and the English conference, in consequence thereof.

*See No. 3, Appendix.

"*To the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES.

"SIR—We, the bishops of the Methodist episcopal church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our society, collectively, in these United States, to express to you the warm feelings of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations, on your appointment to the presidentship of these States. We are conscious from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a friend of mankind; and under this established idea, place as full a confidence in your wisdom and integrity, for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of GOD, and the glorious revolution, as we believe, ought to be reposed in man.

We have received the most grateful satisfaction, from the humble and entire dependence on the Great Governor of the universe, which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging him the source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these States, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great examplar for imitation: and hence we enjoy a holy expectation that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion; the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that GOD Almighty may endue you with all the graces and gifts of his Holy Spirit, that may enable you to fill up your important station to his glory, the good of his church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.

Signed in behalf of the Methodist episcopal church.

THOMAS COKE.
FRANCIS ASBURY.

New-York, May 19th, 1789.

TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT WAS PLEASED TO GIVE THE FOLLOWING ANSWER.

To the BISHOPS *of the Methodist episcopal church, in the United States of America.*

GENTLEMEN—I return to you individually, and through you, to your society collectively, in the United States, my thanks, for the demonstration of affection, and the expressions of joy offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall still be my endeavour to manifest the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind; as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the *American* people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope by the assistance of Divine providence; not altogether to disappoint the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me. It always affords me satisfaction, when I find a concurrence in sentiment and practice between all conscientious men in acknowledgments of homage to the Great Governor of the universe, and in professions of support to a just, civil government. After mentioning that I trust the people of eve-

ry denomination who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion ; I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part, the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and I likewise implore the Divine benedictions on yourselves and your religious community.

G. WASHINGTON.

The first remark we shall make respecting this address, is this : That we have no evidence that the title of bishop was publicly assumed before this time : perhaps it was thought, that the dignified character they were about to approach, and the occasion, required the superintendents to appear in their best dress, and take the title of "bishops." *Secondly.* Although this address is dated New York, May 19th, 1789, we have evidence it was presented to General Washington, before Doctor Coke left the United States, in 1785. "From the official situation in which he (Dr. Coke) was placed by Mr. Wesley, on his arrival in America, he thought himself under a a moral necessity of joining in an address to General Washington, as President of the American congress, in behalf of all the Methodists in the United States.

"The various addresses thus presented, soon found their way into the American newspapers, and in these papers they were brought across the Atlantic. Among these addresses there was none that attracted the attention of the English Methodists so much, as that which bore the signatures of Doctor Coke and Mr. Asbury, as superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal church in the United States of America." Drew's Life of Doctor Coke, London ed. page 143, et seq. *Thirdly.* On his return to England, "a copy of this address was introduced as a ground of censure against the Doctor." *Fourthly.* "Under these circumstances, as some decisive steps were necessary to be taken in this critical affair, it was finally determined that the name of Doctor Coke should be omitted in the minutes for the succeeding year." *ibid.* It was accordingly omitted. *Fifthly.* General Washington's answer to this address is published in Drew's Life of Doctor Coke, page 106, and with the exception of one word, agrees with the above answer, taken from the Arminian Magazine. From all these facts, it is evident that the *date* of this address was altered. It was presented before the Doctor left the United States, which was on the 3d day of June, 1785, and yet, when it was published, it is dated about four years after the answer to it was given ; nor does the answer bear a date. And this is not all : the original address was presented to "General Washington, President of the American Congress"—the above is directed "To the President of the United States." When it is a well known fact that General Washington was not President of the United States, until after the confederation of the States, and the adoption of the Constitution, which took place in the year 1788.

By whom these alterations were made, and for what purposes, it is not for us to say. Some may suppose that Mr. Asbury, who was coupled with the Doctor in presenting the address, hearing of the punishment inflicted upon Dr. Coke, felt alarmed ; and that some of his friends apprehending that he also might be called to account for it by Mr. Wesley, resolved to prevent it, and as a measure of precaution or retaliation, disowned his authority, and voted his name out of the American minutes. And having, in this way, annihilated Mr. Wesley's authority, it next became necessary to change the date &c. of the address, that the assumption of the title of bishop might not appear to be the cause of such an ungrateful, if not cruel act. It is however worthy of remark, that as soon as Mr. Wesley's name was restored to the minutes, this address was published!

In the midst of such a vast range for conjecture, it would not be proper for us to say what were the reasons which led to this result. We therefor eexplicitly state, that we do not undertake to determine on this point ; nor say by whom this thing was done. All we are certain of is, that Mr. Wesley's authority was disowned by leaving his name out of the minutes;—the conference receded from the engagements which they entered into in the year 1784,—and a schism was created in the Methodist connexion. What Mr. Wesley thought of this treatment from his sons in the gospel, we learn from a letter he wrote respecting their proceedings. An extract of which is subjoined.

"*London, October* 31*st*, 1789.

"*My Dear Brother:*—

The point which you desire my thoughts upon, is doubtless of no common importance. And I will give you my settled thoughts concerning it without the least disguise or reserve. Indeed this has been always my manner of speaking when I speak of the things of God. It should be so now in particular, as these may probably be the last words that you will receive from *me*.

It pleased God sixty years ago, by me, to awaken and join together, a little company of people at Oxford, and a few years after, a small company in London, whence they spread throughout the land. Some time after, I was much importuned to send some of my children to America, to which I cheerfully consented. God prospered their labours: but they and their children still esteemed themselves one family; no otherwise divided, than as Methodists on one side of the Thames are divided from the other. I was, therefore, a little surprised when I received some letters from Mr. Asbury, affirming, that no person in Europe knew how to direct those in America. Soon after, he flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him.

He told George Shadford, 'Mr. Wesley and I are like Cæsar and Pompey—he will bear no equal, and I will bear no superior.' And accordingly he quietly sat by, until his friends, by common consent, voted my name out of the American minutes. This completed the matter and shewed he had no connexion with me."

SECTION IV.

Hitherto we have directed our attention to what we suppose was the fact, that Mr. Wesley believed the identity of bishops and presbyters; and that he did not intend by appointing Dr. Coke a superintendent, to create a third order, or institute for the societies an episcopal form of church government. And, in contemplation of this fact, we have offered such arguments and adduced such proofs only, as were calculated, in our opinion, to establish that point. But, if we turn our attention to the view which is entertained by those brethren, who insist on the admission of a third order of ministers in the Methodist episcopal church, it will afford some entertainment to the reader to see the different points of light, in which this officer is viewed, and the various sources from whence he is said to have derived his authority.

To begin with Mr. Wesley. He had been convinced, he tells us, by reading "Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain." Therefore, in the letter of appointment which he gave Dr. Coke, when he set him apart for a special work, he styles him simply, a superintendent. Lest, however, the Doctor or any other person, should mistake his design in laying hands on him, and lest this act, indicative of transferring his superintending care, should be misconstrued or magnified into the making of a bishop or the creating of a third order, "Mr. Wesley enjoined the Doctor and his associates in the most *solemn manner*, that the title of bishop should not be taken." Moore's life of Wesley, vol. 2, page 279. This being the case, it is surely not unreasonable to suppose, that Mr. Wesley explained to the Doctor, the nature of the duties he was selected to perform, and the extent of the authority with which he was invested: and it is far more likely that this was done, and the above prohibition imposed at the time the Doctor was appointed, than that it was delayed to a subsequent period. If this be natural and reasonable, is it not likely that this "solemn injunction" was communicated to Mr. Asbury also? We think it was. For surely, it cannot be supposed, that Mr. Wesley would have written in such a style and have used such remarkably strong and severe terms, to Mr. Asbury, as he does in his letter of September 20th, 1788, if he had not seen that all his previous "injunctions" and remonstrances hadbeen utterly disregarded.

As Mr. Wesley was guided in his opinions by Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church, we here offer a few extracts from the works of this learned and impartial writer. "A *presbyter*," says he, "*is a person in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a bishop; but being possessed of no place or parish, nor actually discharging it, without the permission and consent of the bishop of a place or parish.* But, lest this definition should seem obscure, I shall illustrate it by the following instance. As a curate hath the same mission and power

with the minister whose place he supplies; yet being not the minister of that place, he cannot perform there any acts of his ministerial function, without leave from the minister thereof; so a presbyter had the same order and power with the bishop whom he assisted in his cure; yet being not the bishop or minister of that cure, he could not there perform any part of his pastoral office, without the permission of the bishop thereof. So that, what was rendered bishops, priests and deacons, would be more intelligible in our tongue, if we did express it by rectors, vicars and deacons; by rectors, understanding the bishops, and by vicars, the presbyters: the former being the actual incumbents of a place, and the latter curates or assistants, and so different in degree, but yet equal in order.

"Now this is what I understand by a presbyter; for the confirmation of which there are two things to be proved.

I. That the presbyters were the bishop's curates and assistants, and so inferior to them in the actual exercise of their ecclesiastical commission.

II. That, yet notwithstanding, they had the same inherent right with the bishops, and so were not of a distinct specific order from them. Or more briefly thus:

1. That the presbyters were different from the bishops *in gradu*, or in degree: but, yet, 2. they were equal to them *in ordine*, or in order."

In going on to prove those points the writer remarks. "But though the presbyters were thus different from the bishops in degree, yet they were of the very same specific order with them, having the same inherent right to perform those ecclesiastical offices, which the bishops did, as will appear from these three arguments. 1. They discharged all those offices which a bishop did; for a presbyter, by his ordination, had as ample an inherent right and power to discharge all ecclesiastical offices, as any bishop in the world had. A bishop preached, baptized and confirmed, so did a presbyter. A bishop excommunicated, absolved and ordained, so did a presbyter. Whatever a bishop did, the same did a presbyter. The particular acts of their office were the same; the only difference that was between them, was in degree; but this proves there was none at all in order. 2. They were called by the same titles and appellations as the bishops were. And 3. They are expressly said to be of the same order with the bishops. It is expressly said by the ancients, that there were but two distinct ecclesiastical orders, viz bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons; and if there were but these two, presbyters cannot be distinct from bishops, for then there would be three. That there were but two orders, viz. bishops and deacons is plain from that golden ancient remain of *Clement Romanus*, where he thus writes. *In the country and cities where the Apostles preached, they ordained their first converts for bishops and deacons over those who should believe.* Epis. ad Corinth. pa 54. Now, if they ordained but these two, I think no one had ever a com-

mission to add a third, or to split one into two, as must be done, if we separate the order of presbyters from the order of bishops."—Lord King. pa. 75.

But some one may inquire, how was a bishop appointed, constituted or inducted? Lord King shall answer this question likewise. "When a parish or bishopric was vacant through the death of the incumbent, all the members of the parish, *both clergy and laity* met together in the church, commonly, to choose a fit person for his successor, to whom they might commit the care and government of their church." page 46. "When the *people* had thus elected a bishop, they presented him to the neighbouring bishops for their approbation and consent; because, without their concurrent assent, there could be no bishop legally instituted or confirmed." page 47. "A bishop being thus elected and confirmed, the next thing that followed was his ordination or instalment, which was done in his own church by the neighbouring bishops; as *Cyprian* mentions some bishop in his time, who went to a city called *Capse* to install a bishop; whither when they were come, they took the bishop elect, and in the presence of his flock, ordained or installed him a bishop of that church by the imposition of hands." page 49.

On these extracts we remark, 1. If Mr. Wesley was convinced of the identity of bishops and presbyters by reading such passages as the above; and yet, with this very book of Lord King in his hand, intended to create a *third order*, when he believed that there were but two, he has given unquestionable evidence, *ipso facto*, of the want of consistency and his authority should have been rejected altogether rather than have been produced for our episcopacy. But from the charge of inconsistency we wish to rescue his memory. He has given no ground to his greatest enemy to fix upon his character so foul a stain. 2. It is worthy of notice, that there is not in this quotation a single word about *divine right*, or *apostolical succession*; but the rights of bishops are made to rest on ecclesiastical usage, and this usage embraced the *suffrage* of "the clergy and laity." 3. Whatever stress there may be laid on the imposition of hands, it is very evident, that this circumstance was not sufficient to create a distinct order. Presbyters were installed, or placed over a church or congregation by this ceremony, and yet as it respects *order*, were no more than presbyters still.

The next to Mr. Wesley is Dr. Coke. We shall therefore introduce him, and hear what he says. "He," Mr. Wesley, "did indeed solemnly invest me *as far as he had a right so to do*, with episcopal authority." And yet, notwithstanding this assertion, Mr. Wesley reproves the Doctor in the following language, "how can you, how *dare* you suffer yourself to be called a *bishop!*" Whether the Doctor understood this investiture to constitute a *third order*; or whether he understood it to be an appointment for a special work, he does not say. Two things, however, are obvious. 1. He ascribes the act of investing him with "episcopal authority" to Mr. Wesley. Now, as no stream can rise higher than its fountain, and as Mr. Wesley was only a presbyter of the church of England,

he could not confer what he did not possess. 2. Mr Wesley's act, in the Doctor's own opinion, had its limitations and restrictions, for he adds "as far as he had a right so to do." Still, there is nothing about *divine right*, *apostolic authority*, or *uninterrupted succession*.

The third writer we shall notice is the Rev. Thomas Morrell, who holds the following language in his pamphlet in controversy with the Rev. Mr. Hammet. "When Mr. Wesley framed the constitution of our church, he ordained Dr. Coke a superintendent of the said church: now observe, Dr. Coke had been before ordained both a deacon and elder. Further, Dr. Coke had the orders of Mr. Wesley to ordain deacons, elders and a superintendent in America; and in virtue of this direction, he did actually ordain these *three orders* at Baltimore. Once more, in our ordination office inserted in the Prayer Book, we have the manner, in which each of these *three orders* are to be ordained, the questions to be asked, and the reply they are each to make, and all this compiled and composed by Mr. Wesley himself; and distinct ordination proves a different degree of order, if Mr. Wesley's conduct is to be admitted in proof." pa. 39.

On this extract, we shall remark. 1. That Mr. Morrell carefully avoids using the term *bishop*, although it was introduced into the minutes of conference, and we believe into the Book of Discipline, long before his pamphlet was written. 2. At the time he wrote his book, he had, we presume, no knowledge of the "*solemn injunction* imposed by Mr. Wesley, on Dr. Coke and his associates, that the title of bishop should not be taken." Either names alter the nature of things, or Mr. Morrell was mistaken in his reasoning: and subsequent events prove this to be the case. For Mr. Wesley will surely be allowed to be more capable of explaining his own views and conduct, than Mr. Morrell was. In his letter of reproof to Mr. Asbury, he expresses himself thus: "One instance of this your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called a bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call *me* a *knave* or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me a *bishop*." 3. Inasmuch as Mr. Asbury, in enumerating his authorities (see page 54) in support of his episcopal claims, has made no reference to Mr. Wesley, nor to the abridged copy of the Prayer Book, he could not have supposed, that the Prayer Book and its abridged form of ordination, furnished evidence that Mr. Wesley intended to create a third order. 4. Mr. Morrell is the first who has unequivocally asserted that there are *three orders* in our church, superintendents, elders and deacons. And he affirms, also, that "distinct ordination proves a different order," the assertion of Lord King, and we think, we may add Mr Wesley, to the contrary notwithstanding. 5. For the Methodist societies in England and Scotland, Mr. Wesley ordained ministers; one of whom he styled a superintendent. For the American societies he ordained ministers, one of whom he styled a superintendent.—To the societies in Scotland he sent the Prayer Book, but

they refused to accept it; although they were thankful to him for sending them ordained ministers. To the societies in America he sent the Prayer Book also. Did he, in the one case intend to create a "third order" and establish an *independent* Methodist episcopal church? And did he in the other case not intend to create a "*third* order" and establish an independent Methodist episcopal church? The cases are precisely alike, and Mr. Wesley's intentions we presume were precisely the same. As he did not intend to create a third order in the one case, neither did he in the other. And as he expected and desired that the societies in Scotland would remain in union with him, so did he expect that the American Methodists would remain in union with him also.

The next in order after the Rev'd. Mr. Morrell, is the Rev'd. William Phoebus This gentleman "wrote an apology for the right of ordination in the evangelical church of America, called Methodists." Not having his pamphlet, we quote from "Myles's history of the Methodists," page 164. "The Methodists, in America, have as good a presbyterian ordination as any in the world, (for a sufficient number of presbyters have been always present, at the time of ordaining, from the day we first began until now.) And as good an episcopal ordination as any in the world, while one of father Wesley's successors is with her (i. e. with the church) vested with apostolic authority, being in a land where merit may rise. I exhort my brethren to be courageous, and never to be ashamed of our apostle WESLEY, and to keep an eye to that succession, and know, and let the people know, that God has given power to his ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the privileges of the gospel."

"Speaking of the fact, he says Mr. Wesley did, in the presence of a sufficient number of presbyters and brethren, after supplication and prayer to the adorable Trinity, set apart and consecrate Thomas Coke, a presbyter, a man who had embarked in the same good cause, and counted his good name among the world, his literary qualifications, his ease, his wealth, his all on earth, but dung and dross, that he might win souls to Christ, and be found in his righteousness. Him he ordained his apostle or messenger to us, with outlines of advice for us to adopt, as we saw most conducive to the general good, *recommending to us the New Testament for our pattern.*

Then with his power, and the fear of God, we assembled at the city of Baltimore in the state of Maryland, and received Thomas Coke, L. L. D. with his testimonials, from the greatest man to *us* in the world. He proceeded to form the first church that ever was organized under a pure *republican* government, and the first that was ever formed in this happy part of the world.

There were branches of different churches in America before, but all were formed in Europe, as witness their title, viz. Westminster, Scotch, Heidelberg, Church of England, German Church, Moravian, &c. &c.

In the year of our Lord 1785, and in the ninth year of the Independence of the United States, on the first day of January, we

thought it not robbery to call our society a church, having in it, and of it, several presbyters and a president. Francis Asbury was ordained deacon; having used the office sometime, was ordained a presbyter; having used that office well, was accounted worthy of double honour; and consecrated prime minister of the Methodist episcopal church in America."

Every one will readily perceive, how the subject swells in grandeur and importance as we get along; and how each consecutive writer contributes his part, to make "our blushing honours grow thick upon upon us." Commencing with *two* orders, we soon arrived at a *third*; and plain John Wesley, the fountain of our episcopal authority is, in a little while, improved into "*Father* Wesley," and then again into our "*Apostle* Wesley," and some delicate allusions are made to "succession" and "apostolic authority." But, notwithstanding Dr. Phoebus's piece is bespangled with all these pretty fine things, the Rev'd. Mr. Bangs does not seem satisfied with it. Not, because too much was said by Dr. Phoebus in favor of our episcopacy, which is of that peculiar description that it partakes of a "presbyterian ordination as good as any in the world;" and "an episcopal ordination as good as any in the world;" but because he failed to set forth our bishops in their proper character. We next turn to Mr. Bangs.

"The second officer in the church, in the order of the ministry is *elder* or *presbyter*, and who is sometimes called *bishop*. That those denominated *bishops*, *elders* or *presbyters* in the apostolical writings, were one and the same order of men, we will now endeavour to demonstrate." Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy. page 19. Again he says "a *third order* in the church, called evangelists, were the immediate successors of the Apostles." page 42. "These evangelists were, in the apostles' days, an order of ministers superior to the elders, and who extended their oversight to the whole church." page 27. "And this order of men bore the same relation to the primitive church that the bishops of the Methodist episcopal church do to their church." page 46. "The primitive church had its itinerating apostles, and superintending evangelists as their aids and successors: that we have a grade of ministers in our church, *which very much resembles* them, is a fact, which needs but little proof to make it evident. The Methodist bishops are itinerating ministers, who travel through the whole work, and are therefore able to take an impartial and responsible oversight of the whole church, ministers and people. The primitive evangelists ordained elders in every city—our itinerating bishops do the same."* page 49.

However specious this hypothesis of the Rev'd. Mr. Bangs may appear, and however striking the similarity between a primitive evangelist and a Methodist bishop may be considered, it is liable to several objections. 1. It supposes that the *ordinary* ministers of our church, "very much resemble" the *extraordinary* ministers of

*This doctrine has been recently advanced with a great shew of learning, Hebrew and Greek being summoned to its support in the Methodist Magazine.

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the church of Christ at its establishment; or rather, are of the same *order* with them. "The *extraordinary* teachers, whom Christ employed to lay the foundation of his kingdom, were the twelve apostles, and the seventy disciples. To these, the *Evangelists* are to be added, by which title those were distinguished, whom the apostles sent to instruct the nations." Wesley's church history. vol 1. page 55. 2d. It affirms that the evangelists were "successors" of the apostles, when nothing can be clearer, we think, than that they were contemporary with them. As their powers, like those of the apostles were *extraordinary*, their office too was *temporary*. Consequently they could be no precedent for an order of ministers in our church. 3. It is contrary to matter of fact recorded in scripture history, by which we are authorised to say that there were but *two orders* of ministers in the primitive church, deacons, and presbyters or bishops. 4. Because it asserts that the evangelists were a distinct order from deacons and presbyters, and superior to both; whereas Philip the *evangelist* was one of the seven *deacons*. Acts XXI. ch. ver. 8. "The evangelists and teachers, who are often spoken of in the Acts and epistles, were *inferior* both to the apostles and prophets, and consequently were of the *lowest* order." Potter, page 210. 5. Because it affirms that the evangelists were "*continually* moving from place to place," having no charge of any one particular congregation, but "extending their oversight to the whole church." Whereas, Philip the evangelist, *resided* in Cesarea with his family. Compare Acts XXI. ch. 8 ver. with Acts VIII. ch. 40 ver. See, also, Dr. A. Clarke's note on the latter text. And we have no information that Philip extended his "oversight" to any one particular congregation, much less "to the whole church." 6. Because it confounds the *orders*, by supposing that when a minister itinerated he was an *evangelist*, and was of the *third* order, as in the case of Timothy and Titus; but when the same person was placed in charge of any one particular church or congregation, as Timothy was placed at Ephesus, and Titus left at Crete, then he was only of the *second order*, being only a presbyter or bishop. 7. Because it makes the difference in *order* to consist in itinerating, a thing which neither Mr. Bangs, nor any one else can prove.

After noticing the Rev'd. Mr. Bangs's theory, we shall introduce the Rev'd. Mr. Asbury. In his journals vol. 3. page 168, he writes thus "Wednesday 22 (May 1805). We came away to the widow Sherwood's where I preached: I had a little time to read. In this state the subjects of *succession*, *rebaptizing*, are much agitated. I will tell the world what I rest my authority upon. 1. Divine authority. 2. Seniority in America 3. The election of the general conference. 4. My ordination by Thomas Coke, William Philip Otterbine, German Presbyterian minister, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey. 5. Because the signs of an apostle have been seen in me." Great as our veneration for the memory of this good man is, and highly as we esteemed him in his life time, we cannot suffer ourselves to pass over this extract without making a few observations upon it. 1. We think it quite unnecessary to enter into any ar-

gument to prove, that by the phrase "my authority," Mr. Asbury did not mean an authority to preach God's word, but an authority to govern and act as a *bishop*. He is the first, then, who has ascribed episcopal power to "divine authority," and we are at a loss to know, in what way he conceived he became possessed of it. As he has neglected to inform us respecting this matter, and has given us neither chapter nor verse for what he says, we shall let it rest until some of the friends of the episcopacy shall supply this omission, and make us acquainted with the time, and place, and circumstances of his receiving this "divine" warrant. 2. "Seniority" alone bestows no ministerial qualification, nor have the general conferences acted on this principle in the choice of our bishops, nor the annual conferences in the choice of their representatives. And even if "seniority" would justify a claim to the office, others were entitled to it before him. Philip Embury and other *local preachers* laboured in the word and doctrine and had erected a meeting house in the city of New York before Mr. Asbury came to America. 3. Had the laity been united with the general conference in their election, it would have corresponded with Lord King's account of the induction of a primitive bishop; but as the laity had no share in the election, the general conference had no right to act in this matter for the church. 4. It seems somewhat remarkable, that Mr. Wesley's name should have been omitted in this catalogue; and that Mr. Asbury should seem inclined to acknowledge every other source from whence he could be supposed to derive his episcopal authority, but Mr. Wesley. Leaving Mr. Otterbine's name out of our remaks, as he did not belong to our church, two of the remaining three appear to be doubtful of the validity of their own ordination, and consequently of their right to ordain others. Dr. Coke's proposals to Bishop White of Philadelphia shall serve as proof of the first; and if we are correct in decyphering the name by the initials, we have proof in Mr. Asbury's Journals, that Thomas Vasey was as much dissatisfied, on this point, if not more so, than Dr. Coke himself.

"Pennsylvania—Wednesday 22, (June 1787.) We had a warm ride through a fertile pleasant country to Trenton; and on Thursday 28th to Philadelphia. Here I found T. V." (Thomas Vasey) "had scattered fire brands and thrown dirt to bespatter us." vol. 2. page 17. And again on the same page, he says "I find T. V." (Thomas Vasey) "has misrepresented us as having cast off Mr. Wesley, making this a plea for his *re-ordination*."

6. Passing over what we deem a logical inaccurary, such a one as would put the effect for the cause, or assign the fruit of the tree as the cause of its productiveness, we shall notice what he says in his fifth reason, respecting "the signs of an apostle which have been seen in me." These signs were such as he possessed in common with other gospel ministers, or they were not. If they were, how could he appropriate to himself exclusively, what was common to all? If they were not, what were those signs of an Apostle to which he laid claim, and which were to be found in him alone? He pretended

to no supernatural visions nor revelations. He never professed to be able to cure the sick or raise the dead. We believe he never wrought any miracles as the Apostles did, nor made any pretensions to be able to work them. That he was a great, wise, good, and useful minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, having few to equal him, we feel a pleasure in declaring: but that he possessed any one of those *extraordinary* powers which were conferred on the apostles, or that he was called of God to do the special work which the Apostles were appointed to perform, we hope it will be considered no detraction from his well earned reputation, to deny.

Next to Mr. Asbury, comes the Rev'd. William M'Kendree, the senior bishop of the Methodist episcopal church. On the authority of "an old member of the Philadelphia conference," we give the following extract from bishop M'Kendree's address laid before the Philadelphia conference in May, 1822. "I believe the resolutions passed at the last general conference, authorising the respective annual conferences to elect the presiding elders, are an infringement on the constitution of the Methodist episcopal church. One of many reasons in support of this opinion is as follows: It is the duty of a bishop to travel through the work at large; to oversee the *spiritual* and *temporal* concerns of the church. But to oversee is to OVERRULE." Wesleyan Repository, vol. 2. page 385.

This extract is short, but it is pithy. It is small in size, but it is lofty in significance. Although much might be said on it, we shall make two remarks only. 1 It seems to intimate that a bishop's judgment is more correct and more to be relied on than the judgment of the majority of the general conference. This, with some, may be a thing of course; for it has been said "A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn." This superior judgment is not a full and explicit avowal of *infallibility*, but it is an approximation to it. It places the decision of the senior bishop, above the general conference; as some Romish writers make the Pope's decision to be greater than that of a general council 2. In the extract from Mr. M'Kendree's predecessor, we had "divine authority" for the exercise of episcopal power. Here we have that power, by the same authority we presume, extending its gracious and superintending care, not only to the *spiritual* concerns of the church, but *over-ruling* its TEMPORAL matters, also.

Finally, we shall make a passing remark on the "circular" of the general conference of 1824, which bears the signatures of the three bishops, William M'Kendree, Enoch George, and Robert R. Roberts. This document, which we wish our readers to consider as the principal exciting cause of this investigation, exceeds all that went before, and may in truth be said to cap the climax:* for we do not

*In a letter which we wrote to bishop George, two years ago, we expressed ourselves respecting this "*Circular*" in the following manner. "A paper drawn up by a committee of twelve preachers, discussed and approved by at least one hundred ministers in general conference, and bearing the signature of three bishops. In this document there are no more than *two subjects* noticed, MONEY and POWER, or the salaries of the preachers, and the

know how it is possible to go beyond the pretensions therein set forth. Let the "world" know then, that this document purports to be a reply to the numerous petitions which were sent from the local ministers and laymen of the church, praying for a representation in the general conference. In these petitions, the matters prayed for were asserted to be the "unalienable rights" of the petitioners. To which these three bishops reply in behalf of the said general conference, "PARDON US IF WE KNOW NO SUCH RIGHTS—IF WE COMPREHEND NO SUCH PRIVILEGES." Here, then, is the exclusive right of travelling preachers to legislate for the church, asserted: and local ministers and laymen, who are denied a participation in legislation, are reduced, in this respect, to the condition of slaves. We have often said to our friends, in remarking upon this declaration, that we wonder these three brethren were not ashamed to sign and send forth such a circular, to freemen in these United States And as we never have allowed ourselves, since the day we knew the Lord, to make any observations respecting a person, behind his back, which we would be unwilling to make to that same person, to his face; we now say of these three brethren, we wonder they were not ashamed; and the only way we can account for their conduct in this instance, is this, that a *bishop's spirit came upon them*, and we have no where read, in ecclesiastical history, that bishops were ever very backward to assert their pretensions.

To recapitulate the leading points: every one will perceive with what rapidity we have advanced in our career of ambition and glory; and with what boldness the pretensions of our bishops have been set forth by themselves or their advocates. In forty years we have outstript Rome herself, in her march to grandeur; and it would seem, that what some writers have affirmed respecting the Western hemisphere, namely, that every thing in America is upon a larger and grander scale, and that the natural productions sooner arrive at maturity here, than on the Eastern continent, is to be verified in our church matters also. We began our church establishment a few years ago, and rested the foot of our ecclesiastical ladder upon Mr. Wesley's authority; but his authority was soon rejected. The first step of our ladder is the identity of bishops and presbyters, or *two* orders. The second, "episcopal authority" with limitations and restrictions. The third, *three* distinct orders. The fourth, a

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right of the itinerant ministry to legislate for the church. And so intent was the general conference upon establishing this right, and so perfectly absorbed were their minds with this subject, that the name of God, of Jesus Christ* or the Holy Ghost, is not named in the circular. In it, there is no allusion to the doctrines of the fall, nor to the recovery of man by the death of Christ. The terms repentance, faith or holiness are not mentioned in it from beginning to end. There is not a single promise referred to as a motive to duty, or as an encouragement to perseverance; nor the slightest reference to heaven as the reward of the righteous. In it will be found no expression of thanksgiving to the great Head of the Church for past mercies; nor a word of prayer for future favors"!!

*The invidious comparison made between the "*love* of Christ" and the "*love* of authority" cannot invalidate the above assertion.

" presbyterian ordination, and an episcopal ordination as good as any in the world." The fifth, Methodist bishops, " very much resemble" primitive evangelists. The sixth, " divine authority" for episcopal power. The seventh, a right " to overrule the spiritual and temporal concerns of the church." The eighth, " divine right" to legislate for the church to the exclusion of local preachers and laymen. By such steps have we advanced to the ground we now occupy; and time alone can develope what other steps may be added in the progress of the work. We have no idea, however, that the present bishops have found a stopping place; nor that they or their successors will voluntarily relinquish one particicle of their authority. Indeed, we are rather inclined to think, they will still continue their exertions to ascend. And, that what was said of the bishops of another church, may be said by the future historian respecting them. " It is very remarkable that of the one hundred and fourteen Popes between Boniface III. who laid the foundation of the papal grandeur, and Gregory VII. who raised it to the highest pitch, not one ever lost an inch of ground his predecessor had gained." Bower's history of the Popes. Preface.

Before we dismiss this part of our subject, we shall anticipate an objection that may possibly be made against us, and answer it.—Some one may say, that by arguing against Methodist bishops being a third order, different from presbyters and superior to them, we are arguing against the validity of our own ordination; and the ordination among the Methodists. Not so, for according to our views of the nature and effect of an ordination, if the authority of the bishops, so called, in the Methodist episcopal church, was totally renounced, the validity of the ordination of all our ordained ministers would remain unimpaired; or, otherwise it must follow as an undeniable consequence, that there was no valid ordination in the primitive church, when there were but two orders of ministers. If the objection has any weight in the one case, it must have equal weight in the other; seeing there were but two orders in the church for upwards of three hundred years after Christ. That there were but two, viz. bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons, is a fact which we think is clearly established by ecclesiastical writers. And, although we do not know that this thing requires any further proof, we shall add a few more authorities to those which we have already given.

1. " The rulers of the church were called either presbyters or bishops, which two titles are, in the New Testament, undoubtedly applied to the same order of men." Mosheim, vol. 1. p. 99.

2. " It is certain the words, bishops and presbyters, are used promiscuously in the New Testament. Bishop Hoadly and Dr. Hammond both of them allow this: and it is Dr. Hammond's opinion, that there were only presbyters and deacons in each church at first." Doddridge's Lectures, vol. 2. pa. 339.

3. " As for Iranæus, I meet with no passage in him to prove that bishops and presbyters were distinct." *Ibid.* vol. 2. pa. 346.

4. " Polycarp exhorts the Christians at Phillippi to be subject to the presbyters and deacons; but, says not one word of any bishop

being then at Phillippi; nor gives any direction about choosing one." *Ibid.* pa. 347.

5 "I believe, upon the strictest inquiry, Medina's judgment will prove true, that Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Sidulius, Primastus, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, were all of Arius's judgment as to the identity of both name and order of bishops and presbyters in the primitive church." Stillingfleet's Iren. page. 276.

6 "The Greek and Latin fathers, do, with one consent, declare the Apostle here calls their presbyters their bishops. So Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcuminius, Theophylact, St. Jerome, Pseud-Ambrosius and Primastus." Whitby on Phil. 1 ch. 1 verse.

7. "Now, as these elders are called bishops in verse 28, we may take it for granted, that they were the *same order*: or, rather, that these superintendents of the church were indifferently called either presbyters or bishops." Dr. A. Clarke, on Acts 20. ch. 17. verse. See also verse 28.

8. "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order." Rev'd. John Wesley.

9. "John Wickliffe, the morning star of the reformation, who flourished about one hundred and thirty years before the reformation of Luther, is very positive *with regard to the identity of the order of bishops and priests in the apostolic age.* "One thing I boldly assert, that in the primitive church, or in the time of the apostle Paul, two orders of clergy were thought sufficient, viz. priest and deacon; and I do also say, that in the time of Paul, a priest and a bishop were one and the same; for in those times the distinct orders of Pope, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, and deans, were not invented." Neal's His. of the Puritans, vol. 1. pa. 51.

"The first reformers believed there were but *two orders* in holy scripture, viz. bishops and deacons; and consequently that bishops and priests were but different ranks or degrees of the same order." Ibid, pa. 123.

"Archbishop Usher says, "I have ever declared my opinion to be, that *episcopus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine,* (a bishop and presbyter differ only in degree, not in order) and consequently, that in places where bishops cannot be had, the ordination by presbyters stands valid." "This was the constant sense of our first reformers, Cranmer, Pilkington, Jewel, Grindal, Whitgift, &c. and even of Bancroft himself; for when Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, moved that the Scots bishops elect might first be ordained presbyters, in the year 1610, Bancroft replied there was no need of it, since *ordination by presbyters was valid.*" *Ibid* vol. 2. pa. 412.

Other names might be added to these authorities, but it is supposed these will suffice to establish the identity of bishops and presbyters; and the right of presbyters to ordain.

And, if it could be proved that bishops are a different order from presbyters and superior to them, what advantage would be gained thereby? We have already shewn the opinions of episcopalians

upon this subject. Are the Methodists prepared to subscribe to them? Do they think, "there is no valid christian ministry," without ordination by a person of the *third order?* Will they affirm, "no one has a right to execute the ministerial office, without having previously received a divine commission; and the exclusive right of granting this commission is vested in the bishops *as successors of the apostles.*"? Will they publish to the world "no bishop, no church."? Can they plead for this third order, without connecting with it, the doctines set forth in the above quotations, and many more? We think not. For, as the person who draws the first link of a chain necessarily drags all the other links after it; so does the advocate of a distinct order of bishops, superior to presbyters, necessarily involve in his plea, all the above consequences. Who, then, renders Methodism the greater service, we who plead for the parity of presbyters and bishops, and the consequent right of presbyters to ordain, or those who insist on the superiority of bishops to the order of presbyters, and pompously talk about "divine authority," and "apostolic succession"? Away with such childish things. The cause of holiness is not promoted by them. The success of the gospel does not depend upon them. Nor is any, nor all of these high sounding words of vanity the passport to those everlasting joys which are at God's right hand.

Still it may be a question with some, can there be an ordination without the imposition of the hands of a bishop? We think there can. For, whether we consider "the essence of ordination to consist in the setting apart a person by the imposition of hands;" or "the voluntary choice and call of the people," or both; it will not follow that a third order of ministers is necessary to ordain. See Buck's Theological Dictionary. Art. Ordination. See also Dr. A. Clarke on Acts 13. ch. 23 ver.

1. "When our Lord chose *the twelve*, that he might send them forth to preach, he is said to have *ordained* them: but the word ποιέω imports no more than to constitute, appoint, elect, and there is not the slightest intimation that he used any ceremonious consecration." Isaac's ecclesiastical claims. p. 84.

2. "There is not the slightest evidence in the whole of the New Testament that the apostles ordained either co-adjutors or successors to themselves in the apostolic office." *Ibid.* pa. 86.

3. "It was the common practice of the apostles to put their hands on persons recently converted. Peter and John laid their hands on the disciples at Samaria, and they received the Holy Ghost. Paul laid his hands on all the disciples at Ephesus, and they received the Holy Ghost." pa. 95. "But, though we read of the apostles laying hands on persons recently baptized, that they might receive the Holy Ghost; and on the overseers of the poor, when elected to serve tables, we no where read of the laying on of their hands at the ordination of presbyters." *Ibid.* pa. 140.

4 "The only persons who conferred holy orders, that we read of, were Paul and Barnabas, Timothy and Titus: the two former were apostles, and the two latter were evangelists. And as the

apostles have said nothing about the necessity of ordination, nor who are to perform it, nor what rites and ceremonies are to be used in it, we may justly infer, it is a matter of no great moment." *Ibid.* pa. 145.

5. "Tertullian" quoted by arch-bishop Potter, page 154, "says, where no clergyman is present, laymen may baptize and celebrate the eucharist, the distinction between clergy and laity being of the church's appointing."

6 "Imposition of hands is not, certainly, essential to ordination; *it is not ordination itself*, but an expressive, significant act, by which ordination is indicated, a mode of doing that which may be otherwise done." English Methodist Magazine. vol. 48. pa. 184.

7. "Ordination was never deemed necessary to *a preacher*, till within a few years past. And St. Ambrose says, that in the beginning of Christianity, for the augmentation and increase of the church, a general commission was granted unto all, both to preach the gospel and baptize, and to explain the scriptures in ecclesiastical assemblies." Bingham's Antiquities, book 14. chap. 4.

8. "In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or priest, *needeth no consecration* by the scriptures, for *election* or *appointing* thereto is sufficient." Stillingfleet's Iren. pa. 392.

9. "If we determine things by the importance of words, and things signified by them, the power of ordination was proper to the name *presbyter*, and *not* to the name *bishop*." Iren. pa. 286. Again "in the primitive church the presbyters all acted in common for the welfare of the church, and either did, or might ordain others to the same authority with themselves; because the intrinsical power of order is equally in them, and in those who were afterwards appointed governors over presbyters." Iren. pa. 273.

10. "A presbyter by his ordination had as ample an inherent right and power to discharge all clerical offices, as any bishop in the world had." And again, "presbyters were of the very same specific order with them (bishops) having the same inherent right to perform those ecclesiastical offices which the bishops did," Lord King. pa. 58.

11. "Bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain." Rev'd. John Wesley.

As a third order is unnecessary, and in our opinion, contrary to primitive ecclesiastical usage; it is a matter of surprise to us, that any attempt should ever have been made to foist it on us. To say that God would not have owned his word, or prospered his cause, if we had not assumed the episcopal form of church government, would not only be to attach an importance to a particular modification of government, for which we can produce no scriptural warrant, but it would be to limit the Holy One of Israel in his gracious operations. It would be to cast uncharitable and unjust reflections on other christian communities, who are opposed to episcopacy; and would not only give proof that we entertain very unworthy thoughts of the Deity, but would be falsified by the existence and prosperity of the Methodist connexion in Europe. As we have no evidence

that it has served, or can serve any good purpose, we think, it altogether unnecessary. But, as we believe it has been, and ever will be productive of evil, we think it ought to be abolished. That it has been an apple of discord, engendering strife and contention, we think is quite clear. And that it will ultimately be the means of severing the connexion, is, in our judgment, beyond a doubt. Under this deep impression, we would venture to entreat the men who fill the office, to hearken to the advice of Mr. Wesley, and "make a full end of this." We would beg them to come down from that elevation to which they have been raised. It only serves to make them dizzy; and is in fact, too high for them to be safe. The circular of the last general conference may serve as proof of the unhappy effects which their elevation has had upon their judgment; for their brethren, who petitioned to be represented in legislation, are pronounced to have "*no rights*," and seen at such a distance, are treated as if they were an inferior order of beings.

SECTION V.

Having given a view of the origin of our episcopacy, and the means which were used to give it currency with the people, we proceed now to shew that from its commencement, it has had a tendency to create dissensions and divisions among the bishops and travelling preachers, as well as among the societies. And in proof of this we submit the following facts.

First. The manner in which the Doctor discharged the duties of the new office he was appointed to fill, and the title of bishop which he assumed, in connexion with Mr. Asbury in their joint address to General Washington, president of the American Congress, involved him in difficulties, not only with Mr. Wesley and the British conference, as we have seen already, but with the American conference also. We have stated, that upon his return to Europe in 1785, he was impeached before the conference, and his name was left out of their minutes for one year.—Upon his return to the United States in, 1787, several complaints were preferred against him before the conference, held in Baltimore, the same year. "The Doctor acknowledged his faults—begged pardon—and gave the conference the following certificate."

"I do solemnly engage, by this instrument, that I never will, by virtue of my office as superintendent of the Methodist church, during my absence from the United States of America, exercise any government whatever, in the said Methodist church, during my absence from the United States, And I do also engage, that I will exercise no privilege in the said church when present in the United States, except that of ordaining according to the regulations and laws already existing, or hereafter to be made in the said church, and that of presiding, when present in conference, and lastly that of travelling at large. Given under my hand, the second day of May, in the year 1787. THOMAS COKE.

Witnesses, JOHN TUNNIL, JOHN HAGERTY, NELSON REED."

Lee's history of Methodism, pa. 125.

Whatever view others may take of this subject, we consider it to have been the effect of episcopacy, and to have grown out of a struggle for the exercise of episcopal prerogative, as appears from the face of the certificate; and it may be said, the unpleasant effects of it were never removed to the day of the Doctor's death.

Second. In the year 1789, a little more than four years after the introduction of episcopacy, "a plan was laid for holding a council. The bishops said they had made it a matter of prayer; and they believed it was the best plan they could think of." Lee, pa. 149. The object of having a council was to prevent the preachers from coming together in general conference, notwithstanding Mr. Wesley in his letter of Sept. 6th, 1786, had recommended that measure. And here by the way, in looking over the history of the council, which was pronounced by preachers, who were in favor of a general conference, to be an arbitrary and high handed measure, we are constrained to take notice that the powers claimed by the council, and those claimed by the general conference of 1824 are precisely the same: and that the arguments used on the former occasion to set forth those claims, and prevent a general conference of the preachers, do not differ in substance from those used by the general conference of 1824, against *representation*. There was, however, some opposition to the measure; but the movers of the plan had the high gratification of finding their projects succeed. The council accordingly met. They formed their *constitution*. They declared their powers, and plenary ones, it must be confessed, they were: for they declare "they shall have power to mature and resolve on *all things* relative to the *spiritual and temporal* interest of the church." Did those who profess to derive their authority in the church from St. Peter himself, ever claim more? Is it possible to claim more? Yet, strongly intrenched as they were behind their *constitution*, the council had only an ephemeral existence. It met, it is true, to meet again: but after the second meeting, it broke up to meet again no more for ever. "Their proceedings," says Lee, in his history of Methodism, pa. 158, "gave such dissatisfaction to our connexion in general, and to our travelling preachers in particular, that they were forced to abandon the plan, and there has never since been a meeting of the kind." And we may add, so offensive was the very name, that "the bishops requested that the name of the council might not be mentioned in the conference again." Thus ended a measure that gave great dissatisfaction—excited violent opposition from the travelling preachers and the laity—and threatened, for a while, the dissolution of the body and the overthrow of the episcopal government.

Third. From the time the preachers had assumed the name of the Methodist episcopal church, it had been customary for Mr. Asbury to appoint each one to his respective station or circuit, and no man had any right to question the propriety of the exercise of this power, or oppose the execution of this part of our discipline. This prerogative, the reader will recollect, was solemnly renounced by Dr. Coke in the certificate which he gave the conference; nor was

he ever afterwards allowed to resume it. But with Mr. Asbury the exercise of this power was never interrupted. He held this rein of government firmly in his own hand, sensible, no doubt, that as long as he had it in his sole power to give places to preachers, and preachers to whatever places he chose, he would never want men or means to carry into execution whatever measures he wished. To him, it belonged to send a preacher where he pleased ; and in a restricted sense, it was immaterial to him whether the preacher chose to go or not—whether he considered it convenient to go or not—or whether the place to which he was appointed to go, would agree with his health and constitution or not. This tremendous power over the comfort—the supplies—the health—nay the life and death of the preacher, began to be considered by the travelling preachers themselves, as too mighty to be exercised by any one man. If the objections entertained by the preacher against his appointment were ever so reasonable and just, it was altogether optional with the bishop, whether he would hear them or not. If he heard them, well : but if he did not choose to alter the appointment, the preacher had no alternative, but to go to his circuit or go home. To prevent the abuse of this tremendous power, and to give the preacher security against the exercise of it, Mr. James O'Kelly, a travelling preacher from Virginia, offered, in the general conference of 1792, the following resolution. " Resolved, after the bishop appoints the preachers at conference to their several circuits, if any one think himself injured by the appointment, he shall have liberty to appeal to the conference and state his objections : and if the conference approve his objections, the bishop shall appoint him to another circuit."

It is far from our intention, to enter into an examination of the merits of this resolution, or to shew the necessity or propriety of such a check on the bishop's power. Instead therefore, of offering our own speculations, we shall present the opinion of Dr. Coke respecting the subject of this resolution, and then give the words of the historian who was present and bore a part in the transactions of that day.

Dr. Coke says in a printed circular, dated Wilmington, Delaware, May 4th, 1791. " Five things we have in view. 1. The abolition of the arbitrary aristocracy. 2. The investing of the nomination of the presiding elders in the conferences of the districts. 3. The limitation of the districts to be invested in the general conference. 4. An appeal allowed each preacher on the reading of the stations. And 5. A general conference of at least two thirds of the preachers as a check upon every thing.

But a good superintendent will not do the wrong you fear. I answer a good superintendent is but a man, and man is fond of power. But a good superintendent may become a tyrant, or be succeeded by one. O stand up for liberty, be friends of mankind in all things."

Mr. Lee says " this motion brought on a long debate ; the arguments for and against the proposal were weighty, and handled in a masterly manner. There never had been a subject before us which

so fully called forth all the strength of the preachers." page 179.

In this memorable affair, Mr. M'Kendree, now our senior bishop, took a distinguished part: and it was on account of the rejection of this resolution that he withdrew from the connexion.* Through the course of this warm and protracted debate, he is represented to have been a strenuous advocate for the *appeal;* and so hostile was he to the exercise of this power, by Mr. Asbury, without a check, that rather than submit to what he called tyranny,† he with Mr. O'Kelly and several other preachers chose to leave the church. For this step, we know, Mr. M'Kendree has been censured. But on what ground? Surely it could not be considered a reflection upon his wisdom or discernment, to have perceived the evils which were likely to grow out of such unlimited power over the destinies of the preachers. Nor could he have been blamed for sympathising with the oppressed, or taking part with the "injured." Is his love for the itinerant cause liable to be questioned, when in the very body of the resolution for the appeal, the power to over-rule the objections of the preacher, is vested in a conference of itinerant ministers? If any blame will attach to him on the page of history,‡ we presume it will not be attributed to him for acting such a magnanimous part, and as a free citizen of the United States of America refusing to submit to such "arbitrary" and "tyrannical" rule; but because he receded from the lofty ground he then took, and afterwards allowed himself to receive and exercise that very power which he had so strongly condemned in Mr. Asbury. This *appeal* was the origin and cause of a secession from the Methodist episcopal church, of such great extent, that in less than five years, the minutes of conference exhibit a decrease of 20,000 members, which was about one third of the whole number in the connexion at that time.

4. There have been several other secessions since that period, in different parts of the United States. Some in Virginia—in Ken-

* "Sunday 25. Came to Manchester, W. M'Kendree and R. H—— sent me their resignation in writing." Asbury's Journal vol 2, pa. 148.

† A correspondent writes thus: "The Rev'd E. C of the Philadelphia conference, has given, in the third volume of the Wesleyan Repository, pa. 303, some of the words which Mr. M'K. used in the debate. "*It is an insult to my understanding; and such an arbitrary stretch of power, so tyrannical (or) despotic, that I cannot, (or) will not submit to it.*"

‡ "Æneas Sylvius Piccolomoni, who succeeded to the pontificate that same year, under the title of Pius II. rendered his name much more illustrious not only by his extensive genius and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his name was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof of his inconstancy, or rather of his bad faith; for after having vigourously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness the cause of the council of Basil against Eugenius IV he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration." Wesley's Church History, vol. III. pa. 29.

tucky—in Ohio—in Pennsylvania—in New York—and in New England. But, last year, ministers and representatives from these several parties held a convention in the city of New York—united themselves under the name of the Methodist Society—and published a declaration of independence, their articles of religion, and the constitution of their church. All these, when taken collectively, go far to prove, that episcopacy, to say the least, has not the power to preserve the unity of the body in the bonds of peace. And we know it to be a fact, that several of these secessions had their origin in objections to the episcopal form of church government.

5. From the time that presiding elders were created, we believe, the order has not been very popular with some of the preachers; and of late years, the dislike has become so strong, and has spread so extensively throughout the societies, that now the abolition of the office of presiding elder is pretty generally desired. Against the power of the bishops to appoint them, many of the travelling preachers have been long clamorous. For twenty years, they have not failed to bring forward resolutions, in each general conference, to deprive the bishops of the right to appoint them, and to make them elective by the annual conferences. At the general conference of 1820, the matter was again introduced, and submitted to the consideration of a committee consisting of six, three of whom were chosen from the party in favor of the change, and three from the party opposed to it. This committee came to a compromise, and unanimously reported in favor of the bishops nominating three for every vacancy, out of which number the annual conference should elect one; and this measure had the hearty approbation of bishops George and Roberts. But, although the conference adopted the report by a very large majority, yet Mr. Soule, the bishop elect, and Mr. M'Kendree the senior bishop, protested against the proceedings of the general conference; and refused to abide by their decisions, the latter declared his intention of appealing to the annual conferences respecting the unconstitutionality of the measure. And thus, in addition to all the other divisions which we have already mentioned, we have one among the bishops themselves, and the members of the general conference; some of the preachers arraying themselves on the side of Mr. M'Kendree and Mr. Soule in favor of the bishop's right to appoint presiding elders—and others taking sides with Mr. George and Mr. Roberts against it. These resolutions, making the presiding elders elective, were suspended until the general conference of 1824, and they have remained in that state ever since. What Methodist does not know these things? And who is there that requires to be told that the bishops themselves, notwithstanding their pretensions to unanimity, are divided even now, two against three, and three against two? Such is the representation that has constantly been made to us, and such, we believe, to be a true representation.

Among the many proofs which might be adduced to establish this fact, we select and offer an official document, which bears the signatures of two of the bishops: and this surely will be consider-

ed the best evidence that the case will admit. In the "Christian Advocate," a *religious newspaper* printed at our book room in New York, for the Methodist episcopal church, we have the copy of a "letter from the Rev'd. Bishops George and Hedding to the presisident and members of the British conference, late in connexion with the Rev'd John Wesley," from which we make the following extract.

"Dear Fathers and Brethren—From a concurrence of circumstances, which it is not necessary to explain, arising principally, however, from the unexpected failure of a full meeting of the episcopal board, it has been found inconvenient to elect and send a delegate to your conference the present year.

ENOCH GEORGE,
ELIJAH HEDDING."

New-York, May 17th, 1826.

With regard to this letter we say (1.) That it was published at the Methodist book rooms in England and in America, and sent to the four quarters of the globe; consequently it can be no secret, nor can it be deemed a crime for us to give the above extract a place in this essay. (2.) It appears to have been written and sent to the British conference, by two out of the five bishops of our church. (3.) As it bears the signatures of only two of the four who were present at the "episcopal board," it may be justly inferred that it was written and sent without the approbation of the other two; which, by the way, was not, in our opinion, very respectful to Mr. M'Kendree, and his episcopal colleague, Mr. Soule. But we shall leave the bishops to settle this matter among themselves. (4.) It may be asked why did not Mr. M'Kendree and Mr. Soule, concur in the measure adopted by Mr. George and Mr. Hedding? Every one will conclude there must have been some very weighty reasons which prevented them from co-operating with their brethren of the episcopacy, when it shall have been known that a resolution of the last general conference directed the sending of a delegate; and the want of this co-operation is proof of our statement. (5.) This letter was written as an apology for not sending a delegate to the British conference "the present year." (6.) And this failure, the writers tell us, "*arose from a concurrence of circumstances which it is not necessary to explain.*" And what do you think, reader, was this "concurrence of circumstances" respecting which you are left in the dark? We learn from good authority in the travelling connexion, that two of the board were for sending the Rev. ——— of South Carolina, a delegate to represent the American connexion in the British conference, and that the other two opposed it. Being equally divided in the board, and as each side was firm to its purpose and neither side would yield, there could be no election, and so the matter ended.

From the foregoing brief sketch of the origin of our episcopacy and the history of our church, we are led to the following conclusions:

1. We are obliged to declare, from a deep conviction of historic truth, that there exists not in the range of our research, any paper, letter or document to prove, that Mr. Wesley ever intended to constitute Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury a *bishop:* or that he ever "recommended" or gave any "counsel," that the societies should "adopt the episcopal mode of church government in preference to any other." If there be such a paper, letter or document, we have never seen it: and if it exists, we conceive it is incumbent on the bishops to inform the church of its existence; and unless it be produced, we shall be obliged, however humiliating to us as belonging to the church, to believe, that the present form of government was surreptitiously introduced, and was imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr Wesley's name.

But although, as we have said, we have no knowledge of the existence of any such document, nor of any such "counsel or recommendation" being given, we do know that Mr. Wesley gave some "counsel" that was never taken, and "recommended" certain measures which were positively rejected. Had his advice been taken, the term "*bishop*" would have been put away from amongst us.—Let the present bishops, then, conform to his recommendation. Let them give us evidence that they respect his counsel, by making "a full end to this thing." But unless they do it, in the name of goodness and truth, let them make no more reference to Mr. Wesley's "recommendation" or "counsel;" and until it is done let us hear no more about *Wesleyan Methodism.*

2. It may now be reasonably expected, that every member of the church will look for the establishment of the assertion, by clear and indubitable evidence, that Mr. Wesley "*recommended the episcopal mode of church government*" to the American Methodists. As for ourselves, though we are obliged to demur respecting this fact, yet we shall be glad, for the sake of all who have been concerned in making this statement, to find that the truth of it can be established. Until this is done, we shall take the liberty of proposing a question or two, to the conscience of every minister and member of our church, but particularly to the members of the next general conference. (1.) On the supposition, that there is no document to prove (and nothing short of a document will satisfy us) that Mr. Wesley *explicitly* "recommended" our present form of church government, does it accord with TRUTH to persist in publishing a statement which cannot be supported by evidence? How will travelling preachers answer either to God or man for their pertinacity upon this subject? Down to the present time we can readily find an excuse for them. They may not have adverted to this subject at all; or if they thought upon it, they may have dismissed it as a matter which they did not understand. Or they may have supposed, like ourselves, before we commenced this examination, that "Mr. Wesley did recommend the episcopal mode of church government," and that there were, somewhere or other, although we did not know where, documents in existence to prove this fact. But now, since the case is brought fully under their consideration, and fairly

submitted to them for proof, the members of the general conference will be inexcusable, if they continue to reiterate these statements without the necessary evidence. If they cannot prove what we require, let them retract what they have said, and build their episcopal edifice upon another foundation. (2.) To all, whether preachers or members, we would say, does it accord with JUSTICE to be tributary to the support of any system which is built upon mere assertion, not sustained by any evidence whatever. A system which goes to deprive Christ's freemen and God's ministers of their rights, to gratify the ambition or uphold the authority of a few. Even Mr. Wesley's recommendation, feeble foundation as it would have been for such a system, cannot be exhibited. This we know is giving the subject a moral bearing and places it in a very serious light in the estimation of every good man. With such, the matter is resolvable into some such question as this. Shall I directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, defend another man in retaining what I am not sure he obtained by just and proper means? Shall I support him in his claims which go to deprive his neighbour of *his* rights, especially when the claims which have been set up cannot be established by the necessary vouchers? This is plain talk, and we design to be plain. We wish to bring the matter home to the bosom and conscience of every man in the church. We consider ourselves despoiled of our rights. We have never surrendered, bartered, sold, transferred, or given away what our travelling brethren claim; and we conceive they have no more right to take what they claim and legislate for us without our consent, than A. would have to take from B. a part of his farm, enclose it under a fence, and then say it was recommended to him to do so by C. or plead a "*divine right*" to his possession.

3. The history of the Methodist episcopal church presents a melancholy picture of strife and division; one upon which we could dilate; but we forbear. The truth is, from its organization down to the present time, it has been one continued scene of secret heart burning or open contention. It never had perfect peace, it never will have perfect peace under the present form of goverment. Let us not be censured, then, for exhibiting what we believe to be a plain and honest statement of facts; but let our censure be turned against the *cause* and let us all unite to put it away from us forever. We confess it affords our own mind no small degree of consolation, under the pain produced by the contemplation of this mortifying picture, to think, and the remark is particularly worthy of the attention of local ministers, because they have been represented by our travelling brethren as a set of restless, dissatisfied men; that in all the disputes and divisions, by which the church has heretofore been agitated and torn, the great body of local preachers have had no share. They submitted to the present order of things although they were degraded and proscribed. Whilst the many and warm disputes, which have taken place in the church, originated with, and were confined to the travelling ministers, and were entirely unconnected with the rights and privileges of either the laity or the local ministry.

4. The various dissensions which have arisen in the church among the travelling ministers, for the forty years during which we have been organised, might be sufficient, we would suppose, to convince any candid man, that the principles of our ecclesiastical polity are wrong. Instead of these dissensions becoming fewer or weaker, it is evident, that with the lapse of time, they are assuming a bolder character, and becoming more general in their extension and effects. The connexion is in fact now divided into two parties: and it would seem, that all that is wanting is for some one conference, under an influential and intrepid leader, to declare themselves competent to manage their own business in their own way, and a separation would be formally made, which would not only rive the connexion in two, but would reduce the bishops to the level of their brethren. To prevent a split, let our leading men take speedy and efficient measures to have the rights of all parties secured, and then we may reasonably hope that those terrible commotions, by which the church has been torn, will cease for ever.

CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages, we have spread before our readers, such documents as were found to be connected with the origin of our episcopacy. We are sorry that this *expose* will not reflect much credit on those who were instrumental in saddling it upon us. We are persuaded that the impartial, intelligent and pious of other denominations will pronounce our episcopacy to be illegitimate; and that the means, which were used to introduce it into the church, were neither fair nor honourable. Should this turn out to be the case, who will be ambitious of the title of a Methodist bishop? Any man, who, under such circumstances, would allow himself to be called by that name, must, in our opinion, be strongly infected with an episcopal mania. Whether such will be found or not, we are well convinced, and perhaps others also may be convinced, by the foregoing documents, that the title and office ought to be repudiated. Should this opinion prevail, we would take the liberty of proposing some changes which ought to take place after the next general conference. In doing this, we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we are not authorised to speak for our brethren who are in favour of *representation*. The changes we propose, and the plan we offer, are entirely our own.

First. Let the name of bishop, and the episcopal office as it now exists among us, be put away for ever. In doing this, we shall comply with Mr. Wesley's advice to Mr. Asbury. "For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this." We shall then be more worthy the name of Wesleyan Methodists.

Second. Abolish the office of presiding elders.

Third. Let each annual conference be clothed with legislative powers, under the restriction of a *legitimate constitution*. For it is perfectly idle to think, that the North should make laws for the

South, or the South for the North. The East for the West, or the West for the East. In proof of this position we may adduce the conduct of the general conference, which, after all the severe reflections which had been cast upon Southern preachers, by preachers from the North, found it necessary to allow each annual conference to legislate for its members on the subject of slavery. Why not extend this privilege to the annual conferences in other matters also? We think it must be obvious, that the peculiar usages in the different sections of the work, and the local interests of the members of the church require such a change. Nor is there any advantage in confining legislation to the general conference, which can serve as an equivalent for the loss the circuits and stations sustain, and the great expense which is incurred by so many preachers attending the general conference. But these inconveniences would be obviated if the annual conferences were allowed to make their own laws. Besides, *representatives* could more easily attend their respective annual conferences, than they can go from the extreme parts of the work over such distances as lay between them and the general conference.

Fourth. Let each annual conference be composed of itinerant ministers who have travelled a given number of years; together with representatives from the local ministry and the laity. And let the preachers of each annual conference be stationed by their own superintendent, or by the superintendent and a committee of travelling preachers elected annually, from among themselves for that purpose.

Fifth. Let each annual conference elect its own superintendent, whose period of service should not continue longer than four years. But although this period may be fixed higher or lower, on no account should a superintendent be elected for life. If the office of a superintendent be deemed an honorable one, it should be open to all the qualified and worthy. If it be a laborious and irksome one, it should not be imposed upon a single individual as long as he lives. Being elected periodically he can travel at large through the bounds of his conference, and by that means render unnecessary the office of presiding elders. And were the superintendent elected by the travelling ministers and representatives of local ministers and laymen in conference assembled, his election would assimilate to the election of the superintendents or bishops in the primitive church.

Sixth. Let the general conference be composed of the superintendents, and a given number of representatives from the annual conferences. Let their attention be confined to doctrines, alterations, or amendments of the constitution, general missions, and such other business as cannot well be confided to any one annual conference. The qualifications of its members, and its powers and jurisdiction to be defined and settled by the constitution.

Seventh. Let the local ministers and the laity be represented in the legislative department of the church, whether legislation be assigned to the general, or annual conferences. On the other points which we have mentioned above, we place, comparatively, no stress. We therefore hope no attempt will be made to withhold represen-

tation from the laity, on account of any objections which may be made against the specified items of change. We are not tenacious of them. We are willing, if it should be thought best, to relinquish any, or all of them. But, *representation from the local ministry and laity*, by the help of God, we will never relinquish. This, with us, is a *sine qua non*. In our opinion it is absolutely and indispensably necessary to the purity and unity of the church. It is the inalienable right of every man. There is no principle in the New Testament which forbids it. It has been declared sacred by the usage of the primitive church; as has been abundantly proved in this work. That it has been recognised by the early Christians, will be denied by no one who has made himself acquainted with the subject. And we must add, that we find daily evidence of the necessity of the introduction of this important principle, for the restoration of the peace of the church, and the safety of its members. If we had no other instance to offer, the late Baltimore annual conference has furnished sufficient proof of the propriety of the measure; for they have suspended the Rev'd. Dennis B. Dorsey, a presbyter in the church and a member of their own body, whose moral and ministerial character was unimpeachable. This punishment was inflicted for no other reason but because he would not promise, not to have any agency in supporting or circulating the "Mutual Rights," a work which was originated expressly to advocate the rights of local ministers and laymen to representation, although the said Rev'd. D. B. Dorsey declared he could not in his judgment and conscience, make such a promise.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TO THE REV'D. WILLIAM M'KENDREE, SENIOR BISHOP OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Baltimore, July 1st, 1826.

Rev'd. Sir :—It is known to you, I presume, that of those who have advocated a representation of the laity and local ministry in the general conference, I am one ; and that I have contributed my feeble assistance to support and spread the Mutual Rights, in which the subject of representation has been so freely discussed. I doing this, I assure you, I have acted from a sense of duty, and therefore, if in an error, am rather to be pitied than blamed. Hitherto, however, I have not been convinced that I am in error ; nor have I seen any argument offered by our rulers to justify themselves in denying representation to the other branches of the church, except, only, those founded on *prescription*, as offered by the general conference of 1824 in their circular on the subject. From the time that this doctrine was published in that circular, I have been induced to examine, with a closer attention, " the institutions of the church as we received them from our fathers," and must say, I see the subject in a light very different from that in which it appeared to me before that time. I am about to commit to the press an outline exhibiting the result of this examination : but before I do so, I think it is a duty I owe to you and your colleagues in the episcopacy, to apprise you of my intention ; inasmuch as my conclusions may have an important bearing on the *office* which you hold in the church.

I beg you, my dear sir, to be assured, that nothing disrespectful is intended, either in the matter or manner of this communication. My sole object is to make this honest statement, and to obtain from you the desired information, on several points, if you can possibly give it. Because if I have been led into an error by the documents which I have in my possession, it is important, that that error should be counteracted, by other equally authentic documents, to which I have had no access. The points upon which I beg information are the following.

1. I desire to be informed whether you have ever seen the *original* letter written by Mr. Wesley "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America," dated Bristol, Sept. 10th 1784. If you have seen it, whether the *whole* of it has been printed? And if the whole of it was not printed, whether a copy of it can now be procured?

I make this inquiry because I have a document in my possession in which it is asserted, that that letter was mutilated, and that only a part of it was given to the public.

2. Whether you have ever seen any document or letter written by Mr. Wesley in which he *explicitly* "recommended" to the Methodist societies in America the adoption of "the episcopal mode of church government," according to the statements made in the minutes of conference for 1785, and the book of discipline. If so, can a copy of it be obtained?

3. Whether there is any paper to be found in which Mr. Wesley gave "counsel" to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury or any other person or persons to ordain a third order of ministers in our church, meaning by that phrase, an order of bishops distinct from, and superior to an order of presbyters? If so, can that paper be produced?

4. Are you able to inform me in what year Mr. Wesley's name was left out of the minutes? At what conference was the vote taken? By whom it was done? And for what reasons?

In asking information upon the above points, permit me to propose them to your consideration, as being connected with the *office* you fill, and with the address to the members of the church which bears your signature in the Book of Discipline. And that no blame may attach to me hereafter on account of reservation, I deem it proper frankly and fully to state the results to which my investigation has conducted me. I candidly say, then, that I cannot believe from the testimony of any or all the documents which I have been able to peruse, that Mr. Wesley ever *recommended the episcopal mode of church government to the American Methodists.* I cannot believe he ever gave them any "counsel" to create a third order of ministers as distinct from, and superior to the order of presbyters. But I am forced to believe, that the present form of government was surreptitiously introduced; and that it was imposed upon the societies, under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name.

I shall suspend the publishing of my piece, to allow you a reasonable time to reply. You will have the goodness to favor me with an answer before the expiration of the next month.

I remain, Rev'd. Sir, your brother and fellow labourer in the Lord,

ALEXANDER M'CAINE.

N. B. I send a copy of this letter to each of your colleagues,

A. M'C.

No. II.

Baltimore, Sept. 25th, 1826.

Rev'd. Sir:—The general conference of 1824, having, in their circular, denied the right of local ministers and lay members, to be represented in that body; and having, moreover, intimated their determination to preserve, to the travelling preachers for ever, the the exclusive "authority to make rules and regulations for the church," it is, in my opinion a matter of great importance, in view of the discussion growing out of this subject to ascertain how the travelling preachers became possessed of this "authority." This inquiry carries me back to the origin of our church government, an account of which is published in the minutes of conference for 1785, and in the Book of Discipline, chap. 1. sec. 1. In this account, I find it asserted, that the conference "following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of church government, thought it best to become an episcopal church." This statement I have compared with the document on which it is professedly founded, (see minutes of conference for 1785) and cannot perceive in it any "counsel" or "recommendation" to adopt the episcopal mode of church government in "preference to any other." And, as I have not been able to perceive either in the document above alluded to, or in any part of Mr. Wesley's writings, any recommendation to adopt the aforesaid form of government, it has occurred to me, that as you are among the oldest preachers now living, and as you are supposed to have a knowledge of our church affairs at that early day, you may be able to give some information upon this subject. Permit me, then, to ask you, if you have ever seen any document or letter, in which Mr. Wesley *explicitly* "recommended," to the Methodist societies in these United States, the episcopal form of church government? If you have seen such a document can a copy of it be procured.

2. Have you ever read Mr. Wesley's *original manuscript* letter dated Sept 10, 1784, an extract of which is given as the sole authority for the adoption of our present form of church government?

3. Have you ever seen any letter or paper in which Mr. Wesley gave any "counsel" or advice to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury or any other person to ordain a third order of ministers in our church, meaning, by that phrase, an order of bishops distinct from and superior to an order of presbyters? If so, can you tell if that paper can be produced?

4. Are you able to inform me in what year Mr. Wesley's name was left out of the minutes? At what conference was the vote taken? By whom was it done? And for what reasons?

That you may have a full understanding of the importance which I attach to this investigation, it may be proper to state to you, that I have prepared an essay for the press, which, in my opinion will have some bearing upon the *episcopal office* in our church. And as my sole object is to obtain information, I would be extremely

thankful to you, if you could give me such information as would serve to correct the conclusions, (if they be erroneous) to which I have been conducted by the perusal of those documents to which I have had access. And, before I close, it may not be amiss to remark, that if the liberty I have taken, in making these inquiries, be considered by you an improper one, I hope you will ascribe it to a good motive; for it is truly my wish to obtain all possible information, before I give my essay to the public.

With sentiments of respect, I remain yours, in the gospel,

ALEXANDER M'CAINE.

The above letter was addressed to the following brethren, who were members of the conference in 1784. The Rev'd. Freeborn Garrettson, Rev'd. Lemuel Green, Rev'd. Thomas Ware, Rev'd. Nelson Reed, Rev'd. William Watters, and Rev'd. Edward Dromgoole.

No. III.

Jan. 15th. 1827.

My kind and respected friend,

In perusing that very valuable and useful publication, "the Mutual Rights," for this month, I observe there is reference to a funeral sermon preached by Dr. Coke in Baltimore, on a Sunday evening, on the death of Rev'd. John Wesley. The text was "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof." I was present and heard that discourse; and I could confirm all that your correspondent "Dissenter" has stated. And farther, I can say Dr. Coke called it an almost diabolical act, namely, the expunging of Mr. Wesley's name from the American minutes. He said that no history furnished any parallel to it—that a body of Christian ministers should treat an aged and faithful minister, as Mr. Wesley undoubtedly was, with such disrespect, &c. &c.

I recollect observing at the time, that my friend Dr. Coke was planting thorns for himself; and so it was, for he was left to get into the mail coach next morning by himself: and meeting Mr. Asbury somewhere near Philadelphia, I was told they were very cool and shy towards each other. You know that Dr. Coke was one of Mr. Wesley's executors, and that he was straining every nerve to get to England as quick as possible.

When Dr. Coke got to London, he printed the sermon referred to above. It was the same text; but he omitted all the reflections he made in Baltimore respecting leaving Mr. Wesley's name off the American minutes.

I would also observe to you, that Mr. Vasey and Dr. Coke had very sharp words at the conference in 1784. This was talked of by the preachers: but on what they disputed, I am not at all able to say. I am, &c.

Another says "Dr. Coke preached a funeral sermon in Baltimore on the the death of Mr. Wesley; in which he inveighed against those preachers who excommunicated Mr. Wesley from the American connexion in the year 1787. Respecting this act, the Doctor says, "I doubt much, whether the cruel usage he received in Baltimore, in 1787, when he was excommunicated (wonderful and most unparalled step!) did not hasten his death Indeed I little doubt it. For, from the time he was informed of it, he began to hang down his head, and to think he had lived long enough."

A

DEFENCE OF "OUR FATHERS,"

AND OF THE

ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION

OF

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

AGAINST

THE REV. ALEXANDER M'CAINE,

AND OTHERS;

WITH HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL NOTICES OF EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM.

BY JOHN EMORY.

"Multum refert ad retinendam ecclesiarum pacem, inter ea quæ jure divino præcepta sunt, et quæ non sunt, accurate distinguere."—GROTIUS.

"When men have caused such lamentable divisions in the Church, by their several parties and factions, it concerns them to condemn all others beside themselves, lest they most of all condemn themselves for making unnecessary divisions in the Church of God."—STILLINGFLEET.

New-York,

PUBLISHED BY N. BANGS AND J. EMORY, FOR THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AT THE CONFERENCE OFFICE, CROSBY STREET.

Azor Hoyt, Printer.

1827.

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PREFACE.

THE "fair" and "honourable" fame of "our fathers," is a treasure committed to our common trust; in which all who bear their name ought to feel an interest; and to defend which is our common duty. The best construction of which their conduct and motives are susceptible, was due to them even while alive, with opportunities and means to explain, and to defend themselves. Much more is it due in instituting an inquiry into their history, now that they are silenced in the grave, and incapable of self defence. As we would that men should do to us, when death shall have sealed our lips, and stricken from our hand the ready pen, let us do even so to them. For the measure which we mete to others, in the just retributive visitations of Heaven, will be meted to us again. We should take heed then, how with rash and wanton rudeness, we trample upon the ashes of deceased fathers.

In the present discussion, however, we ask not for charity, in the cold sense of that abused term; nor that pity shall turn the scale of judgment. We demand simple justice,—sheer justice. By that balance we agree that our fathers shall be tried. In that crucible we consent that both their acts and their motives shall be tested. All that we ask for them, in passing the ordeal, is, the allowance of the frailty inseparable from humanity; and from which, with the purest and best intentions, the wisest and the holiest mortals have never been exempted.

The representation which Mr. M'Caine has given of the account of the Methodist Episcopal Church published in Buck's Theological Dictionary, as it regards myself, is wholly unfounded. The editor of that work never was indebted to me for that account; nor was I aware that it had been imputed to me till I saw Mr. M'Caine's statement. It had actually been published in a former edition of Buck's Dictionary, and attributed to another hand, before I was "Book Agent," or "Publisher for the Methodist Episcopal Church" at all. This circumstance alone might have rendered the imputation of it to me at least "suspicious." In some other cases Mr. M'Caine has not deemed it a sufficient warrant for the assumption of facts, that he has merely found them stated in print. Had he been equally suspicious in this

instance, it might have led him to further inquiry; in which case the means of correct and certain information were easily and perfectly within his reach.

A communication from my friend, the Rev. N. Bangs, explanatory of that publication, and of his book on "Methodist Episcopacy," will be found in the Appendix. And in justice to him, as Mr. M'Caine has attacked that book, it ought to be known that Mr. M'Caine himself was one of the committee to whom it was submitted, before its publication, and by whom its publication was recommended. The recommendation stands on record, attested by his own hand. And whatever responsibility may exist for its doctrines, or for its official acceptance and publication "for the Methodist Episcopal Church," this "reverend gentleman," I conceive, is as much concerned in that matter as the author himself.

The work here presented to the reader is not a party work. It is an attempt to wipe off the foul stains which have been cast on us, through the aspersion of our founders. If Mr. M'Caine's book be true, it is impossible that any Methodist, who is a real friend of the church, and of our fathers, can otherwise than feel himself disgraced. To such, a satisfactory refutation of it cannot fail to be acceptable. Whatever may be the claims of the respective questions of ecclesiastical polity agitated among us, let them stand on their own bases. To attempt to promote any of them by personal attacks on the dead, is an unworthy resort; and, with the judicious and reflecting, can only be regarded as indicating a deficiency of better arguments.

In the little leisure allowed me by other extensive and pressing engagements, I might perhaps be excused for craving some indulgence from the reader, in replying to a work in the preparation of which several years were employed. This, however, I trust is not necessary. All that is asked is a candid examination of the *whole* of the following pages, in their consecutive order. This is the more necessary, as the various sections have a mutual connexion and dependance;—subsequent ones assuming what had been established in the preceding: nor was it found convenient, in all cases, to keep the matter of the respective titles entirely distinct.

In preparing this Defence, the Divine assistance has been asked:—In sending it abroad, the Divine blessing is now implored.

J. EMORY.

New-York, November, 1827.

A DEFENCE.

Section I.—*Episcopacy.*

Mr. M'Caine's first inquiry is, "What views do ecclesiastical writers give us of an episcopal form of church government?"

In answer to this inquiry, he quotes certain authorities in support of the following positions, viz.

That "Episcopalians, in the strict sense of the word, are those who maintain that episcopacy is of apostolic institution, or that the church of Christ has ever been governed by three distinct orders, bishops, presbyters or priests, and deacons;—that no one has a right to execute the ministerial office, without having previously received a divine commission;—and the exclusive right of granting this commission is vested in the bishops as successors of the apostles."

That "It is a principle universally established among episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order superior to and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite without which a *valid Christian ministry* cannot be preserved; and that such bishops alone possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to feed the flock of Christ."

That "since the distinction of bishops and presbyters has been of divine appointment, it necessarily follows that the power of ordination, which is the chief mark of this distinction, was reserved to the bishops by the same appointment."

Mr. M'Caine adds, "We have here some of the most prominent features of an episcopal church, as laid down by writers of great celebrity. We would now ask our brethren who say Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of church government, if there is in any of the letters which he wrote, a single line that would lead us to suppose that he held any one of the foregoing particulars? Nay, did he not positively say he did not hold them? What kind of an episcopal government then must it be that has not in it a single feature of episcopacy as described by ecclesiastical writers?"

But did not Mr. M'Caine know that there are "ecclesiastical writers" who describe "Episcopacy" with *other* features? If he *did not*, his want of information is greater than we could have imagined. If he *did*, his argument is not ingenuous. We can scarcely believe that it can have imposed on himself: and it is certainly too glaringly fallacious to be imposed on others.

"It ought to be understood," says Dr. Samuel Miller, "that among those who espouse the episcopal side,—there are three classes.

"The first consists of those who believe that neither Christ nor his apostles laid down any particular form of ecclesiastical government to which the church is bound to adhere in all ages. That every church is free, consistently with the divine will, to frame her constitution agreeably to her own views, to the state of society, and to the exigencies of particular times. These prefer the episcopal government, and some of them believe that it was the primitive form; but they consider it as resting on the ground of *human expediency* alone, and not of *divine appointment*. This is well known to have been the opinion of archbishops Cranmer, Grindal, and Whitgift; of Bishop Leighton, of Bishop Jewel, of Dr. Whitaker, of Bishop Reynolds, of Archbishop Tillotson, of Bishop Burnet, of Bishop Croft, of Dr. Stillingfleet, and of a *long list* of the *most learned and pious divines* of the Church of England, from the reformation down to the present day.

"Another class of Episcopalians go farther. They suppose that the government of the church by *bishops*, as a superior order to *presbyters*, was sanctioned by apostolic example, and that it is the duty of all churches to imitate this example. But while they consider episcopacy as necessary to the *perfection* of the church, they grant that it is by no means necessary to her *existence;* and accordingly, *without hesitation*, acknowledge as true churches of Christ, many in which the episcopal doctrine is rejected, and Presbyterian principles made the basis of ecclesiastical government. The advocates of this opinion, also, have been numerous and respectable, both among the clerical and lay members of the episcopal churches in England, and the United States. In this list appear the venerable names of Bishop Hall, Bishop Downham, Bishop Bancroft, Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Forbes, the learned Chillingworth, Archbishop Wake, Bishop Hoadly, and many more.

"A third class go much beyond either of the former. While they grant that God has left men at liberty to modify every other kind of government according to circumstances, they contend that one form of government for the church is unalterably fixed by divine appointment; that this form is episcopal; that it is absolutely *essential* to the *existence* of the church; that, of course, wherever it is wanting, there is no church, no regular ministry, no valid ordinances; and that all who are united with religious societies, not conforming to this order, are 'aliens from Christ,' 'out of the appointed way to heaven,' and have no hope but in the 'uncovenanted mercies of God.'

"It is confidently believed," continues Dr. Miller, "that the two former classes, taken together, embrace at least *nineteen parts* out of *twenty* of all the Episcopalians in Great Britain and the United States; while, so far as can be learned from the most respectable writings, and other authentic sources of information, it is only the small remaining proportion who hold the extravagant opinions assigned to the third and last of these classes."

If we may rely on the researches of Dr. Miller, then, it is so far from being true, that "it is a principle universally established among Episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order superior to, and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite without which a *valid Christian ministry* cannot be preserved: and

that such bishops alone possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to feed the flock of Christ;" that at least *nineteen twentieths* of all the Episcopalians in Great Britain, and in the United States hold no such sentiments.* Neither, as we shall show, were they the sentiments of Dr. Coke, or of Mr. Asbury, any more than of Mr. Wesley: nor do we believe that they are entertained by a single individual among Methodist Episcopalians, either in the ministry or in the laity.

The Irenicum of Dr. Stillingfleet, subsequently bishop Stillingfleet, will be admitted to rank among the productions of "ecclesiastical writers" of distinguished "celebrity." From this work we shall exhibit a view of episcopacy somewhat different from that of Mr. M'Caine.†

"I assert," says Dr. Stillingfleet, "any particular form of government agreed on by the governors of the church, consonant to the general rules of Scripture, to be by divine right; that is, God, by his own laws, hath given men a power and liberty to determine the particular form of church government among them. And hence it may appear, that though one form of government be agreeable to the word, it doth not follow that another is not, or because one is lawful, another is unlawful; but one form may be more agreeable to some parts, places, people, and times, than others are. In which case, that form of government is to be settled which is most agreeable to the present state of a place, and is most advantageously conducible to the promoting the ends of church government in that place or nation." *Irenicum*, pp. 9–10. 2d edit. Lond. 1662.

"Matters of fact, and mere apostolical practice, may, I freely grant, receive much light from the records of succeeding ages; but they can never give a man's understanding sufficient ground to infer any divine law, arising from those facts attested to by the practice, or records of succeeding ages." *Ibid.* p. 151.

In relation to arguments drawn from the testimony of antiquity, before their authority can be admitted in this controversy, Dr. Stillingfleet affirms, "these things must be manifested:—*that such things were unquestionably the practice of those ages and persons; that their practice was the same as the apostles; that what they did was not from any prudential motives, but by virtue of a law which did bind them to that practice.* Which things are easily passed over by the most eager disputers of the controversy about church government, but how necessary they are to be proved, before any form of government be assert-

* Gisborne, also, asserts that they are not the sentiments of the church of England.—*Survey*, p. 254.

† The object of Stillingfleet, in this work, was, to discuss and examine the divine right of the different forms of church government, according to the principles of the law of nature, the positive laws of God, the practice of the apostles and the primitive church, and the judgment of reformed divines; in order to lay a foundation for the peace of the church, and for the accommodation of the differences which then existed. His aim was to moderate the extravagant pretensions of *high churchmen*, on the one side, and the intemperate zeal of those, on the other, who were for destroying episcopacy altogether. With what ability, and excellent temper, and moderation, he performed this task, will appear in the sequel.

ed, so necessary, that without it there can be no true church, any weak understanding may discern." *Ib.* p. 152.

"The *reason* of apostolical practice binds still, though not the *individual action;* that as they regulated churches for the best conveniency of governing them, so should the pastors of churches now." *Ib.* p. 181.

"Any one particular form of government in the church is neither expressed in any direct terms by Christ, nor can be deduced by just consequence; therefore no such form of government is instituted by Christ." *Ib.* p. 182.

"But though nothing can be inferred from hence as to the necessity of that office to continue in the church, which Timothy and Titus were invested in; yet from the superiority of that power which they enjoyed over those churches, whether as evangelists, or as fixed bishops, these two things may be inferred: *First*, That the superiority of some church officers over others is not contrary to the rule of the gospel: for all parties acknowledge the superiority of their power above the presbyters of the several cities; only the *continuance* of this power is disputed by many. But if they had any such power at all, it is enough for my present design, *viz.* that such a superiority is not contrary to the gospel rule: or that the nature of the government of the church doth not imply a necessary equality among the governors of it. *Secondly*, Hence I infer that it is not repugnant to the constitution of churches in apostolical times, for men to have power over more than one particular congregation. For such a power Timothy and Titus had; which, had it been contrary to the nature of the regiment of churches, we should never have read of in the first planted churches. So that if those popular arguments of a necessary relation between a pastor and particular people, of personal knowledge, care, and inspection, did destroy the lawfulness of extending that care or charge to many particular congregations, they would likewise overthrow the nature, end, and design of the office which Timothy and Titus acted in: which had a relation to a multitude of particular and congregational churches. Whether their power was *extraordinary* or no, I now dispute not; but whether such a power be *repugnant to the gospel* or no, which from their practice it is *evident* that it is not." *Ib.* pp. 186, 187.

The foundation of this power was laid in the power which the apostles were invested with, which was extended over many, both churches and pastors.—"If it be said, *The apostolical power, being extraordinary, must cease with the persons which enjoyed it;* I answer, *first*, What was *extraordinary* did cease; but all the dispute is what *was* extraordinary, and what was *not*.—*Secondly*, By ceasing may be meant, either ceasing, as to its *necessity*, or ceasing, as to its *lawfulness*. I say not, but that the necessity of the office, as in their persons, for the first preaching and propagating the gospel, did cease with them; but that after their death, it became *unlawful* for any particular persons to take the care and charge of diocesan churches, I deny. For to make a thing *unlawful*, which was before *lawful*, there must be some *express prohibition, forbidding* any further use of such a power, which, I suppose, then will not easily produce in the word of God."—*Ib.* pp. 194–5.

"The *extending* of any ministerial power, is not the appointing of any *new office;* because every minister of the gospel hath a relation in *actu primo*" (primarily) "to the whole church of God: the restraint and enlargement of which power is subject to positive determinations of prudence and conveniency,—and therefore if the church see it fit for some men to have this power enlarged, for better government in some, and restrained in others, that *enlargement* is the appointing *no new office*, but the making use of a power already enjoyed for the benefit of the church of God. This being a foundation tending so fully to clear the lawfulness of that government in the church, which implies a superiority and subordination of the officers of the church to one another; and the church, using her prudence in ordering the bounds of her officers, I shall do these two things: *First*, Show that the power of every minister of the gospel doth primarily, and habitually respect the church in common. *Secondly*, That the church may, in a peculiar manner, single out some of its officers for the due administration of ecclesiastical power." *Ib.* p. 195.

"The officers of the church may in a peculiar manner attribute a larger and more extensive power to some particular persons, for the more convenient exercise of their common power—grant to some the *executive part* of that power, which is originally and fundamentally common to them all. For our better understanding of this, we must consider a twofold power belonging to church officers, *a power of order*, and *a power of jurisdiction*." Ib. p. 197.

Under this distinction he shows, that though every presbyter, primarily and inherently, as to *order*, possesses a capacity for the highest ministerial acts, yet "some farther authority is necessary in a church *constituted*" (or organized) "besides the power of order; and when this power, either by consent of the pastors of the church, or by the appointment of a Christian magistrate, or both, is devolved to some particular persons, though *quoad aptitudinem*" (as to the capacity or fitness) "the power remain in every presbyter, yet *quoad executionem*," (as to the actual discharge or execution of it) "it belongs to those who are so appointed. And therefore Camero determines that ordination doth not belong to the power of order, but to the power of jurisdiction, and therefore is subject to positive restraints, by prudential determinations. By this we may understand how lawful the exercise of an *episcopal* power may be in the church of God, supposing an *equality* in all church officers as to the power of *order*. And how incongruously they speak, who supposing an equality in the presbyters of churches at first, do cry out, that the church takes upon her the office of Christ, if she *delegates* any to a more *peculiar* exercise of the *power of jurisdiction*." Ib. pp. 197–8.

"Before the jurisdiction of presbyters was restrained by mutual consent, in this instant doubtless, the presbyters enjoyed the same liberty that the presbyters among the Jews did, of ordaining other presbyters, by that power they were invested in at their own ordination.———In the first primitive church, the presbyters all acted in common for the welfare of the church, and either did or might ordain others to the same authority with themselves; because the *intrinsical* power of order is equally in them, and in those who were after appointed

governors over presbyteries. And the collation of orders doth come from the power of order, and not *merely* from the power of jurisdiction. It being likewise *fully acknowledged* by the *schoolmen*, that bishops are *not* superior above presbyters, as to the power of *order*." Ib. p. 273.

"It is evident *Jerome* attributes the first original of that *exsors potestas*," [delegated power, or power given by choice] "as he calls it elsewhere, in the bishop above presbyters, not to any apostolical institution, but *to the free choice of the presbyters themselves:* which doth fully explain what he means by *consuetudo ecclesiæ* before spoken of, viz.; that which came up by a voluntary act of the governors of churches themselves.———To which we may add what Eutychius the patriarch of Alexandria, saith in his *Origines Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ*, published in Arabic by our most learned Selden, who expressly affirms, *that the twelve presbyters constituted by* Mark *upon the vacancy of the see, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and blessed him, and made him patriarch.*" Ib. p. 274.

"Antonius de Rosellis fully expresseth my meaning in this;"—(in the *first* period of the church.) "*Every presbyter and presbyters did ordain indifferently, and thence arose schisms:* thence the liberty was restrained and reserved peculiarly to some persons who did act in the several presbyteries, as the נשיא, or *Prince of the Sanhedrin*,——— both parties granting that in the church such a restraint was laid upon the liberty of ordaining presbyters: and the exercise of that power may be restrained still, granting it to be radically and intrinsically in them. So that this controversy is not such as should divide the church. For those that are for ordinations only by a superior order in the church, acknowledging a radical power for ordination in presbyters, which may be exercised in case of necessity, do thereby make it evident, that none who grant that, do think that any positive law of God hath forbidden presbyters the power of ordination; for then it must be wholly *unlawful*, and so in case of necessity it cannot be valid. Which doctrine I dare with some confidence assert to be a stranger to our Church of England,—on the other side, those who hold ordinations by presbyters *lawful*, do not therefore hold them *necessary*, but it being a matter of liberty, and not of necessity—this power then may be restrained by those who have the care of the church's peace, and matters of liberty being restrained, ought to be submitted to, in order to the church's peace." Ib. p. 276.

"In the matter itself, I believe upon the strictest inquiry Medina's judgment will prove true, that Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Theophylact, were all of Aerius his judgment as to the identity of both name and order of bishops and presbyters in the primitive church; but here lay the difference. Aerius from hence proceeded to separation from bishops and their churches, because they were bishops. And Blondell well observes, That the main ground why Aerius was condemned was for unnecessary separation from the church of Sebastia; and those bishops, too, who agreed with him in other things,——whereas Jerome was so far from thinking it necessary to cause a schism in the church, by sepa-

rating from bishops, that his opinion is clear, that the first institution of them was for preventing schisms; and therefore, for peace and unity, he thought their institution very useful in the church of God." *Ib.* pp. 276–7.

"When the apostles were taken out of the way, who kept the main power in their own hands, of ruling the several presbyteries, or delegated some to do it, (who had a main hand in planting churches with the apostles, and thence are called, in Scripture, sometimes fellow labourers in the Lord, and sometimes evangelists, and by Theodoret *apostles*, but of a *second order*,) after, I say, these were deceased, and the main power left in the presbyteries, the several presbyters enjoying an equal power among themselves,——the wiser and graver sort considered the abuses following the promiscuous use of this power of ordination, and withal, having in their minds the excellent frame of the government of the church, under the apostles and their deputies, and for preventing of future schisms and divisions among themselves, they *unanimously* agreed to *choose one out of their number* who was best qualified for the management of so great a trust, and to *devolve the exercise of the power of ordination and jurisdiction* to him; *yet so as that he act nothing of importance without the consent and concurrence of the presbyters*, who were still to be as the *common council* to the bishop. This I take to be the *true* and *just* account of the *original of episcopacy* in the primitive church, according to Jerome: which model of government, thus contrived and framed, sets forth to us a most lively character of that *great wisdom* and *moderation*, which *then* ruled the heads and hearts of the primitive Christians, and which, *when men have studied and searched all other ways*, (the abuses incident to this government through the corruptions of men and times being retrenched) *will be found the most agreeable to the primitive form, both as asserting the due interest of the presbyteries, and allowing the due honour of episcopacy*, and by the *great harmony of both*, carrying on the affairs of the church with the greatest unity, concord, and peace. *Which form of government, I cannot see how any possible reason can be produced, by either party, why they may not with cheerfulness embrace it.*" *Ib.* 281–2.

"Thus we have once more cleared Jerome and the truth together; I only wish that all that are of his judgment for the practice of the primitive church, were of his temper for the practice of their own; and while they own not episcopacy as necessary by a divine right, yet (being duly moderated, and joined with presbyteries) they may embrace it, as not only a lawful, but very useful constitution in the church of God. By which, we may see, what an excellent temper may be found out, most fully consonant to the primitive church for the management of *ordinations* and *church power*, viz. BY THE PRESIDENCY OF THE BISHOP AND THE CONCURRENCE OF THE PRESBYTERY." *Ib.* p. 283.

"All that I have to say then, concerning the course taken by the apostles, in settling the government of the churches,——lies in these three propositions,——viz.: *That neither can we have that certainty of apostolical practice, which is necessary to constitute a divine right: nor*, secondly, *is it probable that the apostles did tie themselves up to*

any one fixed course in modelling churches: nor, thirdly, *if they did, doth it necessarily follow that we must observe the same?*" Ib. p. 287.

"In this place, lib. 4, cap. 43, he" (Irenæus) "not only asserts the succession of presbyters to the apostles, but likewise attributes the SUCCESSIO EPISCOPATUS" (*the succession of the Episcopate*) "to these very presbyters." Whence comes then the community of names still, that those who are said to succeed the apostles, are called bishops in one place, but presbyters in another; and THE VERY SUCCESSION OF EPISCOPACY ATTRIBUTED TO PRESBYTERS?" Ib. p. 307.

"And great probability there is, that where churches were planted by presbyters, as the church of France by Andochius and Inignus, that afterwards, upon the increase of churches and presbyters to rule them, they did from among themselves choose one to be as the bishop over them, as Pothinus was at Lyons. *For we no where read in those early plantations of churches*, that where there were *presbyters already*, they sent to *other* churches to desire *episcopal ordination* from *them*." Ib. p. 375.

"It is a known instance, that in the ordination of Pelagius, first bishop of Rome, there were only two bishops concerned and one presbyter; whereas, according to the fourth *canon* of the Nicene council, three bishops are absolutely required for ordination of a bishop: either then Pelagius was no canonical bishop, and so the point of succession thereby fails in the church of Rome: or else a presbyter hath the same intrinsical power of ordination which a bishop hath," [even in ordaining a bishop,] "but it is only restrained by ecclesiastical laws." Ib. p. 380.

"I believe there will, upon the most impartial survey, scarce be one church of the reformation brought, which doth embrace any form of government, because it looked upon that form as only necessary by an unalterable standing law; but *every one took up that form of government which was judged most suitable to the state and condition of their several churches.*" Ib. p. 384.

"I doubt not but to make it evident, that the main ground for settling episcopal government in this nation," (England,) "was not accounted any pretence of *divine right*, but *the conveniency of that form of church government to the state and condition of the church at the time of its reformation.*" Ib. p. 385.

"The first who solemnly appeared in vindication of the English *hierarchy* was archbishop Whitgift: yet he asserts that *no kind of government is expressed in the word, or can necessarily be concluded from thence:* and again; *no form of church government is by the Scripture prescribed to, or commanded the church of God.*" Ib. p. 394.

"That great light of the German church, Chemnitius, asserts the churches freedom and liberty as to the orders and degrees of those who superintend the affairs of the church; which he builds on a threefold foundation: 1. That the word of God no where commands *what* or *how many degrees* and *orders* of ministers there shall be. 2. That in the apostles' times there was not *the like number* in *all* churches, as is evident from Paul's epistles. 3. That in the apostles' times, in *some* places, *one person* did manage the *several offices* belonging to a church. Which three propositions are the very basis of all our foregoing dis-

course.——The sum is, it appears by the practice of the apostolical church, that the state, condition, and necessity of every particular church, ought to be the standard and measure what offices and degrees of persons ought to be in it." Ib. pp. 397, 398.

Zanchy, an eminent Presbyterian divine, "asserts it to be in the church's power and liberty to add several orders of ministers, according as it judgeth them tend to edification; and saith, he is far from condemning the course of the primitive church, in erecting one as bishop over the presbyters, for better managing church affairs." Ib. p. 399.

Fregevil, a divine of the French church, (whom the English bishop Hall calls 'wise Fregevil, a deep head,') in his 'Politick Reformer,' says, "When the apostles first planted churches, the same being small and in affliction, there were not as yet any other bishops, priests, or deacons, but themselves: they were the bishops and deacons, and together served the tables. These men therefore whom God raiseth up to plant a church, can do no better, than, after the example of the apostles, to bear themselves in equal authority." Ib. p. 400.

Beza, another eminent Presbyterian divine, says, "He was so far from thinking that the human order of episcopacy was brought into the church through rashness or ambition, that none can deny it to have been very useful as long as bishops were good. And those that both will and can, let them enjoy it still.——And elsewhere professeth all reverence, esteem, and honour to be due to all such modern bishops, who strive to imitate the example of the primitive bishops, in a due reformation of the church of God, according to the rule of the word. And looks on it as a most false and impudent calumny of some that said as though they" [of Geneva] "intended to prescribe their form of government to all other churches; as though they were like some ignorant fellows who think nothing good but what they do themselves." Ib. p. 406.

To invalidate the authority of Stillingfleet's Irenicum, it has been objected by some extravagant asserters of the apostolical succession of episcopacy, that it was an indigested work, written when the author was young, and was subsequently retracted. How far this representation is correct, the following facts will show.——After being several years engaged in the composition of that work, the author published it in 1659, at the age of twenty four. Three years afterwards, in 1662, he published a second edition; and the same year he gave to the world his Origines Sacræ. Soon after these publications, he met his diocesan, the celebrated bishop Saunderson, at a visitation. The bishop seeing so young a man, could hardly believe it was Stillingfleet, whom he had hitherto known only by his writings; and, after having embraced him, said, He much rather expected to have seen one as considerable for his *age*, as he had already shown himself for his learning. See the Life of Bishop Stillingfleet, pp. 12–16, as quoted by Dr. Miller.——"When a divine of acknowledged talents and learning," adds Dr. Miller, "after spending several years in a composition of moderate length, deliberately commits it to the press; when, after reflecting on the subject, and hearing the remarks of his friends for three years longer, he publishes it a second time; and when, after this second

publication, he is complimented for his great erudition, by one of the most able and learned dignitaries of the age, there seems little room for a charge of haste, or want of digestion." Letters, pp. 270, 271, n.

"The truth seems to be," continues Dr. Miller, "that Dr. Stillingfleet, finding that the opinions of a number of influential men in the church were different from those which he had advanced in this work; and finding also that a fixed adherence to them might be adverse to the interests of the established church, in which he sought preferment, he made a kind of vague and feeble recantation; and wrote in favour of the apostolical origin of episcopacy. It is remarkable, however, that this prelate, in answer to an accusation of inconsistency, between his early and his latter writings on this subject, assigned another reason besides a change of opinion, viz. that the former were written '*before the laws were established.*' But in whatever degree his *opinion* may have been altered, his *reasonings* and *authorities* have undergone no change. They remain in all their force, and have never been refuted, either by himself, or by others." Ib. p. 271.

Dr. White, now bishop White, of Pennsylvania, was of opinion, that that learned prelate, Stillingfleet, was most probably not dissatisfied with that part of the Irenicum which would have been to his (Dr. White's) purpose; and which, of course, as we shall presently show, is to our purpose. Burnet, the contemporary and friend of Stillingfleet, says, (History of his own Times, anno 1661,) "To avoid the imputation that book brought on him, he went into the humours of an high sort of people beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things." "The book, however," bishop White adds, "was, it seems, easier *retracted* than *refuted:* for though offensive to many of both parties, it was managed, says the same author, [Burnet,] with so much *learning* and *skill*, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it." See "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," p. 22.

"Luther, and the leading divines of his denomination, supposed that a system" [of church government] "embracing some degree of imparity" [among ministers] "was, in general, expedient; and accordingly, in proceeding to organize their churches, appointed *superintendents*, who enjoyed a kind of pre-eminence, and were vested with peculiar powers. But they explicitly acknowledged this office to be a *human*, and not a *divine* institution." Miller's Letters, p. 237.

The Lutheran churches in Sweden and Denmark are Episcopal. See Mosheim, vol. iv, p. 279. Yet all ecclesiastical historians agree that when the Reformation was introduced into Sweden, the first ministers who undertook to ordain were *only presbyters.* Miller's Letters, p. 240.

"It is equally certain that in the ordination of a *bishop*, if the other bishops *happen to be absent*, the more grave and aged of the ordinary pastors supply their place, and are considered as *fully invested with the ordaining power.*" Ib. p. 241.

In case of necessity, the same power is recognised by the Methodist Episcopal Church, as fully invested in her body of presbyters. Yet, if by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there should at any time be no bishop remaining among us, even in this case the remaining presby-

ters would not themselves directly ordain new presbyters, but would first set apart another general superintendent, or superintendents, as their constituted organ for this purpose.

Section II.—*Sentiments of Bishop White.*

In the year 1783, a pamphlet was published in Philadelphia, entitled "The case of the Episcopal churches in the United States considered." This work has always been considered as the production of Dr. White, now Bishop White, of Pennsylvania. Dr. Miller, in his Letters, published in 1807, p. 270, attributes it to him by name; and we have not understood that its authenticity has ever been denied. A new edition of it has recently been published in Philadelphia, by Wm. Stavely, publisher of the Philadelphia Recorder, a paper edited by a distinguished clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

It will be seen, from this work, with what ability Dr. White argued the case of the Episcopal churches in the United States at that period; and how equally strikingly his arguments were adapted to the state of the Methodist societies at the same period.

In a "sketch of a frame of government" offered by Dr. White, he says, "In each smaller district, there should be elected a general vestry or convention, consisting of a convenient number, (the minister to be one,)——They should elect a clergyman their *permanent president*; who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be also appointed by the body, may exercise such powers as are purely spiritual, *particularly that of admitting to the ministry.*" p. 11.

Again; "The conduct meant to be recommended,——is to include in the proposed frame of government *a general approbation of episcopacy* and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be; but in the meantime *to carry the plan into effect without waiting for the succession.*" Ib. p. 15.

"But it will be also said," continues Dr. White, "that the very name of '*bishop*' is offensive; if so, *change it for another;* let *the superior clergyman* be a *president*, a *superintendent*, or in plain English, and according to the literal translation of the original, an *overseer*. However, if *names* are to be reprobated, because the powers annexed to them are abused, there are few appropriated to either civil or ecclesiastical distinctions, which would retain their places in our catalogue." Ib. p. 17.

"The other part of the proposal" of Dr. White, "was an *immediate execution of the plan without waiting for the episcopal succession*. This is founded on the presumption, that the worship of God and the instruction and reformation of the people, are the principal objects of ecclesiastical discipline——." Ib.

"It will be said, we ought to continue as we are with the hope of obtaining it" [the succession] "hereafter. But" continues Dr. White, "are the *acknowledged ordinances* of Christ's holy religion to be suspended for years, perhaps as long as the present generation shall continue, out of delicacy to a *disputed point*, and that relating only to externals?——All the obligations of conformity to the divine ordinances, all the arguments which prove the connexion between public

worship and the morals of a people, combine to urge the adopting some *speedy* measures, to provide for the public ministry in these churches. If such as have been above recommended," [viz, ordination by the president clergyman in conjuction with other clergymen appointed by the body] "should be adopted, and the Episcopal succession afterwards obtained, any *supposed* imperfections of the intermediate ordinations might, *if it were judged proper*, be supplied, *without acknowledging their nullity*, by a *conditional* ordination resembling that of *conditional baptism* in the liturgy." Ib.

But if the "succession" had never been "afterwards obtained," there can be little doubt that Dr. White would have maintained the validity of the ordinations on his plan, without the succession. For, as he very justly argues in another place, "If even those who hold episcopacy to be of divine right, conceive the obligation to it to be not binding when that idea would be destructive of public worship, much more must *they* think so, who indeed venerate and prefer that form, as the most ancient and eligible, but without any idea of divine right in the case. This the author believes to be the sentiment of the great body of Episcopalians in America; in which respect they have in their favour *unquestionably* the sense of the church of England, and, as he believes, the opinions of her most distinguished prelates for piety, virtue, and abilities." Ib. p. 25.

To make any particular form of church government, though adopted by the apostles, unalterably binding, Dr. White maintains, "it must be shown enjoined in positive precept." Ib. He remarks farther, that Dr. Calamy having considered it as the sense of the church," [of England,] "in the preface to the ordinal, that the three orders were of divine appointment, and urged it as a reason for nonconformity; the bishop [Hoadly] *with evident propriety*, remarks, that the service pronounces *no such thing;* and that therefore Dr. Calamy created a difficulty, where the church had made none; there being 'some difference,' says he, 'between these two sentences——bishops, priests, and deacons, are three distinct orders in the church *by divine appointment,*——and——*from the apostles' time* there have been in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons."——"The same distinction," says Dr. White, "is *accurately drawn* and *fully proved* by Stillingfleet in the Irenicum." Ib. p. 22, and note.

"Now," continues Dr. White, "if the form of church government rest on no other foundation, than ancient and apostolical *practice*, it is humbly submitted to consideration, whether Episcopalians will not be thought *scarcely deserving the name of Christians*, should they, rather than consent to a temporary deviation, abandon every ordinance of positive and divine appointment." Ib.

The reader will please to observe, that, at the period when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, if we had not acted independently of the alleged apostolical succession, we must necessarily, for a long time at all events, have abandoned ordinances of positive and divine appointment. Mr. Wesley, also, as it had been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America, expressly states, 1. "I desired the bishop of London to ordain one only, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slow-

ness of their proceeding; but the matter admits of no delay." Dr. White was of the same opinion, in relation to the Episcopal churches; and was in favour of carrying his plan of ordination, "without waiting for the Episcopal succession," into "immediate execution."

"Bishop Hoadly says, the acceptance of *reordination* by the dissenting ministers, *would not be a denial of that right, which* (as they conceived) *presbyters had to ordain.*" Ib. p. 23.

The learned Hooker also admits, that, in "*the exigence of necessity*," or "*the necessity of the present*," Episcopal ordination, in the line of succession, is not indispensable. *Ecclesiastical Polity, Book 7, Sec.* 14.

"Had Mr. Hooker," says Dr. White, (p. 26,) "been asked to define '*the exigence of necessity*,' could he have imagined any more urgent than the case in question?"—the case of the Episcopal churches in this country at that time.—"Or had he been inquired of concerning the '*necessities of present times*,' could he have mentioned any in the cases to which he alludes (those of Scotland and Geneva) so strongly pleading for the liberty he allows, as those now existing in America?" —at the period of writing and publishing that pamphlet. The reader has only to change the name, and the just and solid argumentation of Dr. White, is as exactly applicable to the case of the Methodist societies in America, at that period, as to "the case of the Episcopal churches."

"What necessity was there," continues Dr. White, "of the 'reformed churches abroad' equal to ours? Is not an *immediate imitation* of the ancient usage '*impracticable?*' Would not such a plan as has been proposed," (viz. ordination by a clergyman chosen as a permanent president, in conjunction with others appointed by the body,) "be conforming, as far as circumstances allow, to our ideas of 'the apostolic model?'" Ib. p. 27.

After quoting archbishops Usher and Cranmer, with the highest eulogies, in support of this plan, Dr. White thus concludes the argument.

"On the credit of the preceding names, the author rests this the last part of his subject; and if his sentiments should meet with an unfavourable reception, he will find no small consolation from being in a company so respectable." Ib. p. 29.——So say we; especially since we have now added the name of Dr. White. More than forty years have elapsed since the publication of that pamphlet, yet we are not aware that it has ever been retracted. If it had been, we presume that some notice would have been given of it in the new edition just published, in the life time of the bishop, and at the place of his own residence. And, in any case, we might well say of this production, as Dr. White so appositely remarked of Stillingfleet's Irenicum;——it would be "easier RETRACTED than REFUTED."

Section III.—*Mr. Wesley's Opinion.*

"As to my own judgment," says Mr. Wesley, "I still believe the episcopal form of church government to be scriptural and apostolical. I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles.

But that it is *prescribed* in Scripture, I do not believe. This opinion, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of, ever since I read bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum. I think he has unanswerably proved, that neither Christ nor his apostles *prescribe* any particular form of church government; and that the plea of *divine right* for diocesan episcopacy, was never heard of in the primitive church." Wesley's Works, London edition, 1813, vol. xvi, p. 26.

So far as the judgment of Mr. Wesley is concerned, then, it is, on the one hand, decidedly in favour of "the episcopal form of church government;" and, on the other, as decidedly against the high church pretensions.

The above extract will also serve to show the opinion which that great master of logic entertained of Stillingfleet's Irenicum.

Section IV.—*Ordination.*

With the preceding principles and authorities before us, it only remains to consider the origin and force of *ordination*, and we shall then be prepared to enter into an examination of the original organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"Their custom of ordination," says Dr. Stillingfleet, "was evidently taken up by the Christians from a correspondency to the synagogue. ——That under the synagogue was done by laying on of hands.—— A twofold use I find of this symbolical rite, beside the solemn designation of the person on whom the hands are laid. The *first* is to denote the delivery of the person or thing thus laid hands upon, for the right, use, and peculiar service of God.—The *second* end of the laying on of hands, was the solemn invocation of the Divine presence and assistance to be upon and with the person upon whom the hands were thus laid.—Thence in all solemn prayers, wherein any person was particularly designed, they made use of this custom of imposition of hands. From which custom Augustine speaks, *Quid aliud est manuum impositio nisi oratio super hominem?*" [what is imposition of hands but prayer over a man?] "Thence when Jacob prayed over Joseph's children, he laid his hands upon them; so when Moses prayed over Joshua. The practice likewise our Saviour used in blessing children, healing the sick, and the apostles in conferring the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and from thence it was conveyed into the practice of the primitive church, who used it in any more solemn invocation of the name of God in behalf of any particular persons.—But the most solemn and peculiar use of this imposition of hands among the Jews, was in the designing of any persons for any public employment among them. Not as though the *bare imposition of hands* did confer any power upon the person——but with that ceremony they joined those words whereby they did confer that authority upon them. —This custom being so generally in use among the Jews in the time when the apostles were sent forth with authority for gathering and settling the churches, we find them accordingly making use of this, according to the former practice, *either in any more solemn invocation of the presence of God upon any persons*, or *designation* and *appointing them for any peculiar service or function.* For we have no

ground to think that the apostles had any *peculiar command* for laying on their hands upon persons in prayer over them, or ordination of them. But the thing itself being enjoined them, viz. the *setting apart some persons* for the peculiar work of attendance upon the necessities of the churches by them planted, they took up and made use of a laudable rite and custom, then in use upon such occasions. And so we find the apostles using it in the solemn designation of some persons to the office of deacons:——afterwards upon an occasion not heard of in the synagogue,—for the conferring the gifts of the Holy Ghost. But although the occasion was extraordinary, yet the use of that rite in it was very suitable, inasmuch as those gifts did so much answer to the "שכינה (*Shekinah*) and the "רוח הקודש [the Holy Spirit] "which the Jews conceived did rest upon those who were so ordained by imposition of hands. The next time we meet with this rite was upon a *peculiar designation* to a *particular service* of *persons already appointed by God for the work of the ministry*, which is of Paul and Barnabas by the prophets and teachers at Antioch; whereby God doth set forth the use of that rite of ordination to the Christian churches." Iren. pp. 264–271.

"Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office." Westminster Assembly of Divines; examined and approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.—Neal —vol. v, p. 357—appendix.

Mr. M'Caine has taken pains to show that the validity of Presbyterian ordination was established by Mr. Wesley, and is the principle of the ordination of the British Conference. But who ever denied this? Is it not expressly and fully declared in our Book of Discipline, in answer to the following question;—"If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our church, what shall we do?"

The answer is;——"The General Conference shall elect a bishop; and the *elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the General Conference for that purpose*, shall ordain him, according to our form of ordination." Chap. 1, sec. 4, quest. 2. And this answer shows both the good sense of those who framed it, and their acquaintance with ancient ecclesiastical usage. For, as Stillingfleet above quoted, says, "Great probability there is that where churches were planted by presbyters," (as the Methodist Episcopal Church was,) "upon the increase of churches and presbyters, they did, from among themselves, choose one to be as the bishop over them.——For we no where read in those early plantations of churches, that *where there were presbyters already*, they sent to *other* churches to desire Episcopal ordination from *them*."———It is also in exact accordance with the practice of the church of Alexandria, which would not suffer the interference of foreign churches in consecrating their bishops, and of which the patriarch Eutychius, as quoted by Stillingfleet, "expressly affirms, that the twelve presbyters constituted by Mark, upon the vacancy of the see, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and blessed him, and made him patriarch."

When Mr. M'Caine asserts that "neither are the ordinations

which he" (Mr. Wesley) "conferred, viewed by writers among the English Methodists——as favouring our title of Episcopacy," he stops short of the phraseology used by the very writers whom he quotes. Their language is—"He" [Mr. Wesley] "gave up Episcopal ordination *as understood by high churchmen.*" So do we. And so does our Discipline, clearly and unequivocally.

Section V.—*Ordination of Dr. Coke.*

Having thus cleared our way, we shall now take up the ordination of Dr. Coke.

"If," says Mr. M'Caine, "Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke a bishop, in the common acceptation of that term, then did he create a church officer greater than himself, and of consequence he brought himself into subjection to Dr. Coke, by making the doctor his superior." Again; "If the doctor was constituted a bishop" ["*in the common acceptation of that term,*" is here dropped] "he was raised to a rank above a presbyter, and invested with superior powers. In that case he that was sent was greater than he that sent him"——and "then, Mr. Wesley who was only a presbyter, and consequently inferior to a bishop, assumed the prerogative to send his superior to do a work, in his name, which he himself could not go to do."—And again;—"If the doctor by the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands, is created a bishop, then the objection of the bishop of Norwich lies in full force——'If a presbyter can ordain a bishop, then the greater is blessed of the less,'" &c.

We have already seen what Mr. M'Caine represents to be "the common acceptation" of the term bishops, (which, by the way, we have shown is *not* the common acceptation,) viz. an order of ministers distinct from presbyters *by divine appointment*, to whom the power of ordination is reserved *by the same appointment*, and is the chief mark of their distinction;—and in whom, as successors of the apostles, is vested the *exclusive* right of granting the divine commission to execute the ministerial office.—See *History* and *Mystery*, pp. 9–10.*—— Now *if* Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke in no such sense;—*if* he pretended to no such thing;—*if* neither our bishops, nor the Methodist Episcopal Church, have ever pretended to any such thing,—what then? Why then it follows that all the smart sayings on this transaction, which have been repeated and copied from my Lord Bishop of Norwich down to Mr. M'Caine, are wholly wide of the mark, and are shaken both from Mr. Wesley and from us, as "The lion shakes to air, the mists shed on his mane."——They may serve to mislead the ignorant, and such as may be captivated by sound, more than by sense. But as to the argument they are perfectly nugatory.——If, says Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Moore, Mr. Wesley's position be true, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, the bishop of Norwich should have first overthrown this position, if he could, to have established his own.

* One of Mr. M'Caine's authorities is archbishop Potter, who was the champion of the *High Church* party; whilst Dr. Hoadly, bishop of Winchester, with great judgment and eloquence, advocated principles of greater moderation.

But says Mr. M'Caine, "as Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke were of the same order,—the doctor had as good a clerical right to ordain Mr. Wesley a bishop, as Mr. Wesley had to ordain the doctor."——As good a *clerical* right;——Mr. M'Caine seems to have felt here that his argument was lame. He knows well that the true question is not as to the mere *clerical* power of ordination, *abstractly;* but whether in the circumstances then existing, as to acknowledged *jurisdiction*, and the exigency of the times, Dr. Coke, had as good a right to ordain and send Mr. Wesley to superintend the American Methodists, as Mr. Wesley had to summon a council, and to ordain and send him. And whether it was so regarded by the Methodists of that day, either in Europe, or in America.

The Methodist societies in America, although under the spiritual direction of the Rev. John Wesley and his assistants, whom, under God they regarded as their father and founder, yet, previously to the revolutionary war, were religious societies within the Church of England, without any provision among themselves for the administration of the ordinances. From that church they were separated, let it be carefully observed, not by any *schism*, or *faction*, or any species of misconduct on their part; but by the acts of Providence, and by circumstances wholly beyond their control. The church of England had *ceased to exist* in America, and the Methodists here were absolutely compelled either to provide for themselves, or to live in neglect of the positive ordinances of Christ. Their case was clearly that of "the exigence of necessity," agreeably to Hooker himself; and most undeniably so agreeably to the principles then advocated by Dr. White. Our societies had suffered long, as sheep without shepherds. They had endured the privation of the ordinances till the patience of many had been exhausted, and a serious disunion was threatened; if not dissolution. A portion of the preachers and societies in the south had resolved on measures for the administration of the ordinances among themselves. This step was strenuously resisted by the conference which met in Baltimore in 1780. That conference unanimously disapproved of the measures adopted by their brethren in Virginia, and resolved that they would not regard them as Methodists in connexion with Mr. Wesley, till they came back; and Francis Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson, and Wm. Watters, were appointed a committee to attend the Virginia conference, and inform them of these proceedings, and receive their answer. On that occasion, Mr. Asbury exerted his utmost influence to effect a reunion, and, in conjunction with his colleagues, happily succeeded. The proposal by which it was accomplished, after much discussion and distress, *originated* with him. (See Mr. Snethen's reply to J. O'Kelly, p. 8, and Lee's History, p. 73.)* It was, that they should consent to bear their privations yet longer;—to write to Mr. Wesley and lay their situation before him, and take his advice.

* Mr. Watters says this proposal was made "by one of their own party." This apparent discrepancy is explained by Mr. Snethen in his "Answer to J. O'Kelly's vindication."—Mr. Asbury originally made the proposal to John Dickins, to whom Mr. Watters alludes. John Dickins reduced it to writing and proposed it to the conference.

This proposal was agreed to;—a division was prevented; a happy union was restored; and the preachers departed with thankful hearts, to persuade the people to unite with them in longer forbearance.

Yet it was not till several years after this;—not till the church of England in America was confessedly extinct by the acknowledgment of our independence, and all hope of supplies from that quarter, in any reasonable time, if ever, had utterly failed, that Mr. Wesley resolved on the adoption of the measures which, from his relation to the Methodists (under the true Head of the church,) and their urgent solicitations, he had long before believed himself fully authorized to adopt; but which, *for peace' sake*, he had many years forborne. On the same principle, *for peace' sake*, he had desired the bishop of London to ordain only one preacher for America, but could not prevail. Driven to this extremity, with all his societies and preachers in America, he summoned a council of grave and pious presbyters. These were, in conjunction with him, *our body of presbyters*, and with their advice he acted. The venerable Fletcher was one of the council, though not present at the subsequent ordinations. Mr. Wesley's scruples were now ended, and he resolved, with the aid of other presbyters, to exercise that authority to which he believed himself called *by the providence of God*, and *by the "necessities of the times."* —Now, if the episcopacy of the church of England, (and consequently of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country,) rest on no other foundation than ancient and apostolic *practice*, we humbly submit, (in language similar to that of bishop White on another occasion,) whether Methodists would scarcely have been deserving the name of Christians, if rather than consent to a temporary (or even to a permanent) deviation from that line of Episcopacy, they had abandoned every ordinance of positive and divine appointment.

Bishop White states, as quoted by Mr. M'Caine, that a union of the Methodists in this country with the Protestant Episcopal Church, was proposed by Dr. Coke in 1791, the terms of which on the doctor's part, as stated by bishop White, all will admit, were sufficiently humble. Why did that proposal fail? It is stated, on the same authority, that it failed in consequence of the proceedings of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, before whom the subject was laid in 1792. The Rev. Dr. Wyatt of Baltimore published, in 1820, a similar statement. If this statement be correct, then the responsibility for the rendering of our deviation from that line of Episcopacy *permanent*, rests on *them*. The proposed union by which our "*temporary* deviation" might have been cured, according to Dr. White's plan of *conditional* ordinations, on the principle of *conditional* baptisms, was rejected by *them*. Is it then, for *them* now to reproach us with this deviation, which had been adopted, clearly, in the "exigence of necessity," and which *they*, as much as in them laid, thus contributed to render permanent. This would be both cruel and unchristian. It is not, we think, in the power of the acutest disputant to impugn the ground on which we stand without equally impugning that assumed by Dr. White, in "The case of the Episcopal churches considered." Nor to *refute* this, without refuting that. We shall have occasion to advert again to

the statement respecting Dr. Coke's proposals to bishop White, and shall only add here, that, from what we have said, it must plainly appear that the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, affords no colour of pretext or of countenance, to any leaders or authors of schism, faction, disorganization, or disunion. The proceedings of "our fathers" partook of no such character. Nor can the precedent of their example be pleaded by the instigators, or abettors, of any such disorders.

The following is a copy of the letters testimonial delivered by Mr. Wesley to Dr. Coke, after his ordination, agreeably to the advice of Mr. Fletcher. It was taken by Mr. Drew, from the original, in Mr. Wesley's own hand writing, preserved among the papers of Dr. Coke.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late fellow of Lincoln college in Oxford, presbyter of the church of England, sendeth greeting.

"Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the same church: and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers—

"Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by other ordained ministers,) Thomas Coke, doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty four.

"JOHN WESLEY."

This document leads us to remark; 1. Mr. M'Caine says, (p. 21,) it is not a letter "of ordination," but of "appointment."—Why? Because "the *term* 'ordination' is not found in it." And is the term "appointment" found in it? If it be good logic that because the term "ordination" is not found in it, *therefore* it is not a letter of ordination; surely it is equally so that because the term "appointment" is not found in it, *therefore* it is not a letter of appointment. According to this logic, it may be questioned whether Mr. M'Caine himself has ever been either *ordained*, or *appointed*, an *elder*; for we suspect that neither the term ordained, or appointed, will be found in his credentials. On Mr. M'Caine's principles of *verbality*, this document should be called a letter of "*set apart!*" for these are the *words* used by Mr.

Wesley. This is a specimen of Mr. Caine's logic in the management of documents. A similar one will be found when we come to the term *bishop.*

2. If this were not an ordination, we should be glad to be informed what constitutes one. It was performed as ordinations usually are;—with the usual solemnities;—by "imposition of hands and prayer;" with the assistance of "other ordained ministers;" and "under the protection of Almighty God." If it was not intended as an ordination, it was certainly a very solemn mockery;—a trifling with sacred things, to charge Mr. Wesley with which would be loading his memory with "obloquy" indeed.

3. With what *office* did Mr. Wesley, by these solemnities, and by this instrument, intend to invest Dr. Coke? Not with the *Episcopal* office, says Mr. M'Caine. Why?—Because the term "Episcopal" was not used. Let us take the words then that were used. Dr. Coke, who was already a presbyter, was "set apart" by Mr. Wesley, assisted by other presbyters, "as a *superintendent*"—"to *preside over the flock of Christ,*" or, as he expressed it in his letter "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury," &c,—dated a few days subsequently, "*over our brethren in North America,*"——to superintend, and preside over, the whole body of the Methodist preachers on this continent, with hundreds, if not thousands, of congregations, and tens of thousands of members:—to ordain other ministers, and to exercise all the powers usually considered Episcopal. Indeed the allegation has usually been, that the powers with which our superintendents were confessedly invested from the *commencement,*—and *with Mr. Wesley's sanction*, were too great, even for an Episcopacy. And will Mr. M'Caine, then, yet contend, that Mr. Wesley did not intend that the *office* of our general superintendents in America should be an *Episcopal* office in *fact*, though under the title of superintendents? Will he so far jeopard his reputation both for understanding, and for candour? To waste time on such a question would really seem to us to be trifling both with ourselves, and with our readers.

4. Mr. Wesley says that those who desired his advice and help, "adhered to the doctrine and *discipline* of the church of England,"—and were "greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments——*according to the usage of the same church?*"—Were not the "discipline" and the "usage" of that church *Episcopal?* And does not Mr. Wesley, in this instrument, plainly declare his intention to follow that discipline and usage, so far as he could without entangling us again with the English hierarchy?

Mr. M'Caine, indeed, would make out, that Mr. Wesley's intention was that we should continue connected with the church of England. But the contrary is plain. The wide difference between the case of the Methodist societies in England, and those in this country, in consequence of the revolutionary war, Mr. Wesley himself clearly defines. "The case," he says, "is widely different between England and North America.——Our American brethren are now *totally disentangled*——from the English hierarchy——*we dare not entangle them again.*——They are now at full *liberty* simply to follow the

Scriptures and the primitive church. And *we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty.*"

5. Mr. Wesley, in this document, assigns as one of the grounds of his proceeding, precisely that basis of "the exigence of necessity," in which both the *propriety* and the *duty* of a similar proceeding, on the part of "the Episcopal churches," even at an earlier period, had been so ably advocated by Dr. White. "And whereas," he says, "there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers."——He had, for peace' sake, previously applied to the bishop of London to ordain one only, but could not prevail. And if the English bishops would even have consented, he knew the slowness of their proceedings; and the matter admitted of no delay.*

6. If the "*fuller powers*," which Mr. Wesley desired Dr. Coke to meet him in Bristol to receive, were not *Episcopal* in *fact*, what were they? Dr. Coke was already a presbyter; and as to the mere "appointing" of superintendents in a lower sense, to take charge of societies as Mr. Wesley's *assistants*, it would have been a perfect novelty in Methodism to have used such ceromonies barely for that purpose. Mr. Rankin and Mr. Asbury had both been superintendents in America, in this sense, as Mr. Wesley's *assistants*, without any such ceremonies. And, as a conclusive argument against such a view of this transaction, we add,—if Mr. Wesley, by setting apart Dr. Coke, and investing him with "fuller powers," meant barely to "appoint" him a superintendent, as his *assistant*, in the sense in which he had ordinarily used this term, then it would have been utterly inconsistent with his known principle to have associated Mr. Creighton, Mr. Whatcoat, and Mr. Vasey, with him, in making the appointment.

7. If Mr. Wesley's preferring the title "superintendent," proves that Dr. Coke, under that title, was not intended by Mr. Wesley to be a bishop in *fact*, it equally follows that his preferring the title "elder" proves that he did not intend Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey to be priests, or presbyters, in fact. The argument is as good in the one case as in the other. The forms of ordination prepared for us by Mr. Wesley, for setting apart our superintendents and elders, as we shall hereafter show, were merely an abridgment of the forms of the church

* In 1783, and we think earlier, Dr. White maintained that this "exigence of necessity" then existed in "the Episcopal churches." Yet they did not succeed in obtaining ordination from the English bishops till 1787, and even then not until it was authorized by an act of parliament. Dr. Seabury had previously succeeded in obtaining ordination from the non-juring bishops of Scotland, though he could not from the English bishops. But even this was not till after the ordination of Dr. Coke as a general superintendent. When Dr. White and Dr. Prevost went to England, after the revolution, to obtain Episcopal ordination, the archbishop of Canterbury was of opinion that no English bishop could ordain them unless they took the oath of allegiance. Mr. Southey says they then applied for advice and assistance to Dr. Franklin, who was then our minister in France. He consulted a French clergyman, and found that they could not be ordained in France, unless they vowed obedience to the archbishop of Paris; and the pope's nuncio, whom he consulted also, informed him that the Romish bishop in America could not lay hands on them unless they turned Catholics. Franklin therefore advised them, either that the Episcopalian clergy in America should become Presbyterians; or that they should *elect a bishop for themselves.*——So true it was, as Mr. Wesley said, he knew the slowness and the entanglingness of their proceedings; and such was Franklin's advice in the case.

of England for setting apart *bishops* and *priests*. And as he substituted the term superintendent for bishop, so he also substituted the term elder for priest;—clearly intending substantially the same ecclesiastical officers, in each case; but not the same titles.

8. That in such an "exigence of necessity" as then existed, and at the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was admissible for a body of presbyters to constitute a *bishop* in *fact*, in our acceptation of the term, with the title of superintendent, president, inspector, or overseer, as they judged best, we have already supported by abundant evidence.

9. When lord King lays it down as the primitive usage that there was "but one supreme bishop in a place," he uses the term expressly in relation to "the proper pastor or minister of a parish, having care of the souls of that church, or parish;" though in some cases there were other ministers subordinately connected with him, and assisting him. In *this* sense we admit that there ought to be but one bishop or minister having the pastoral charge, in one place. And this is *our* usage. But that in the apostles' times there were individuals travelling extensively as superintendents, bishops, inspectors, or overseers, in a larger sphere, and setting in order the things that were wanting in multitudes of churches, is undeniable. Whether such church officers were *extraordinary*, or no, as Stillingfleet says, we now dispute not. But whether they be repugnant to the gospel or no. Which, from their practice, as he adds, it is evident that they are not. That what was *extraordinary* in the apostolic oversight, and in that of Timothy and Titus, did cease with them, may be admitted. But the question remains what *was* extraordinary, and what was *not*. For surely not every practice and usage of the apostles was intended to cease with them. For then the office of preaching itself must cease, for this was their main office. Besides, by *ceasing*, may be meant, either ceasing as to its necessity, or as to its *lawfulness*. And to make a thing *unlawful*, which was before *lawful*, there ought to be some express prohibition of it. Which, in this case, we suppose, with Stillingfleet, men will not easily produce in the word of God. And admitting the *lawfulness* of *our* practice in this respect, the expediency and utility of it must be judged by those whose concern it is. That such an itinerant and extensive oversight as was practised by the apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, fell greatly into disuse very shortly after their decease, is true. But surely it cannot be conclusively inferred from this that it is *unlawful* to *revive* a similar superintendency in churches which may desire it, and believe it to be both practicable and useful. Such an Episcopacy, as Mr. Wesley says of "the Episcopal form of church government," we believe to be both Scriptural and apostolical. We mean, as he adds, well agreeing both with the practice and with the writings of the apostles."

That "plain John Wesley, the fountain of our Episcopal authority," should be "improved into *father* Wesley," is made by Mr. M'Caine, p. 53, a matter of ridicule. But when he wrote this, he probably forgot that, when it suited his purpose, he had himself used the same language. "Mr. Wesley," he says, p. 23, "considered himself, under God, the *father* of all the Methodists in Europe and America" And

again, p. 43, when he wished to represent it as odious in our fathers not to have implicitly obeyed the wish of Mr. Wesley on a particular occasion, then he is careful himself to improve "plain John Wesley," into "the *father* of the Methodist people."

This relation, however, Mr. Wesley did himself expressly claim; and the claim was recognised by the whole body of Methodists, both in Europe and in America. "You," said he to Mr. Asbury, "are the elder brother of the American Methodists. I am, under God, the the *father* of the whole family. Therefore I naturally care for you all in a manner no other person can do. Therefore I, in a measure, provide for you all." And in the *secondary* sense of Theodoret, Fregevil, and Stillingfleet, we do not hesitate to denominate him the *apostle* of the whole Methodist people, obnoxious as that term is to Mr. M'Caine; and even to assert, that he did in *fact*, claim, and exercise Episcopal authority among them; and that both he and they believed that in all this he acted in the order of Divine Providence.

Mr. Wesley did himself assert that he believed himself to be "a Scriptural Επισκοπος, *Episcopos*, as much as any man in England or in Europe." Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. ii, p. 280. And he asserted this with direct reference to his "*acting* as a *bishop*," in reply to the remarks of his brother Charles. If by *Episcopos* he did not mean to aver himself a *bishop in fact*, and entitled to "act as a bishop," in our acceptation of the term, then his reply did not meet his brother's objection, but was a mere evasion;—and one too shallow, though mantled in Greek, to deceive, or to satisfy, so good a scholar as his brother Charles. That he meant that he was an *Episcopos*, merely in the sense of being the proper pastor of a particular congregation, or parish, cannot be: for such he was not.—Yet, although he did believe himself entitled to exercise Episcopal authority among the Methodists; as much so as any bishop of the church of England—in the church of England, it should be carefully noted that, for peace' sake, he refrained from the exercise of it, with respect to ordination, till imperiously urged to it by the "exigence of necessity:" and until, if he had refused longer, he must have permitted his numerous societies in America, who were loudly calling on him for advice and help, to live in the neglect of imperative ordinances, of Christ's positive institution. In any reference to the precedent of Mr. Wesley's example then, we shall do him great injustice if we are not careful always to combine all these various views, relations, and circumstances. In relation to the general church, or to the church of England, Dr. Coke and Mr. Wesley as presbyters, were undoubtedly equal in order. Yet that their acknowledged jurisdiction, in relation to the Methodist societies, was vastly different, in Dr. Coke's own view, and that he knew it to be so regarded by the Methodist people, is manifest from the following extract of a letter which he addressed to Mr. Wesley previously to his coming to America.

"Honoured and Dear Sir,

"The more maturely I consider the subject, the more expedient it appears to me, that the power of ordaining others" [having reference to the ordination to be established for the Methodists in America.]

" should be received by me from *you*, by the imposition of your hands; ——————— an authority formally received from you, will (I am conscious of it,) be fully admitted by the people; and my exercising the office of ordination without that formal authority may be disputed, if there be any opposition on any other account. I could therefore earnestly wish you would exercise that power in this instance, which, I HAVE NOT THE SHADOW OF A DOUBT, but God hath invested you with, for the good of our connexion," Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. ii, p. 276.*

SECTION VI.—*Dr. Coke's Letter to Bishop White.*

In a letter to bishop White, of Pennsylvania, dated 24th April, 1791, Dr. Coke says, Mr. Wesley " did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with Episcopal authority." On this phrase, " as far as he had a right so to do," Mr. M'Caine declaims with great self gratulation. And connecting with it what he calls Dr. Coke's " proposals to bishop White, to have the preachers in the Methodist Episcopal church reordained by bishop White, and himself and the gentleman connected with him, consecrated for the Episcopal office," he exults in these figments, as if he had convicted Dr. Coke out of his own mouth, that he *did* doubt the validity of his own ordination, and consequently his right to ordain others: although Dr. Coke constantly affirmed that he *did not* doubt it, nor had a *shadow of a doubt* of it; and was in the constant practice of ordaining others.

Mr. M'Caine has been careful to collect into his pamphlet the stale objections of the enemies not only of our Episcopacy, but of our whole ministry and order—and if we are to be governed by his authorities, his own ordination as an *elder* is not one whit more valid than the Episcopal ordination of our bishops. If the reader will turn to p. 10, of " History and Mystery," &c, he will find a passage, which we have already quoted, commencing thus: " It is a principle universally established among Episcopalians," &c. Mr. M'Caine marks that passage as a *quotation*, yet gives no authority for it; although *in every other instance under that head*, he names his authority. Why did he not name it in this? Was it not because he was himself ashamed of it? Because it was taken from an avowed and personal enemy of our whole order; who denied the validity of every gospel ordinance as administered by us; and who, with all the effrontery of Rome, asserts in the very next parapraph to that which Mr. M'Caine cites, that " no true church can exist without a true Episcopacy, and that no Episcopacy can be a true one but that which is derived from the holy apostles in the order of bishops as superior to, and distinct from, the order of presbyters." The author of that pamphlet, after having *separated himself* from the Methodist church, exerted what skill he had to prove us guilty of schism, and destitute of every valid gospel ordinance. From *that* pamphlet, if we may judge from their correspondence, Mr.

* Yet in the face of this broad declaration, Mr. M'Caine repeatedly endeavours to make out that Dr. Coke *was* doubtful of the validity of his own ordination.

M'Caine has drawn his materials on the subject of this section; but has not had the candour to inform his readers that there has ever been any *refutation* of that author's aspersions.

The laboured declamation of Mr. M'Caine on this subject, as, indeed, a large portion of his book, is founded on an entire misconception, or misrepresentation, of Methodist Episcopacy. Mr. Wesley invested Dr. Coke with "Episcopal *authority*" in relation to the Methodists in America. In relation to *other* churches, Dr. Coke had no "Episcopal *authority*;" nor did Mr. Wesley claim a right to give him any. In this respect his language was considerate and precise. Neither have the bishops of other churches any "Episcopal authority" in relation to us; nor could they confer such authority among *us* on any individual without *our* act.

Had Dr. Coke, for the sake of union with the Protestant Episcopal Church, consented to submit to a second Episcopal ordination, or "consecration," it would by no means have proved that he therefore acknowledged, or even doubted, the validity of his prior ordination. It is well known that some Methodist presbyters, who have joined other churches, have *submitted* to a second ordination, *not for their own satisfaction*, but for the satisfaction of *others*, and because it was required of them in order to the union. The case would have been analogous, had Dr. Coke submitted to a second Episcopal ordination, for the sake of union with the Protestant Episcopal Church. *With his views at that time* of the probable effects of such an union, he might not have considered it wrong in such circumstances, to submit to a reordination. That such were the principles by which he was actuated, we have his own positive declarations. An authenticated copy of a letter which he addressed to bishop Asbury on this subject, is now before us, dated "near Leeds, Feb. 2, 1808." In this letter he states that he had heard that there had been a paper war concerning a letter which he wrote in the year 1791, to bishop White. He acknowledges that when he wrote that letter he did then believe that the union which he proposed would have a good effect. And particularly, that "it would very much enlarge our field of action, and that myriads would, in consequence of it, attend our ministry, who were then much *prejudiced* against us." He adds, however, that he had no idea of "deciding" on any thing. That such an idea, without the concurrence of bishop Asbury and of the General Conference, would have been absurd; and that what he did was intended to ascertain the sense of the Protestant Episcopal Church, preparatory to the General Conference; but at the same time he expressly declares, "I never applied to the convention for reconsecration. I never intended that either you or I should *give up* our Episcopal ordination. My proposals secured our *discipline in all points*." And afterwards adds, "But I *now* see that the failure of my plan, which was laid down from the purest motives, was for the best." The Rev. Ezekiel Cooper has in his possession an original letter from Dr. Coke to himself, of the same import.

Bishop White states that one of the outlines of Dr. Coke's plan, as to "the Methodist ministers," was "*their continuing under the super-*

intendence then existing, and on the practices of their peculiar institutions." This coincides with Dr. Coke's statement. Bishop White adds, "There was also suggested by him, a propriety, but not a condition made, of admitting to the Episcopacy himself and the gentleman associated with him in the superintendence of the Methodist societies." This suggestion, so far as we can discover, is not to be found in Dr. Coke's letter. It is true bishop White says in another place, as quoted by Mr. M'Caine in a *note*, "*or it may have been* the consecration of himself," [Dr. Coke,] "and the gentleman connected with him, for this measure was hinted in a conversation that afterwards took place between us." The very terms of this note show doubt on the face of it. And as we shall presently demonstrate that bishop White mistook the import of Dr. Coke's *letter*, it must be admitted to be possible that he might at least equally have misapprehended a *hint* in conversation. But why does Mr. M'Caine commence his quotation from bishop White's letter of Sept. 1806, in this broken manner; "*Or* it may have been," &c? What went before "*Or?*" and why was it not quoted? If we examine the *preceding part* of that paragraph in bishop White's letter, the reason is obvious. It did not suit Mr. M'Caine's purpose. Bishop White was *conjecturing* by what mean Dr. Coke had probably contemplated the removal of a difficulty on the part of some of the preachers in rising up to ordination, if it were left dependent on the then bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. That difficulty respected those preachers who were not acquainted with the learned languages. "What was his intended mean of removal of this difficulty," says bishop White, "does not appear in the letter. *It may have been*, a promise on the part of the bishops, that the ordination of the persons in question should not be prevented by that circumstance. *Or it may have been*," &c, as quoted by Mr. M'Caine. The *whole passage* taken together shows, that it was *conjectural*. As such we leave it. The propensity of the human mind to conjecture what is most accordant with its own habits of thinking, or what is best calculated to support its own views, is too well known to require discussion here.

But even admitting that bishop White may have been correct in his impression, that Dr. Coke did hint in conversation the propriety of admitting to the Episcopacy himself and the gentleman associated with him, in case of union with the Protestant Episcopal Church, it may be easily accounted for on bishop White's own principles, without supposing Dr. Coke by any means to have intended to admit *the nullity of his former Episcopal ordination*. Dr. Coke might, *at that time*, have thought it expedient, if a union took place, in order to gain the more, and to enlarge our field of action, to accommodate himself to the *prejudices* of those who deemed what they termed the "succession," of importance. This was precisely what bishop White himself had proposed but a few years before, in "The case of the Episcopal churches considered."—"If," said he, "such" [measures] "as have been above recommended should be adopted," [viz. admitting to the ininistry by a clergyman elected as permanent president, in conjunction with other clergymen,] "and the Episcopal succession afterwards obtained, any *supposed* imperfections of the intermediate ordinations,

might, *if it were judged proper*, be supplied *without acknowledging their nullity*, by a *conditional* ordination, resembling that of *conditional baptism.*" p. 17.

But *we* conjecture if Dr. Coke did hint or suggest the propriety of admitting to the Episcopacy, in union with the Protestant Episcopal church, himself and the gentleman connected with him, he either meant that they should be so admitted *without reconsecration;* or, if with reconsecration, then it was that he would submit to this for the sake of being *more extensively useful among those of the Protestant Episcopal church*, who might deem it of importance, in case of such an union, and not at all because he deemed it of any sort of consequence,—much less of necessity, either for himself, or for the Methodists.

But we have said that bishop White mistook the import of Dr. Coke's letter, and may possibly have equally mistaken the import of what he considered a hint in conversation. It remains to show this.

In his letter of July, 1804, bishop White says, "The general outlines of Dr. Coke's plan were a reordination of the Methodist ministers," &c. In the letter of Sept. 1806, he expresses it thus. "His plan" [Dr. Coke's] "was that all the ordained ministers then in the Methodist connection should receive Episcopal ordination." Now let us turn to Dr. Coke's own language, as contained in his letter to bishop White, dated April 24, 1791. "Our ordained ministers," says Dr. Coke, "*will not*, OUGHT NOT, to give up their *right* of administering the sacraments." Here their then existing "*right*" to administer the sacraments is expressly asserted, and also their *obligation* NOT *to give it up*, being a "*right*" of a sacred character, *already vested.* The *validity* of their ordination, is, in this passage, unequivocally averred. Yet Dr. Coke adds, "I don't think that the generality of them, perhaps none of them, would *refuse* to *submit* to a reordination, if other hindrances were removed out of the way." Now we ask in the name of candour, if there be no difference between saying it was *Dr. Coke's plan*, as if it had been *proposed* by him as a thing deemed necessary by himself, that all the ordained Methodist ministers should be reordained,—and his averring that they ought not to give up the "*right*" which they *previously* possessed of administering the sacraments, though he did not think that most of them, perhaps none of them, would *refuse* to *submit* to reordination, if their *compliance* in that respect should be the only remaining hindrance to a union?—The difference to us is clear. And we believe it will be equally plain to every impartial and candid reader.

But we will go further, and say, had it even been Dr. Coke's "plan" that all the ordained Methodist ministers should be reordained, in case of an union with the Protestant Episcopal Church, it could not have been because he admitted the nullity of their existing ordination, unless he palpably contradicted himself in the same breath. The principle of such a proposal, had it been made, could have been no other, from the evidence before us, than that above stated, viz. a willingness, for the sake of more extensive usefulness, to accommodate himself to the prejudices of others, when he did not believe that his doing so would be sinful. The justifiableness, and even the expediency

of such a course, without admitting the nullity of former ordinations, had been previously to that time amply vindicated by bishop White himself, in the case of the Episcopal churches. That pamphlet Dr. Coke had no doubt seen, and it is highly probable that that very work had a principal influence in inducing him to approach bishop White particularly on that subject.

We have only to add here, that whatever Dr. Coke did in this matter, was his own individual act; and was neither approved of, nor known by his colleague, bishop Asbury, nor, as far as we are acquainted, by a single other Methodist minister in the United States. And that Dr. Coke himself lived long enough to see, and with his characteristic candour, to *acknowledge* that the failure of his scheme had been for the best.*

A statement on this subject similar to that of Mr. M'Caine, was made by the Rev. Dr. Wyatt, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in a sermon published by that gentleman, in Baltimore, in the year 1820. From the correspondence of their materials it seems pretty evident that they both drew from the same fountain; which, however, they seem to have been equally ashamed to own. That Dr. Wyatt drew from it we think there can be little doubt; for he *adds* to the story a remarkable fabrication of his author, which we believe never before appeared any where else; and which it might have been well for Dr. Wyatt to have given that author credit for; since, in not doing so, he has taken upon himself the responsibility of asserting as a *fact* what we peremptorily deny to be such.

The author to whom we allude asserts that Dr. Coke's proposal to bishop White was made "*with the sanction, if not actually by the order of Mr. Wesley.*" Dr. Wyatt merely varies the phraseology a little, and asserts it was "*with the approbation if not direction of Mr. Wesley.*" In either shape we *deny* the statement and demand the proof. The fact is that Mr. Wesley at the time was *dead.* And if the communication to bishop White had been made by Dr. Coke with his approbation, and much more if by his direction, there can be no

* That Dr. Coke was ardent in his temperament, and sometimes hasty and precipitate in his measures, his best friends will admit. But his candour, when convinced of an error, was a trait in his character not less predominantly striking.—At some periods of his life there is no question that he would have been willing to make even *undue sacrifices* for the sake of accomplishing a union between the body of Methodists and the Protestant Episcopal Church; and also with the church of England. In addition to the prejudices of his education, as a clergyman of the church of England, it is highly probable, too, that, at the time of writing to bishop White, neither his mind, nor, perhaps, as he supposed, Mr. Wesley's, had entirely recovered from the influence of the proceedings of the conference of 1787, in relation to the appointment of Mr. Whatcoat, and the leaving of Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes. This state of things, according to Dr. Coke's views, may serve to account for several expressions in his letter to bishop White, both in relation to Mr. Wesley and to bishop Asbury. The transactions of that period of our history we shall presently explain more fully. It is sufficient to add here that whatever unfavourable impressions respecting Mr. Asbury had been produced abroad, previously to that time, he outlived them all. The affectionate assurances of confidence and union which passed between Dr. Coke and him, at the General Conference of 1796, are well remembered by several now living, who were then present. And Dr. Coke's letter to him, of Feb. 1808, quoted above, abundantly attests the fact.

doubt, from the open manner in which Dr. Coke unbosomed himself to bishop White, and from the use which he *did* make of Mr. Wesley's name that he would not have failed to mention so very important a circumstance, nor bishop White to communicate it. In fact, justice, in this case, would have required it, in Dr. Coke's defence. And we respectfully submit it to the Rev. Professor of Theology in the university of Maryland whether attempts in this way to wound so large and respectable a body as the Methodist Episcopal Church, on *such authority*, be not more disparaging to his own sacred and elevated character than to them.

In one colouring of the matter, however, neither Mr. M'Caine nor Dr. Wyatt seems to have had the hardihood to follow up his author.—That author says—"It was a *society* applying for readmission into the church, and not two equally independent bodies that were to be considered as negotiating."—"The society could and did acknowledge the church she applied to," &c. Now, as it respects any application on this subject from the *society*, as he here calls the Methodist Episcopal Church, all this is wholly false. Though, in our opinion, there is just as much truth in it as in the assertion of the same author that Dr. Coke's proposal was made with the sanction, if not by the order of Mr. Wesley.—And this tale, we apprehend, will gain but little additional credit when it is known that it originated with one who had deserted the Methodist Episcopal Church and joined the Protestant Episcopal Church; and after pronouncing upon that church the most fulsome and high toned eulogies, subsequently abandoned it also, and went where all who hold such principles as he had avowed, to be consistent with themselves ought to go,—to the Papists. And thence no doubt looked down on Dr. Wyatt, and the whole "*schismatical*" Protestant Episcopal Church, with as much contempt as he had before arrogated to himself the right to bestow, with so much bitter haughtiness, upon the Methodist Episcopal Church. We mean the Rev. Mr. Kewley. And this gentleman is one of the "writers" passed off on his readers by Mr. M'Caine, among his ecclesiastical writers of "*great celebrity!*"*

Dr. Wyatt asserts, further, that "it has been the faith of the *universal church*, *without exception*, until the period of the reformation, that to the order of bishops alone belongs the power of ordaining ministers: and that an ordination performed by the hands of a priest, deacon, or layman, or by any number of either, would be devoid of every degree of validity and efficacy, in conferring spiritual office and power."

* Dr. Bowden, another high church writer, in his letters to Dr. Miller, affirms that John Wesley was evidently persuaded by Coke, and two or three others, to take the step of ordaining bishops for America; and that it did not originate with himself. This will be sufficiently refuted in our section of "Testimonies of English Methodists." Dr. Bowden asserts also that Coke offered to bishop White "to give up their spurious Episcopacy," and insinuates that John Wesley acted "absolutely in contradiction to his own conviction." Dr. Bowden, however, wrote evidently in too great wrath to treat even the names of John Wesley and of Coke, with common decency. Nor will the reader be surprised at his saying any thing that suited the purpose of abusing the Methodists, when informed that he copied Mr. Kewley, whose authority he had the prudence to cite.—Mr. Kewley adopted the maxim, "throw dirt enough and some will stick:" And Dr. Bowden followed his example,

By bishops in this passage we understand Dr. Wyatt to mean diocesan bishops, in the high church sense. And as he thought proper to apply his remarks to the "Methodist denomination" by name, whom he acknowledges to be "zealous and devout," whilst he excludes our whole order from any part or lot in the Christian ministry, he will excuse us for saying a few words in self defence. *Agitur de vita et sanguine Turni.*

Dr. Wyatt has not even excepted the "exigence of necessity," which even Hooker says may "constrain to leave the usual ways of the church." The same Mr. Hooker adds, "Where the church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath, nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution hath given *oftentimes*, and may give, place. And therefore we are not simply, *without exception*, to urge a lineal descent of power from the apostles by continued succession of bishops, in every effectual ordination." Ecclesiastical Polity, Book vii, Sec. 14.

The authority of Mr. Hooker has always been ranked in the first class by high churchmen themselves; and Dr. White, as we have before shown, asserted that the necessity of the churches in this country, about the close of the revolutionary war, was even greater than the exigence of those foreign churches to which Hooker alluded.

In the reign of Edward VI., about the year 1547, a very grave and learned assembly of select divines, was called by the king's special order, for debating the settlement of things according to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church. It consisted of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, and many other prelates and divines of the first distinction. The account of their proceedings Dr. Stillingfleet assures us he took himself from the authentic manuscript of archbishop Cranmer, then first published. To the questions propounded to the assembly by order of the king, those eminent divines gave in their answers severally, on paper; which were all accurately summed up and set down by the archbishop of Canterbury himself. The following were some of the questions and answers.

Quest. 10. Whether bishops or priests were first; and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop?"

Answ. "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion."

Quest. 13. "Whether (if it fortuned a prince Christien lerned, to conquer certen domynyons of infidells, having none but the temporal lerned men with him) it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preche and teche the word of God there or no, and also make and constitute priests or no?"

Answ. "It is not against God's law, but contrary *they ought indede* so to do, and *there be historyes that witnesseth* that some Christien princes and other laymen unconsecrate have done the same."—— Observe,—"*there be histories that witness.*"—certainly before "the reformation," which was then but just begun.

Quest. 14. "Whether it be forfended by God's law, that if it so fortuned that all the bishopps and priests were dedde, and that the word of God shuld there unpreached, the sacrament of baptisme and others

unministred, the king of that region shulde make bishoppes and priests to supply the same or no?"

Answ. "It is not forbidden by God's law."*

Iren. pp. 386–393.

"If we may believe the great antiquaries of the church of Scotland, that church was governed by their *culdei*, as they called their *presbyters*, without any bishop over them, for a long time.——*Johannes Fordonus* (De gestis Scot. lib. ii, ch. 2,) is clear and full as to their government from the time of their conversion about A. D. 263, to the coming of Palladius, A. D. 430, that they were only governed by presbyters and monks. Ante Palladii adventum habebant Scoti fidei doctores ac *sacramentorum ministratores presbyteros solummodo*, vel monachos ritum sequentes Ecclesiæ primitivæ." Ib. p. 375.

It is no way sufficient, says Stillingfleet, "to say that these presbyters did derive their authority from some bishops——if they had any they were only chosen from their *culdei*," (as they called their presbyters,) "much after the custom of the church of Alexandria, as Hector Boethius doth imply. And if we believe Philostorgius, the Gothic churches were planted and governed by presbyters for above seventy years; for so long it was from their first conversion to the time of Ulphilas, whom he makes their first bishop." Ib.

For another instance, about the year 390, see Irenicum, p. 379,—and others in the year 452, after stating and arguing which, Dr. Stillingfleet thus concludes. "It appears then that this power" [of ordination by presbyters] "was restrained by the laws of the church, for preserving unity in itself; but yet so that in case of necessity what was done by presbyters was not looked on as invalid." Ib. p. 381.

We have already referred to the practice of the church of Alexandria in making their bishops; for more than two hundred years. The mode in which some high church writers attempt to explain Jerome's account of that matter we are not unapprized of. It would be easy to show that their explanation by no means deprives us, in this case, of the authority even of Jerome: and those learned doctors, to use the language of Stillingfleet, who would persuade us that the presbyters did only make choice of the person, but the ordination was performed by other bishops, would do well *first* to tell us who and where those bishops were,—especially while Egypt remained but one province under the Præfectus Augustalis. But in proof of the correctness of our understanding of the case, we adduce the testimony of the patriarch of Alexandria himself, who expressly affirms, as we have before quoted, "That the twelve presbyters constituted by Mark, upon the vacancy of the see, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and *the other eleven* did *lay their hands upon him*, and *blessed him*, and *made him patriarch*." The patriarch, or bishop of Alexan-

* Of archbishop Cranmer, Dr. Warner, as cited with approbation by bishop White, says, "His equal was never yet seen in the see of Canterbury, and I will take upon me to say that his superior never will."—The two last questions and answers above, are cited by bishop White also, who adds respecting them, "The above may be offered as the opinions of not only Cranmer, but also of most of the eminent bishops and other clergy of that period." Episcopal Churches Considered, p. 28.

dria, who states this, was Eutychius, whose *annals*, with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant, and whom Mosheim mentions as the chief example of those Egyptian writers of the tenth century, "who in genius and learning were no wise inferior to the most eminent of the Grecian literati." Mosh. Vol. ii, 383, 404.

Stillingfleet understood this case as published by the most learned Selden, precisely in the same sense; and it is evident that archbishop Usher did also; for when, he says, king Charles the I. asked him at the Isle of Wight, whether he found in antiquity that *presbyters alone ordained any*, he replied, yes; and that he could show his majesty more, even where presbyters alone *successively ordained bishops*, and brought as an instance of this the presbyters of Alexandria choosing and making their own bishops, from the days of Mark, till Heraclas and Dionysius, a space of more than 200 years.

But after all that Dr. Wyatt has said, it is not a little remarkable that he recognises the Lutheran church of Sweden, as a regular and valid *Episcopal* church; although if Dr. Miller be correct, it is notorious that the first ministers who undertook to ordain in Sweden, after the introduction of the reformation, were only presbyters; and the Lutheran church does not scruple to admit the ordination even of *bishops* by presbyters, and indisputably disclaims any pretence of an apostolical and "divinely protected succession" of bishops, for the validity of Episcopacy.

The burden of *proof* in this matter was not properly incumbent on *us;* yet we have now adduced cases sufficient to form at least some *exceptions* to Dr. Wyatt's sweeping universal affirmative. When he shall have satisfactorily disposed of these, we may perhaps produce more.

Section VII.—*The Prayer Book of* 1784.

Mr. M'Caine says, "The distinction between bishops and presbyters being the foundation of the Episcopal form of government, and this distinction having no existence in fact, nor in Mr. Wesley's creed, our Episcopal superstructure falls to the ground." p. 19. Now we have abundantly proved, according to ecclesiastical writers of the most distinguished celebrity, that an Episcopal form of government is perfectly consistent with the admission that bishops and presbyters were primarily and inherently the same order. And we have especially proved that this was Mr. Wesley's view in particular. It was ten years after he was convinced that bishops and presbyters were the same order, that he declared that he still believed the Episcopal form of church government to be Scriptural and apostolical; that is, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. So far as this argument is concerned, therefore, our "Episcopal superstructure," may still stand.

In another place, p. 14, Mr. M'Caine says, "It is upon the *prayer book* our Episcopal mode of government is made to rest, and this is the *only* authority which is *attempted* to be produced for it." Were

we disposed to adopt Mr. M'Caine's language, and to give our remarks a "serious moral bearing," we might ask, Is *this* "TRUTH?"

But, although it is very far from being true that the prayer book is the only authority which is at least attempted to be produced for our Episcopal mode of government, yet, so far as Mr. Wesley's recommendation is concerned, we shall probably make a little more out of the prayer book than the silly witness "brought into court" by Mr. M'Caine, who was careful both to choose his witness, and to put such answers into his mouth as were to his own purpose. Such a process a *good* cause cannot need. A bad one it might serve.

Dr. Coke's letters of ordination as a superintendent, were dated Sept. 2, 1784. Mr. Wesley's preface to the first edition of his abridgment of the prayer book was dated Sept. 9, 1784, and his letter "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America," bore date Sept. 10, of the same year. These documents, therefore, so nearly synchronous, are to be regarded, with the prayer book, as parts of one whole; and as constituting, together, the "little sketch" which Mr. Wesley says he had drawn up in compliance with the desire of some thousands of the inhabitants of these States. This "sketch" had direct reference to the "ecclesiastical authority" to be exercised among "our brethren in North America;" where, as he says in the sentence immediately preceding, no one then "either exercised or claimed any ecclesiastical authority at all."

Mr. M'Caine admits that the prayer book of 1784, entitled "The Sunday service of the Methodists in North America, *with other occasional services*," was printed at Mr. Wesley's own press, and sent to us by the hands of Dr. Coke. We ask then, was not the abridging, and printing, and sending this book to us, a "recommendation," even if it had contained no preface, and the *term* "recommend" had never been used? And was it not a recommendation of those "*other occasional services*," as well as "the Sunday service?" And for what were those other occasional services sent to us, if not to be used as a pattern in the *ordering* of our ministry? To be able to answer these questions satisfactorily, it will be necessary to observe carefully what those "other occasional services" were. It is not necessary here to name those for baptism, matrimony, the burial of the dead, &c. The following are sufficient for our purpose. At page 280, we find the forms for ordaining our ministers thus headed: "The form and manner of making and *ordaining* of SUPERINTENDENTS, ELDERS, and DEACONS."

The first office following is entitled, "The form and manner of making of DEACONS." And the running title at the head of the page is, "*The ordaining of deacons.*"

The second office is, "The form and manner of ordaining of ELDERS." The running title is, "*The ordaining of elders.*"

The third is, "The form of ordaining of a SUPERINTENDENT." The running title is, "*The ordination of superintendents.*"

On these facts we remark;—1. It is a fair presumption that when Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey were set apart as *elders*, and Dr. Coke as a *superintendent*, the same forms were used by Mr. Wesley himself which he abridged for us.

2. He himself expressly calls these acts "ordaining," and "ordina

tion." The reader will notice that Mr. Wesley undeniably intended that *our* setting apart superintendents in America, should be called "*ordaining*" superintendents; and "the *ordination* of superintendents." Yet when Dr. Coke was solemnly set apart by *him*, assisted by three other presbyters, Mr. M'Caine thinks we ought not to call it an ordination, and that Mr. Wesley meant no such thing!

3. If the setting apart of *superintendents*, as such, was not intended by Mr. Wesley to establish the ordination of such an order of ministers among us, neither was the setting apart of *deacons* and *elders*, intended to establish *those* orders. Similar forms and solemnities were recommended for the former as for the latter. In this case, if Mr. M'Caine's arguments be conclusive, it follows as clearly that Mr. M'Caine's *eldership* has been "saddled" upon the people contrary to Mr. Wesley's intention, as that our Episcopacy has been. We assert with confidence, that any intelligent, candid, and impartial man, who shall examine this prayer book, will say, either that Mr. Wesley intended to establish the ordination of an order of superintendents, to act as bishops in *fact*, though with the title of superintendents; or, that he did not intend to establish the ordination of any orders of ministers at all; and that "our fathers" utterly mistook "the whole affair."*

4. The preceding remark is confirmed by this fact. The forms recommended to us by Mr. Wesley for "ordaining of *superintendents, elders*, and deacons," are precisely similar to those used by the church of England, and by the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, for ordaining of "*bishops, priests*, and deacons." The only difference is that Mr. Wesley somewhat abridged the forms, with a few verbal alterations, and substituted the title "superintendent," for "bishop," just as he did that of "elder" for "priest." So that it is plain if by "superintendent" he did not mean that order of ministers denominated by those churches "bishops," neither by "elder," did he mean that order of ministers denominated by those churches "priests."

5. In whatever sense distinct ordinations constitute distinct orders, in the same sense Mr. Wesley certainly intended that we should have three orders. For he undeniably instituted three distinct ordinations. All the forms and solemnities requisite for the constituting of any one order, in this sense, were equally prepared and recommended by him to us for the constituting of three orders. The term "*ordain*" is derived from the Latin *ordino*, to order, to create or commission one to be a public officer.—And this from *ordo*, order. And hence persons *ordained*, are said to be persons in "Holy orders." And the degree of ordination stated in the "commission," or letters of ordination, shows

*Mr. M'Caine's proceeding reminds us of the old Greek apologue of the eagle, which we will give in an ancient English version.

"The eagle saw her breast was wounded sore:
She stood, and weeped much, but grieved more.
But when she saw the dart was *feather'd*, said,
Woe's me! for my own kind hath me destroy'd!"

But had the eagle known that it was not only her own "kind," but her own offspring, who for the sake of winging a dart to wound his parent, had actually plucked himself to death, she would doubtless have weeped and grieved more.

the degree of the orders. At the same time we maintain that a third degree of ordination is perfectly compatible with the doctrine of two orders, if the term "order" be used as implying *divine right*. This Mr. M'Caine admits. And it will appear still more clearly if we consider the nature and origin of ordination, as above stated. Lord King maintains that bishops and presbyters, in the primitive church, were the same order. Yet he expressly says that the bishops, when chosen such from among the presbyters, were *ordained*, as *bishops*, by imposition of hands. *Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church*, p. 49. In this respect, both Mr. Wesley's usage and ours exactly correspond with that of the primitive church, according to Lord King, even on the principle of two orders.

6. The extension of the jurisdiction of the bishop, in consequence of the extension of the church, is not the creating of any new office, as we have shown from Stillingfleet, and certainly cannot make it less proper that he should be solemnly ordained by imposition of hands, and furnished with suitable credentials. The revival of such an itinerant, extensive, personal oversight and inspection, is the *revival* of the apostolic practice, and, as Mr. Wesley says, *well agrees* both with their practice, and with their writings.

7. The idea that *equals* cannot, from among themselves, constitute an officer, who, *as an officer*, shall be superior to any of those by whom he was constituted, is contradicted by all experience and history, both civil and ecclesiastical; and equally so by common sense. The contrary is too plain to require illustration. It should be remembered, too, that Dr. Coke was ordained a superintendent not by Mr. Wesley only, but by four presbyters;—two of them indisputably acknowledged as such by the whole of the church of England, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and all of them by us, and by all others, both in those and in other churches, who admit the validity of ordination by presbyters, in such an exigency as that in which Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey were ordained such.—It is to be remembered, also, that Dr. Coke was afterwards authoritatively and unanimously received in this office, by the body of preachers over whom he was to preside; and that all these acts, in the peculiar circumstances in which Mr. Wesley's advice and help were asked, are to be taken together, as investing Dr. Coke with his "Episcopal authority" among us. A similar statement might be made with respect to Mr. Asbury, only substituting his unanimous election, for unanimous reception. These church officers, after they were thus constituted and commissioned, *were* superior *as our officers*, in the actual exercise of certain executive powers among us, to any individual of those by whom they were constituted. Even Mr. Wesley could not actually station the preachers in America, after we had superintendents of our own, agreeably to his own advice; yet Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury could. We shall hereafter prove that Mr. Wesley did not reserve to himself even the appointment of our superintendents; and that neither did the General conference of 1784 so understand him; nor was he, in consequence of any act of theirs, thereafter to exercise this power.

We turn now to the *preface* of this prayer book.

This preface is signed "John Wesley," and dated "Bristol, Sept.

9, 1784,"—only seven days after the ordination of Dr. Coke; and was plainly intended as a preface *to the whole book*. In the first paragraph Mr. Wesley speaks in high terms of the "*Liturgy*," or "Common Prayer of the Church of England." He then states that he had made "little alteration" in this edition of it, except omitting most of the *holy days*, so called;—shortening the service of the *Lord's day;* omitting some sentences in the offices of *baptism*, and for the *burial of the dead;* and leaving out many of the *psalms*, and parts of others. The enumeration of those particulars proves that by his edition of the "Liturgy" or "Common Prayer," he meant *the whole book*, with all the *offices*, and *forms*, contained in it, as well as the *Sunday service*, and *psalms*. With this evident meaning, he says, "The following edition of it I recommend to our societies in America." Now this edition contained a form for "the ordination of *superintendents*" among us, in the same manner as *bishops* are ordained in the church of England; with the same *solemnities*, and for the same *purposes;* viz: to *preside* over the flock of Christ, including the *presbyters* and *deacons;* and to *ordain* others. Now does it comport with good sense to say, that Mr. Wesley recommended the *form*, but not the *thing* which that form imports? And will any intelligent man pronounce that that thing is not an *Episcopal* order of ministers, and an *Episcopacy* in *fact*, by whatever names they may have been called? This point is so plain that we are really ashamed to dwell on it.

That we are not mistaken in the comprehensive import of the terms "Liturgy," and "Common Prayer," as above asserted will appear from the following language of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by which the liturgy of that church was ratified, on the 16th of Oct. in the year 1789; and also from the language of bishops White and Brownell.

"This convention, having in this present session set forth 'A BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH,' do hereby establish said *book:* and they declare it to be THE LITURGY of this church; and require that it be received as such by all the members of the same."

"The principal act of this session" says bishop White, in his Memoirs of the Church, "was the preparing of the *book of Common Prayer*, as now the established *Liturgy* of the church."

At the convention of 1808," (says bishop Brownell, in the introduction to 'the Family Prayer Book, or book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church,') "thirty hymns were added to the *Book of psalms and hymns*. Since which time no changes have been made in our *Liturgy*." All which proves that by "the Liturgy," is to be understood the whole book of Common Prayer, with all the forms, rites, ceremonies, orders, offices, and adminstrations therein set forth and recommended.

A writer in another work lately suggested an inquiry whether our articles of religion also were not "surreptitiously" introduced originally, and imposed on us by the bishops. We have not the work at hand to quote verbatim, but give the sentiment as we recollect it.

If our brother will look into this prayer book of 1784, he will find our articles of religion, abridged from the thirty-nine articles of the

church of England by Mr. Wesley, printed and recommended by him in this book, and adopted as Mr. M'Caine admits this edition of the prayer book was, by the conference of 1784. It is true the articles are not *named* in the preface. But will any one contend that *therefore* Mr. Wesley did not mean to *recommend* them to us, although they are a part of the *book* which he prepared, and printed, and sent, and recommended? Yet most certainly it would be just as rational to assert this, as that he did not mean to recommend to us the institution of an Episcopal order of ministers, although he did prepare, and print, and send, and recommend to us a solemn form for the setting apart and ordaining of such an order.

In this prayer book however, but twenty-four articles will be found; whereas we now have twenty-five. The additional one inserted by the conference of 1784, is that now numbered the twenty-third, "of the rulers of the United States of America." In the Sunday service Mr. Wesley inserted the form of "a prayer for the supreme rulers of these United States." But it is probable that he did not consider himself sufficiently well acquainted with our civil institutions, at that early period, to frame an "article" under this head; and hence the addition of this article, by the conference of 1784, in conformity with the prayer in the Sunday service.

That no investigation of this sort, however strict, if conducted with a spirit of candour and fairness, can ever bring any stain on the fair escutcheon of our fathers, we are well persuaded. But if, coming from such sources, the challenging of such inquiries be connected with darkling insinuations of imposition and fraud, it cannot fail to furnish occasion to the ignorant, the disaffected, the bigotted, and the malevolent, who seek occasion against the defenceless manes of our venerated fathers; at whose feet, while on earth, it would have been an honour to any of us, their sons, to sit; and may yet be in heaven. On this ground, and on this only, the time, and place, and manner of these things, we cannot but regret.

The Prayer Book of 1784, was brought to America in *sheets*. In those copies of it which have come under our inspection, the *Minutes* of the General Conference of 1784 are bound with it. The proper place and weight of those Minutes, in this argument, will be considered in the ensuing section, in which we shall discuss the Prayer Book of 1786.

Section VIII.—*The Prayer Book of* 1786.

This Prayer Book is entitled, "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in the United States of America, with other occasional services." ——It was printed London, 1786, at the press of "Frys and Couchman." In this edition we find the twenty-five articles of religion, including that of "The rulers of the United States of America;"—and also "The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America."—Those Minutes were first printed in Philadelphia by Charles Cist, in 1785, and were bound up with the volume of the Prayer Book which was brought from England, in

sheets, in 1784. But in the edition of 1786, they are regularly printed *as a part of the book.* It is demonstrable, on the face of the book, that the Minutes, as they appear in this edition, could not have been printed in America, and the rest of the book in England. This any printer will attest.

We have now before us a small volume, entitled "Minutes of several Conversations between the Rev. Mr. Wesley, and others, from the year 1744, to the year 1789.—*London;* printed by G. Paramore, North Green, Worship Street, and sold by G. Whitfield, at the Chapel, City Road, and at all the Methodist preaching houses in town and country. 1791."——By a careful comparison of these Minutes with those of the General Conference of 1784, it will be found that the latter are nearly a copy of the former so far as they had then been drawn up and published by Mr. Wesley; with some occasional alterations, adapted to our circumstances in this country; together with the insertion of some few original Minutes. There is plain internal evidence in the two publications, that the Minutes previously prepared by Mr. Wesley, were made the basis of those of the General Conference of 1784, and that the latter were drawn up from the former, with such alterations, abridgments, modifications, or additions, as that conference thought necessary. And such weare in formed wasthe fact. These Minutes, thus prepared from Mr. Wesley's, were the ground work of our "Form of Discipline."

The General Conference of 1784, commenced its session on the 24th of December; and closed on the 1st of January, 1785. On the 3d of January Dr. Coke left Baltimore. From the 8th to the 19th he was in Philadelphia, and there published the Minutes of that conference, the title of which was, "The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America." And in the answer to the third question, it was declared that they had formed themselves into an "Episcopal Church." See Dr. Coke's Journal, of the above dates, and January 22, 1785.—On the 2d of June following, Dr. Coke sailed from Baltimore for England, and was present at the ensuing British Conference, which commenced in London, on the 26th of July, of that year. His name is signed first to an instrument which was drawn up at that conference, and which bears date July 30, 1785, and may be seen in the British Minutes of that year. Mr. Wesley was also present at that conference.——Now let the reader put all these facts together, and then candidly consider the following questions:

1. If Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were conscious that they had been guilty of duplicity, imposition, and fraud, or of violating Mr. Wesley's instructions, in the organization of the *Methodist Episcopal Church,* is it probable that they would immediately after have printed and published these Minutes with this title, and with an explicit statement of what had been done, and thus have exposed their acts in the face of Mr. Wesley, and of the world? Is it probable that Dr. Coke particularly, who had the Minutes printed, would have done this, knowing that he was so soon to return to England?

2. Is it not rationally presumable that a copy of these Minutes had reached Mr. Wesley, in the interval between their publication in the

middle of January, and the last of July of that year, before the close of the British conference?

3. Is it not at least certain that Mr. Wesley must have felt sufficient interest in this matter, to have required from Dr. Coke a particular account of what had been done in America?

4. Is it not presumable that Dr. Coke carried with him a copy of the printed Minutes?

5. Is it not presumable that Mr. Wesley would have inquired of him whether minutes were not taken, knowing our custom to take minutes at all our conferences, and also have requested to see them?

6. Could Dr. Coke have declined to show them, or have concealed from Mr. Wesley what had been done, without the grossest duplicity, and positive falsehood?

7. Is it probable that Dr. Coke was not only so knavish, but so stupid, as to hazard his reputation, character, standing, and even his salvation, thus cheaply and foolishly, when he must have anticipated with certainty that Mr. Wesley would, at some future time, obtain a knowledge of what had been done, if he did not then?

8. If Dr. Coke could have been guilty of such baseness, is it not probable that Mr. Wesley would have received information of it from some other quarter; at least before his death; which did not take place till nearly six years afterwards?

9. If Mr. Wesley had ever discovered that Dr. Coke had so grossly betrayed his trust, and imposed both on him and on us, could he have continued afterwards so highly to esteem and honour him, as he notoriously did, even to the day of his death?

We know that Mr. M'Caine has represented that Mr. Wesley did punish Dr. Coke for his proceedings at this period, by leaving his name off the minutes for one year. But this is an entire mistake. At this very conference of 1785, Dr. Coke's name appears in the British minutes in London, next after John and Charles Wesley themselves. In 1786 he was appointed by Mr. Wesley, as Mr. Crowther and Mr. Myles both state, to visit the societies in British America. And his name appears in the *minutes published by Mr. Wesley* in the Arminian Magazine for that year, under the head "*America.*" The reason why it did not appear for that year in London, as usual, was probably because it was not expected that he would return to England till the ensuing conference, as we know he did not. Yet previously to his leaving England for America, he attended and presided in the Irish conference in the year 1786, by Mr. Wesley's direction, and *as his representative.* See Myles' Chronological History. Does this look like being then "under censure?"

In 1787 and 1788, he was again stationed in London with John and Charles Wesley. In 1789 his name was left off the minutes; but for reasons, as we shall hereafter show, which had no shadow of connexion either with his proceedings at the conference of 1784, or with his assuming the title of bishop, as Mr. M'Caine asserts. In 1790 he was again stationed in London with John and Charles Wesley; and in 1791, at the conference succeeding Mr. Wesley's death, Dr. Coke stood first in London.

In February 1789, Mr. Wesley made his last will and testament.

In that will he constituted five important trusteeships, in all of which he named Dr. Coke *first*, except one, and in that he named him second. That Will Mr. Wesley kept by him for two years, and left it unaltered to the day of his death. It is surely needless to say more to prove the high estimation in which, to his last moments, he continued to hold Dr. Coke. Nor could any testimony be more honourable to the memory of Dr. Coke than such an one as this, from a man of so much intelligence, and close and accurate observation as Mr. Wesley; and who had means of *knowing* Dr. Coke certainly ten thousand times more ample than Mr. M'Caine has ever had.

10. If Dr. Coke, on his return to England in 1785, had succeeded in deceiving Mr Wesley, and in concealing from him the proceedings in America, is it at least probable that he would have hazarded his own exposure and utter disgrace, by *reprinting*, in London, the minutes of the conference of 1784, only one year after his return, and while Mr. Wesley was on the spot? Yet this he did do, retaining in those minutes the title of "The Methodist Episcopal Church," and declaring that our societies here had been formed into an "*Episcopal* Church." Our question here is, not whether Mr. Wesley ever did actually see these minutes, or not. This we will consider presently. But whether Dr. Coke, on the supposition that he had so grossly imposed on Mr. Wesley as above stated, could have been both so daring and so stupid as even to *hazard* his seeing them, by causing them to be republished in London, during Mr. Wesley's life time?

11. Is it probable that this edition of the Prayer Book, with these minutes in it, after being thus published in London, should have continued in existence five years, till the death of Mr. Wesley, without ever coming to his knowledge? Such a complicated machinery of fraud and villany must have been kept in operation, on the part of Dr. Coke; such a combination and collusion of all parties against Mr. Wesley, must have been carried on for so long a time; and such surprising ignorance must have existed on his part, for the accomplishment of all this, as is we must confess, beyond the reach of our highest credulity.

Under all these circumstances we feel warranted in asserting that Mr. Wesley must have been acquainted with these minutes, and consequently did know that the societies here had been formed into an "Episcopal Church," with the title of "The Methodist Episcopal Church." And if he did know it, and did not promptly and explicitly state his disapprobation of it, as we affirm he never did, we have a right to regard it as conclusive proof of his sanction.

But there is yet stronger proof. In the Arminian Magazine for 1785, published by Mr. Wesley himself, we find the following minutes:—"An extract from the minutes of a conference held at London, July 1785, between the Rev. John Wesley and others." In this extract, after giving the stations of the preachers in England, Mr. Wesley in a distinct place, adds the stations in America. In these Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury are mentioned as superintendents; and the names of all the *elders* who had been elected and ordained *at the conference of* 1784, are then severally stated, together with those of Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey.

In connexion with these minutes, and in answer to the question "What is the state of our societies in North America?" Mr. Wesley inserted also in this place, the letter "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America;" as showing their state; and on doing so, makes this remarkable note:—"If any one is minded to dispute concerning diocesan Episcopacy, he may dispute. But I have better work."—See Arminian Magazine, vol. viii, pp. 600–602. From the terms and connexion of this note, it is highly probable that he had been charged with having instituted such an Episcopacy in America, and refused to *dispute* about it; preferring rather to go on with his *work*. But if he knew that he had done no such thing, and intended no such thing;—and much more, if he had been indignant at such an idea, as Mr. M'Caine would represent, he would simply and flatly have denied the charge, and repelled the statement.—And with this charge against him too, there is the greater certainty that it was then known there through Dr. Coke, or the minutes of the conference of 1784, that such an Episcopacy had actually been established in America.*

Assuming the fact then, that Mr. Wesley did, at some time, and in some way, become acquainted with the acts and proceedings of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, and of the conference of 1784, in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we ask, where is the evidence that he ever disavowed them?—or ever declared that in so doing they had gone contrary to his instructions? Where is the evidence that he ever objected to that title of the church, or to the terms "Episcopal," and "Episcopacy?" Where is the evidence that he ever protested or remonstrated against either of these, or against our adoption of the "Episcopal" form of church government, under the direction of superintendents, elders, and deacons?—If Mr. Wesley knew that all this had been done "surreptitiously" and fraudulently; and much more, if he knew that it had been imposed and "saddled" on the societies against his intentions, and under the cloak and sanction of his name, would he not have declared it? Would it not have been his *duty* to declare it? and may we not be well assured that he would have done so, from the plainness and the decision with which we know that he was accustomed to speak; and particularly at a time when he was personally charged and pressed by his brother Charles and others, for having thus "acted as a bishop," as we know he was.—Yet we deny that one syllable of such evidence has ever yet been produced. To the terms "Episcopal" and "Episcopacy,"—to our being called the "Methodist Episcopal Church," or having adopted the "Episcopal" form of church government, Mr. Wesley never did object; and we challenge the production of one particle of testimony to show that he ever did.—What Mr. M'Caine has said with regard to his letter to bishop Asbury, respecting the title "bishop," we shall distinctly discuss in another place, and shall prove that it does not in the slightest degree impugn what we have now asserted.

But Mr. M'Caine says, p. 17, "The circumstance" of this edition of the Prayer Book "being printed by Frys and Couchman, and not

* A diocesan Episcopacy is simply an Episcopacy extending beyond the superintendence of a single congregation. A diocess is the circuit of a bishop's jurisdiction, whether large or small.

by Mr. Wesley, renders the whole affair suspicious."—That "it was printed for somebody—perhaps for Dr. Coke, who in 1786 was under censure by Mr. Wesley for the address he presented to general Washington,"—"and contains an article of religion not contained in Mr. Wesley's Prayer Book."

It is really surprising with what uniformity Mr. M'Caine persists in the plainest errors;—familiarizing his mind with "suspicion" in the utter absence of proof;—withholding circumstances which would explain what he wraps in "mystery;"—and exposing himself to a severity of criticism, from which, did justice to our subject and to the dead permit, we would fain forbear.

The address to Washington we shall notice hereafter. The article of religion contained in the Prayer Book of 1786 which was not in that of 1784, is that now numbered the 23d,—"Of the Rulers of the United States of America," which had been adopted by the General Conference of 1784, and was most properly inserted in the ensuing edition of the Prayer Book in 1786.—Had Mr. M'Caine stated this, all mystery respecting the addition of this article would have been dissipated.—It was not necessary that this Prayer Book should have been printed at Mr. Wesley's press. It was not printed for Mr. Wesley, nor for the Methodists in England; but for those in the United States, of whom Dr. Coke was a superintendent.—Dr. Coke was possessed of an ample fortune, and with a liberality amounting almost to profuseness, devoted his fortune to such expenses, and to any others which he believed calculated to serve the cause in which he was engaged. He had procured the printing of the minutes previously in Philadelphia, and now published another edition of this Prayer Book, with the minutes and articles of religion included, for the Methodists in America. Frys and Couchman had been in the habit of printing for Mr. Wesley, and were the printers of the second volume of the Arminian Magazine. And we can perceive nothing in this whole affair calculated to render it in the least degree "suspicious" to any but a mind habituated to a suspiciousness which spares not the characters even of men who have been among the brightest ornaments of the Christian church, and as distinguished for their high sense of honour and propriety, as for their liberality and deep devotion.

Mr. M'Caine adds, "After the publication of the Prayer Book of 1786, a rule was passed in the conference, that no book should be sold among his societies" [Mr. Wesley's] "which was not printed at his press. But whether this rule was passed with special reference to the Prayer Book of 1786 or not," he adds, "we cannot say." That is a Prayer Book for the Methodists "in the United States of America," with a prayer for "the rulers of the United States of America," and an article of religion acknowledging these rulers, and Mr. M'Caine could not say whether it was not intended for sale among the societies in *England;* and whether Mr. Wesley and the British conference did not find it necessary gravely to pass a resolution prohibiting the sale of it there!

But on this point Mr M'Caine has suffered his speculations to carry him beyond his mark. He "cannot say" that this resolution was not "passed with special reference to the Prayer Book of 1786." If it

were, Mr. Wesley must have had knowledge of that Prayer Book. And if he had, then all the inferences which we have drawn above are amply confirmed, and stand in full force.

Section IX.—*Bishop Asbury.*

Our reverence for the name and for the character of Mr. Wesley, is unfeigned and profound. We have never felt free, however, to claim for him absolute infallibility; or an incapableness of being led, on any occasion, or in any circumstances, to use even too strong an expression.

That his letter to Mr. Asbury, on suffering himself to be called bishop, contains expressions too severe, will be admitted, we think, by his warmest friends. Mr. M'Caine, indeed, rejoices over it, as one who has found great spoil. He seems delighted with it. Yet the discerning reader will perceive that, after all, in summing up in his "conclusion," he has wholly misrepresented its import. "Let the name of bishop and the Episcopal office as it now exists among us," says he, "be put away for ever. In doing this, we shall comply with Mr. Wesley's advice to Mr. Asbury. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this." To what?—To "the Episcopal *office?*" We deny that Mr. Wesley ever advised any such thing, or ever meant, or intended, so to be understood. It was to the term "bishop" solely that he objected, from the associations ordinarily connected with it in the public mind, especially in England. To the "office" he never did object; nor to the terms "Episcopacy," or "Episcopal." The office was of his own creation, and he intended it to be perpetuated. And will Mr. M'Caine contend that if the "office," as it now exists, or was originally instituted, had been continued from the beginning, as it was for several years, with the title of superintendent, that the church would have been any less Episcopal, in form or in fact, or its superintendents any less bishops? The logic by which this should be made out would be a curiosity.*

That our views of this letter, correspond with those of Mr. Wesley's biographer, and his intimate companion and friend, the venerable

* On Dr. Coke's return to England after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church, he was attacked by an anonymous writer, supposed to have been Mr. Charles Wesley. In his defence he affirmed, that in his proceedings in America, "he did nothing but by a delegated power which he received from Mr. Wesley." This he affirmed publicly, under Mr. Wesley's eye; and at a time when there is every reason to believe that Mr. Wesley had seen the *Minutes* of the conference of 1784. "On this ground," says Mr. Drew, "it cannot be denied, that his plea of delegated authority is valid, Mr. Wesley and himself being identified together." Life of Dr. Coke, p. 101.

Mr. M'Caine asserts, p. 16, that in the progress of his work "documents will be found, which unequivocally declare his" [Mr. Wesley's,] "disapprobation of the proceedings of the conference" [of 1784,] "in relation to every thing appertaining to Episcopacy." This assertion we wholly deny. Not one such document is found in his whole work. The mere title of bishop, to which Mr. Wesley did object, was not the act of the conference of 1784; nor is it at all necessary to the existence of "Episcopacy," which might exist as well without as with it; and did so exist for several years.

Henry Moore, who gave publicity to the letter, will appear from the following quotations.

"Mr. Wesley," says Mr. Moore, "well knew the difference between the *office* and the *title*. He knew and felt the arduous duties and the high responsibility which attaches to the one, and the comparative nothingness of the other." Life of Wesley, vol. ii, p. 278.

"He gave to those Επισκοποι," [*Episcopoi*, bishops,] "whom he ordained, the modest, but highly expressive title of *superintendents*, and desired that no other might be used." Ib. p. 280. His objection to the title "bishop," Mr. Moore adds, arose from his "hatred of all display."

Mr. Asbury was of opinion that the "unpleasant expressions" in some of the letters which he received from his venerable friend, were "occasioned by the misrepresentations of others." Yet he bore them with a meekness which has obtained for him the commendation of Mr. Wesley's own biographer, who was satisfied that Mr. Asbury "was not convinced that he had acted wrong, and lost none of his veneration for his father in the gospel [Mr. Wesley,] on this occasion." It is manifest, indeed, that Mr. Moore himself was of opinion that Mr. Wesley, in this affair, had expressed himself too strongly, and rather inconsistently with his former admissions. "But did he not," says Mr. Moore, "upon this occasion, a little forget what he had written in his address to the societies in America, after their separation from the mother country: 'They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church; and we judge it best that they should stand fast in the liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.' But the association in his mind, between the assumed *title* and the *display* connected with it in the later ages of the church, was too strong. He could not, at that moment, separate the plain laborious bishops of the American societies, where there is no legal establishment, from the dignified prelates of the mighty empire of Great Britain.

"That our brethren who are in that office," continues Mr. Moore, "are true scriptural bishops, I have no doubt at all: nor do I wish that the title should be relinquished, as it is grown into use, and is known by every person in the United States, to designate men distinguished only by their simplicity, and abundant labours." Life of Wesley, vol. ii, p. 286–7.

These extracts are full to our purpose, and surely have as much weight as any thing that has been said by Mr. M'Caine.

At the British conference held in Liverpool, in 1820, we heard the profoundly learned Dr. Adam Clarke, and that most able and eloquent divine, the Rev. Richard Watson, express themselves publicly before the conference, in relation to our Episcopacy, to the same effect, as a true, actual, scriptural Episcopacy, of the most genuine and apostolical character.

Mr. M'Caine protests against loading the name and memory of Mr. Wesley with the obloquy of intending the Episcopal form of church government for the American societies, while he so strongly opposed the use of the title bishop. But we put the question to every man of candour:—Did not Mr. Wesley recommend and institute for the

American societies a general superintendency, by ministers solemnly set apart for the purpose, with imposition of hands and prayer, and all the usual solemnities of ordination, and possessing the powers of ordination, and all others usually considered Episcopal? And will any man deny that such a form of government would have been Episcopal, and such general superintendents, bishops, though the title bishops, and Episcopal, had never been used?

Mr. Wesley's biographer, Mr. Moore, clearly held this view of the subject; and certainly considered the assertion of it as far from loading Mr. Wesley's name or character with obloquy. We aver then, that Mr. Wesley did intend the "*thing*," Episcopacy, for the American societies, but not the title *bishop*. We do not say he "*secretly*" intended it. That is a term used by Mr. M'Caine, not by us. There was neither secret nor "mystery" in it. Mr. Wesley plainly, and openly, declared it, and solemnly confirmed it by his act and deed, attested by his hand and seal, and published to the world.*

We have maintained the position that Mr. Wesley did in *fact*, intend and recommend for the American societies, the Episcopal form of church government. Mr. M'Caine admits that Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our fathers, so asserted. If so, then he must also admit that they so *understood* Mr. Wesley: and in that case they cannot be blamed for acting and speaking according to their understanding. Or, if he will not admit this, then he must charge them either with a "mysterious" stupidity, or with knowingly asserting wilful falsehoods, and "surreptitiously" introducing, for the gratification of their ambition, a form of government "imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name," though they themselves did not understand Mr. Wesley to intend or to recommend any such thing! Yet Mr. M'Caine says, (p. 56,) that Mr. Asbury "was a great, wise, good, and useful minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, having few to equal him." How is all this to be reconciled? And if we believe all that Mr. M'Caine has either directly imputed to Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, or plainly enough insinuated, of their fraudulent practices, for the concealment and the establishment of their forgeries and impositions, who can envy either their wisdom, or their goodness.

Mr. M'Caine seems determined, in fact, to involve the whole of the proceedings of those times, in a charge of disingenuousness and duplicity, irreconcileable with either wisdom or goodness; and such as could spring from nothing but corrupt and bad motives. "Indeed," he says, p. 36, 'There is a mystery hanging over the whole of the proceedings of those times if there is not a *studied* obscurity and evasion in the records of the church." And he does not stop short of insinuating, if not of roundly asserting, that *records* and *dates* were altered and falsified for the accomplishment of the same base purposes.

* When the title "bishop" was introduced into the minutes, it was sanctioned by the conference, as meaning precisely the same thing with superintendent.

Mr. M'Caine says, (p. 38,) "It is somewhat remarkable, that *as soon as Mr. Wesley's name was left out of the minutes*, the term bishop was introduced into them." Now he had just said, (p. 36,) "his name was left off the minutes of 1785." Yet the title bishop was not introduced into the minutes till 1788. Why this inconsistency in the course of two pages?

Alas! what a friend have the venerable dead found in Mr. M'Caine! He has "*great veneration*" for their memory! Yet while he salutes, he stabs them. He kisses, and straightway leads them to be crucified.

If by such means they did indeed introduce into the church an "illegitimate Episcopacy," hazarding every thing fair and honourable for the sake of the title of "Methodist bishops," they must indeed, to use Mr. M'Caine's language, have been "strongly infected with an Episcopal mania." And nothing but *mania*, on such a supposition, can afford a solution of their wickedness and folly.

In the conclusion of Mr. Wesley's letter to Mr. Asbury on assuming the title of bishop, Mr. M'Caine thinks there is a "mystery" unintelligible without an explanatory key; which he of course furnishes to suit his purpose. Mr. Wesley says, "Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better." Now, says Mr. M'Caine, "What connexion has this sentence with the rest of his letter? We perceive none." But *we* perceive a very plain connexion; and one perfectly "intelligible," without any other "explanatory key" than that of a simple attention to the subject, and a knowledge of the views of the Presbyterians in relation to it. The subject was a Methodist minister's allowing himself to be called bishop.—Now the Presbyterians do allow this. "In the form of government of the Presbyterian church the pastors of churches are expressly styled bishops, and this title is recommended to be retained as both scriptural and appropriate." Miller's Letters, p. 9. "Let the Presbyterians," says Mr. Wesley, "do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better."—Who does not perceive the plain connexion?

Again; Mr. M'Caine says, p. 39–40, "Mr. Asbury had said he would not receive any person deputed by Mr. Wesley to take any part of the superintendency of the work entrusted to him. Yet neither he nor the conference refused to receive Dr. Coke. Indeed to have shown the least symptom of opposition either to Mr. Wesley or to Dr. Coke, *at this juncture*, would have been to prevent the accomplishment of the most ardent wishes of Mr. Asbury and the preachers. It would have been to dash the cup from their lips when they were upon the very point of tasting its sweets. No opposition, *therefore*, was made. No resistance was offered. Every thing went on smoothly; and whether from prudence or policy, inclination or interest, Dr. Coke was received as a superintendent, and Mr. Wesley's authority acknowledged and respected. But ——— scarcely had Mr. Asbury begun to exercise the functions of his new office, when Mr. Wesley's authority was rejected, and his name left out of the minutes."—What ideas Mr. M'Caine attaches to the terms "wise" and "good," we do not certainly know. But how he can call Mr. Asbury wise and good, in the very same work in which he continually paints him in such colours, upon any principles of ethics which we have ever studied, is beyond our comprehension.

When the conference of 1784 said they judged it expedient to form themselves into a separate and independent church, Mr. M'Caine affirms that they meant that they did then "separate from Mr. Wesley and the English Methodists:" and adds, "in accordance with this

declaration his name was struck off the Minutes of conference," p. 40. Yet the fact is that that same conference acknowledged themselves Mr. Wesley's sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government to obey his commands; and recorded his name on their Minutes with this declaration, and left it so recorded: and in the face of this Mr. M'Caine makes the above assertion.*

The absurdity of his interpretation of this subject, and the true meaning of the phrase "separate and independent church," as used by the conference of 1784, will further appear from the following testimonies.

The first native American travelling preacher was the late venerable Wm. Watters. In his memoirs, written by himself, under the date 1777, he says "In fact we considered ourselves at this time as belonging to the church of England, *it being before our separation, and our becoming a regularly formed church.*" p. 57. Again; "Dec. 25, 1784.—We became, *instead of a religious society*, a separate church under the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Ib. p. 102.

"From the year 1769, to the year 1784, the Methodists were regular members of the church of England. *Since* 1784, the Methodists in America have been independent of the English Church, and have had an Episcopacy of their own." Rev. Nicholas Snethen's reply to J. O'Kelly's Apol. p. 61.

Dr. Coke, in the sermon which he preached in Baltimore on the ordination of bishop Asbury, expressed the same sentiments in these terms, "The church of England, of which the society of Methodists in general have till lately professed themselves a part."—And in his letter to bishop White he expressly calls the separation spoken of, "our plan of separation from the church of England."

The Rev. Ezekiel Cooper was present at the first meeting of Dr Coke and Mr. Asbury in America; one of "the most solemn, interesting, and affectionate meetings," he declares, "which he has ever witnessed." At that meeting the sacrament of the Lord's supper was first administered among the Methodists in this country, by their own ministers. At that meeting he first partook of that ordinance, and then first consented to enter into the itinerant connexion. And from that time to the present, no man among us probably, has ever more studiously and thoroughly acquainted himself with every thing relating to Methodism, and to its origin and history, and especially to the origin and history of the Methodist Episcopacy, than Mr. Cooper. It will probably be admitted too, that few, if any, among us are more capable of investigating such subjects; or have had more ample opportunities and means of searching into them critically and closely. We shall therefore avail ourselves of his testimony with confidence: and the more so, as it is well known that he did not in all things agree with

* We had imagined that these singular ideas were perfectly novel ones of Mr. M'Caine's; till we discovered the same in one of Mr. Hammett's pamphlets. It was more than two years after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church before Mr. Wesley's name was left off the Minutes, in the proper sense of that phrase; and it was not done by Mr. Asbury, nor by the conference of 1784. This will be explained hereafter

Mr. Asbury on some points of ecclesiastical polity. Yet he had, notwithstanding, a heart, as well as a head, to appreciate and to honour both his conduct and his motives.

"The conference met," says Mr. Cooper, "Dec. 1784. It was unanimously agreed that circumstances made it expedient for the Methodist societies in America to become a *separate* body *from the church of England*, of which, until then, they had been considered as members." Cooper on Asbury, p. 108.*

"From that time," (14th Nov. 1784) says Mr. Cooper again, "I have had a particular and intimate knowledge of Francis Asbury, and the manner of his life. We have had a confidential intercourse, an intimate friendship, and union of heart. I am confidently persuaded, to take him all and in all, that no man, in America, ever came up to his standard. I have known him *well*, and I have known him *long*. Most excellent man; who can but admire him with reverence?—His eye appeared to be always single, and his whole body, soul, and example, full of light. The *purpose* of man is essentially connected with his manner of life. The word *purpose* signifies—the design and motive of the heart in our actions. Now what was the design, the motive, the object, the end, or the purpose of the venerable bishop Asbury? Examine his whole deportment and conduct—retrospect and investigate his public and private life. Look into all his movements and transactions. We have had the most indubitable evidences of the honest sincerity and strict integrity of his soul, and the purity and uprightness of his designs, intentions, and motives. Next to his brother Charles, no man stood higher in the esteem and confidence of Mr. Wesley than Dr. Coke; and in America no man stood so high with him as Mr. Asbury."—Ib. pp. 134–135.

This is the testimony of no sycophant, flatterer, or dependant. It is the honourable and faithful testimony of one intimately acquainted with the parties; who had nothing to hope or to fear; and who rendered his testimony after their death; whose only object was truth, and justice to the dead; and who was himself well acquainted with the mind of Mr. Wesley, having been one of his correspondents, and received from him the last letter that he ever wrote to America.

Had the conduct of Mr. Asbury been regarded by Mr. Wesley in the serious moral bearing in which Mr. M'Caine has represented it, it is impossible that a man of Mr. Wesley's discernment, and high sense of honour and propriety, could have continued to hold him in the high esteem in which we have the most satisfactory evidence that he did.

Mr. Asbury always believed that some things respecting him had been unfairly represented to Mr. Wesley; and we think that Mr.

*It will be observed that what was considered the Episcopal Church in this country, both during and for some time after the revolutionary war, was still usually spoken of as the Church of England; although, strictly speaking, the Church of England had ceased to exist in the United States, from the time of the declaration of our independence. It was in this common acceptation of the phrase that all the writers of those times, whom we quote, used it. And even to this day it is known that the Protestant Episcopal Church is still sometimes called the Church of England.

M'Caine himself has furnished documents, (though for a very different purpose,) which tend strongly to confirm this impression. He quotes a letter from Dr. Coke to Mr. Wesley, dated August 9, 1784, in which are these words, "Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds, that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which he observed, 'that he would not receive any person deputed by you to take any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him, or words evidently implying so much.'" Now we think this account is sufficiently refuted by the unhesitating, the open, and the exceedingly affectionate manner in which Mr. Asbury did receive, and welcome Dr. Coke, immediately on his arrival. This has been attested by Mr. Cooper, who was an eye and ear witness. Indeed Mr. Cooper affirms that so touchingly tender and affecting was the scene, that he can never forget it. It was in full view of a large concourse of people,—a crowded congregation, at a quarterly meeting,—and the whole assembly, as if divinely struck, burst into a flood of tears. If all this, on the part of Mr. Asbury, was dissimulation, and hypocrisy, concealing under such a show the internal resistance which he felt to the reception of a coadjutor from Mr. Wesley, lest he should "dash the cup from his lips, when upon the point of tasting its sweets," then, indeed, does his memory deserve to be branded with infamy. Mr. Brackenbury doubtless said what he thought,—yet how easily might he have been mistaken in the recollection of the expressions of a letter, when undertaking to recite them from memory at such a distance? How easily might he have mistaken their meaning? Indeed he himself gives evidence of a want of clearness of recollection as to the exact expressions of that letter; for he adds, "*or words evidently implying so much.*" And we know well that a very small, and even undesigned variation of expression, may very materially alter the sense. We have already seen an instance of this in the case of Dr. Coke's letter to bishop White. The import of that letter has been clearly misunderstood, though with the letter itself in hand. Had we before us also the letter of Mr. Asbury to which Mr. Brackenbury alluded, we might perhaps be able to show some equal mistake. We object, therefore, to this parol, third handed, report; and, unless the document itself be produced, we protest against the statement.

In another letter, dated October 31, 1789, Mr. M'Caine (p. 47) represents Mr. Wesley as saying of Mr. Asbury, "He flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him." Now this could not have been. Mr. Asbury had no power, of himself, to refuse to receive Mr. Whatcoat. It was the *conference* that refused to receive him. If the conference had received him, Mr. Asbury would have been obliged to do so also, or himself to have left the superintendency.*

Again; in this same letter Mr. Wesley is represented as saying, "He" [Mr. Asbury] "told George Shadford, Mr. Wesley and I are

* That Mr. Asbury *did not refuse to receive Mr. Whatcoat*, we shall, in another place, demonstrate, by the most indubitable evidence. It is proper, however, to add here that it was not from personal objections to Mr. Whatcoat that the conference did not then receive him as a superintendent; but for reasons which will be hereafter stated. They did at a subsequent conference elect him.

like Cesar and Pompey—he will bear no equal, and I will bear no superior." Now let it be remembered that George Shadford left America early in 1778. At that time Mr. Asbury had been in this country himself but a few years, and was then in the most critical and perilous circumstances in the heat of the revolutionary struggle, doubtful of his own safety, and of the fate of the Methodist societies. And can we believe that even then, or at any period still earlier, he seriously made such a speech to George Shadford, declaring himself the rival of Mr. Wesley, and not brooking even his superiority, as Pompey would not brook Cesar's?—Credat Judæus Apelles. It was known and acknowledged, both by Mr. Asbury and every other preacher, that his place and office at that time was not that of Mr. Wesley's equal, or rival, but of his assistant. Or, if this speech is alleged to have been made before Mr. Rankin left America, then, at that period, he was not even Mr. Wesley's assistant, but subject also to Mr. Rankin.

But how happens it that Mr. M'Caine has told us nothing more about this letter? Why did he not state to whom it was written, and from what authority he received it? Had he not sufficient ground to be "suspicious" of this "whole affair?" Did he not derive it from one whom he knew to have been an avowed, bitter, and personal *enemy* of bishop Asbury;—one who laboured to distract and rend our infant church;—who was formally expelled from the British connexion; and was directly charged by Dr. Coke with the grossest calumny and falsehood? The documents in proof of all this are in our possession. Yet it is from such sources that Mr. M'Caine has picked up, and, after the parties are all dead, has published calumnies which had been long since silenced and buried in merited oblivion. And we here assert that if his publication be stript of the materials which he has derived from such sources, and from the obsolete pamphlets of Mr. Kewley, Mr. Hammett, Mr. O'Kelly, and other separatists, and troublers of our Israel, very little original matter will be found in his whole production; except, indeed, the amplifications and the deeper tincture which their long refuted aspersions have received from his pen; and the advantage which he has taken of the lapse of time and the silence which death has imposed on the accused, to impute to them unheard of frauds and forgeries, which, in their life time, no man living had the effrontery even to insinuate. The aforesaid noted letter, bears on the face of it marks of corruption, or of fabrication. And until better authority is produced for it, or the document itself, we hold it unentitled to one particle of credit.

Again; in the letter with which Mr. M'Caine seems to be so much pleased, Mr. Wesley says to Mr. Asbury, "I study to be *little*, you study to be *great:* I *creep*, you *strut* along. I found a school, you a *college*." It will be recollected that this letter was written in the year after what has been called the leaving of Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes; and at a period when even his great and excellent mind had not, perhaps, entirely recovered from that occurrence. It is known, too, that there were individuals unfriendly to Mr. Asbury, who represented him unfairly to Mr. Wesley. The Rev. Ezekiel Cooper himself intimated to Mr. Wesley the injustice of such representations: and he thinks Mr. Wesley had allusion to this in the last letter which

he wrote to him, just before his death. But had Mr. Wesley been in America, and himself witnessed Mr. Asbury's manner of life, from the commencement of his ministry among us, to its close, would he have expressed himself thus? We believe he would not. The testimony of the most intelligent, observing, and competent eye witnesses, who watched him narrowly, and saw him, and knew him intimately, in all situations and circumstances, in private and in public, for more than thirty years, is vastly different.

To the testimony of Mr. Cooper already adduced, we add the following.

"It is scarcely necessary to mention, what must be so obvious, that in performing his astonishing annual tours, and in attending to all the vast variety of his Christian, ministerial, and Episcopal duties and callings, he must have been almost continually on the move. Flying, as it were, like the angel through the earth, preaching the everlasting gospel; no season, no weather stopped him. Through winter's cold, and summer's heat, he pressed on. He was often in the tempest and the storm; in rain, snow, and hail; in hunger, thirst, weariness, and afflictions. Sometimes uncomfortable entertainment, with hard lodging, and unkind treatment. 'I *soar*,' said Mr. Asbury himself, 'but it is over the tops of the highest mountains.'—Then to the distant and remote settlements, traversing solitary and gloomy valleys;—crossing and recrossing dangerous waters;—administering the word of life in lonely cottages, to the poor and destitute;—sleeping upon the *floor*, or on beds of *straw*, or not much better, in houses of logs, covered with bark of trees, or wooden slabs;—sometimes lodging in the wilderness and open air,—with the earth for his bed, and the sky for his canopy; surrounded by ravenous beasts, and fierce savages. He knew how to abound among the wealthy; and how to endure hardship and want among the poor. This was his *manner of life*, to spend and be spent, in going about from place to place, like his Master, and the disciples of old, in doing good. He *cheerfully* and *willingly* condescended to men of low estate. Even the poor *African race*, in bondage and wretchedness, were not neglected by him. He attended to their forlorn condition, and taught them the way of life and salvation. When among the great, the honourable, and the rich, he manifested humility in prosperity; maintaining, at the same time, a dignified independence of spirit, *without exaltation*. When among the poor and lower classes of society, he showed a courteous condescension, and manifested content and patience in adversity. He went on through good report, and through evil report, among the rich, the poor, the wise, and the unwise:——*at all times*, among *all people*, in *all places*, and upon *all occasions*, his aim was to promote the cause of God; to be instrumental to the good of man, and to the salvation of precious souls."—Cooper on Asbury, pp. 113–117.

Such is the testimony of Mr. Cooper. And who that reads it, and venerates the memory of the departed Asbury, will not exclaim, Oh thou man of God, who could have so abused the ear of the aged Wesley, thy venerable friend, as to have induced from him such reproof! But the meekness of conscious innocence with which Mr. Asbury received it, excites our admiration, not less than the mingled

emotions which must be produced in every generous breast, at the unkindness with which Mr. M'Caine yet pursues him in the grave.

With regard to the part which Mr. Asbury acted in founding a "*College*," Mr. Wesley was equally misinformed. This matter has been placed in its true light by Mr. Asbury himself, as Mr. M'Caine might have seen in his Journal. After the college was founded he certainly did all in his power to support it. And when it was burned, in December 1795, he remarks, "Would any man give me £10,000 per year to do and suffer again what I have done for that house, I would not do it." But that it was not founded by *him*, he explicitly affirms in these words, "*I wished only for schools.*" It is true Dr. Coke wanted a college. And the whole head and front of Mr. Asbury's offending is, that he yielded to the wishes of his colleague, and his senior in office, and co-operated with him.

Mr. Asbury's favourite plan was that of "*district schools.*" These he recommended to the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church: and in the year 1791, prepared an address recommending them. Mr. Lee represents this address as having been drawn up in 1793. This, however, is a mistake. It may be found in the Minutes for 1791, and is dated "near Salem, New Jersey, Sept. 16, 1791." Had this plan been generally adopted, the great wisdom and excellence of it would have been felt to this day.

With regard to the *naming* of Cokesbury College, we believe Mr. Asbury had no hand in it. It was done at the conference held in Baltimore, in June 1785. When it was proposed to name the college, different names were proposed, such as New-Kingswood, and others, after places in England. Some proposed to call it Coke College, and others Asbury College. On which Dr. Coke, to end the discussion, suggested that they might unite those names, and call it Cokesbury; which was done. These facts we have derived from persons who were present at that conference. He that can make a crime out of them, must use his pleasure.

The fact is, that Cokesbury College, so called, was really no more than a school, on the plan of Kingswood. This was the plan agreed on between Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, and is so stated by Dr. Coke in his Journal of Nov. 14, 1784. The institution never was incorporated as a college. This was in contemplation; but before a charter was obtained, the destruction of the building by fire terminated the existence of the whole establishment.

We may well say then with the late Rev. John Dickins: "Mr. Asbury does not bear a character like many others, so superficial as not to admit of examination beneath its surface; but like fine gold, the more it is *scrutinized* the more its *intrinsic worth* appears: therefore they who have *most thoroughly investigated* his character, both as a Christian and a minister, admire it most." Remarks on W. Hammet, p. 6.

The following is the testimony of the Rev. Nicholas Snethen,—

"For nearly thirty years he" (Mr. Asbury,) "has travelled with a delicate and disordered constitution, through almost all the inhabited parts of the United States. Nothing but the wild, uncultivated wilderness, could fix his bounds. Wherever there were souls to be saved, he has endeavoured to extend his labours. But they have not been

such as are endured by the ordinary minister. He has not only laboured incessantly in the word and doctrine, he has been in perils in the wilderness—in perils *among false brethren*—in journeyings often—in weariness and painfulness—in watchings often—in hunger and thirst—in fastings often—in cold and nakedness.—*From the first day he set foot upon American ground, unto the present hour, he has never been known to seek the honour that cometh from men;* nor can any man accuse him of indulging the flesh, or seeking the pomp and vanity of this world. We have never known him to spend one day more than was strictly necessary, in any city or town upon the continent. We have observed that he never waits for a solicitation to visit the *frontiers:* but we have frequently, after we have endeavoured to dissuade him from these painful and hazardous journeys, looked after him with anxious solicitude, expecting never to see his face again. If Mr. O'Kelly and Mr. H. wish to know what it is that disposes the Methodist preachers to give such a preference to this Englishman, we answer: "It is not his native country,———it is not merely because he is a bishop; *we think nothing of bare titles;* but our preference is founded in a knowledge of the man, and his communication. We have tried him in all things, and we have *always* found him faithful to the trust reposed in him by us. In him we see an example of daily labour, suffering and self denial, worthy the imitation of the young preacher. In a word, we have *every reason* to esteem him as a *father*, and *not one reason* to suspect or discard him as a *tyrant* or *despot*." Reply to Mr. O'Kelly, p. 51.

SECTION X.—*Testimonies of English Methodists.*

Mr. M'Caine says, p. 31, "Neither are the ordinations which he," [Mr. Wesley,] "conferred, viewed by writers among the English Methodists, who wrote in justification of Mr. Wesley's right to ordain, as favouring our title to Episcopacy." And in support of this assertion, he quotes a passage from the English Methodist Magazine, for 1825, which states that Mr. Wesley "gave up Episcopal ordination *as understood by high churchmen*," and established the "validity of Presbyterian ordination." But who ever disputed this? Are not both these propositions as clearly maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church, as by our brethren of the British Connexion? That any "contrary statement coming from our book agents" in this country, has ever been made, or published, is an assertion wholly unfounded.

On the character of our Episcopacy we have already stated the sentiments of Dr. Adam Clarke, and of the Rev. Richard Watson. We have also quoted a passage from the Rev. Henry Moore, the intimate friend of Mr. Wesley, and his faithful biographer, in which he says of our bishops: "That our brethren who are in that office are true Scriptural bishops, *I have no doubt at all;* nor do I wish that the title should be relinquished." Life of Wesley, vol ii, p. 287.

To these testimonies we add the following from the Rev. Jonathan Crowther, author of the Portraiture of Methodism.

"Peace being now established with the United States; and Mr.

Asbury and the other preachers, having been instrumental of a great revival during the war, solicited" [Mr. Wesley] "to send them help. Hence, in February this year,"[1784]"he called Dr. Coke into his chamber, and spoke to him nearly as follows: That as the American brethren wanted a form of discipline, and ministerial aid; and, as he ever wished to keep to the Bible, and as near to primitive Christianity as he could, he had always admired the Alexandrian mode of ordaining bishops. The presbyters of that great apostolical church, would never allow any foreign bishop to interfere in their ordinations; but on the death of a bishop, for two hundred years, till the time of Dionysius, they ordained one of their own body, and by the imposition of their own hands. Adding withal, that he wished the doctor to go over and establish that mode among the American Methodists.

"All this was quite new to the doctor. The idea of an Alexandrian ordination, was at first somewhat revolting to his prejudices. However, being about to set out for Scotland, he weighed the subject for two months, and then wrote his entire approbation of the plan. Accordingly, he was ordained bishop, and brothers Whatcoat and Vasey, presbyters." Second English Edition, pp. 412–13.

The same statement is made by the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, an eminent Wesleyan Methodist Minister, in his "Short Memoirs of Thomas Coke, LL. D." This work was republished by Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware, in 1815.

But Mr. M'Caine relies on the English Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, and quotes the volume for 1825. Let us see then, how this work supports him. That same volume contains a "Review of the Rev. Henry Moore's Life of Rev. John Wesley," in which we think we recognise the style of one of the most eminent men in the British connexion. The following interesting passages extracted from it, are as clearly and as fully to our purpose as if they had been written for us.

"The author," says the reviewer of Mr. Moore, "has spent some time in showing that Episcopacy, by *name*, was not introduced into the American Methodist Society by the sanction of Mr. Wesley, who, though he in point of *fact* did ordain *bishops* for the American Societies, intended them to be called '*superintendents*.' To the statement of this as an historical fact, no objection certainly lies; but the way in which it is enlarged upon, and the insertion of an objurgatory letter from Mr. Wesley to Mr. Asbury on the subject,—can have not endency but to convey to the reader an impression somewhat unfavourable to Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, as though they were ambitious of show and title. Mr. Moore, indeed, candidly enough relieves this, by admitting that, *on Mr. Wesley's principle itself*, and *in his own view*, they were true scriptural *Episcopoi*, and that Mr. Wesley's objection to the *name*, in fact, arose from its association in his mind rather with the adventitious honours which accompany it in church establishments, than with the simplicity and pre-eminence of labour, care, and privation, which it has from the first exhibited in America, and from which it could not from circumstances, depart. According to this showing, the objection was grounded upon no principle, and was a mere matter of taste or expediency.—Whether the *name* had or had not the sanction of Mr. Wesley, is now *of the least possible conse-*

quence, as *the Episcopacy itself* WAS OF HIS CREATING." English Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1825, p. 183.

Clearer testimonies from the most eminent English Methodists, we could not desire; and we cheerfully submit it to the reader whether such men as these were not likely to be as well acquainted with the subject as Mr. M'Caine; and whether their judgment be not a sufficient counterpoise to his?

In addition to the above, however, we have now before us a London edition of Dr. Coke's Journals, with a preface dated, "City Road, London, Jan. 25, 1790;" accompanied with a dedication "To the Rev. Mr. Wesley." In this dedication Dr. Coke states that he had found in Mr. Wesley "a father and a friend for thirteen years." If we compare this with the period at which Dr. Coke became connected with Mr. Wesley, which was between Aug. 1776 and Aug. 1777, it will just bring us down to the date of the preface; and this date, too, is in that very year [conference year,] in which Dr. Coke's name was left off the British Minutes. It is hardly to be presumed then, that Dr. Coke would, at that period particularly, have published and *dedicated* to Mr. Wesley, as his father and friend, what he knew to be denied by Mr. Wesley and to be peculiarly offensive to him. Yet in these very Journals, p. 106, Dr. Coke says, *and said it to Mr. Wesley*, "On the 9th of March," [1789,] "we began our conference in Georgia. Here we agreed, (as we have ever since in each of the conferences,) that Mr. Wesley's name should be inserted at the head of our Small Minutes, and also in our form of Discipline:—In the Small Minutes as the fountain of our EPISCOPAL office; and in the form of Discipline as the father of the whole work, under the divine guidance. To this all the conferences have cheerfully and unanimously agreed." Now where is the evidence that Mr. Wesley ever "remonstrated" against this, or expressed the slightest displeasure at it? On the contrary, considering the circumstances then existing, is it not absolutely preposterous to believe that Dr. Coke would have *dedicated* such a statement to him, if he had not had the best reasons to believe that it would meet his approbation? This statement also completely refutes the insinuation that the American conferences possessed any disposition to treat Mr. Wesley with disrespect or "contempt;" much less to "excommunicate" him! It may serve to satisfy another writer, also, what is meant in the Minutes of 1789, by saying that Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke, and Mr. Asbury, exercised the Episcopal office "by regular order and succession." The intention was simply to acknowledge Mr. Wesley's *precedence*. To guard against any other construction, a *note* is added to that observation in the Minutes, refering to another place, in which the idea of the fabulous apostolical succession is expressly resisted by the bishops themselves.

SECTION XI.—*Dr. Coke.*

Mr. M'Caine states that the manner in which the doctor discharged the duties of the new office he was appointed to fill, and the title of bishop which he assumed, in connexion with Mr. Asbury, in their

joint address to General Washington, "president of the American congress," involved him in difficulties with Mr. Wesley and the British conference; and that Mr. Wesley called him to an account for his conduct, and punished him by leaving his name out of the minutes for one year.

As Mr. M'Caine professes to make the authority of Mr. Drew the basis of his account of this affair, we shall first take it up on his own ground, and shall show, from his own authority, that had he presented the subject fully, as Mr. Drew has done, instead of exposing Dr. Coke to reproach, it would demand for him from us both our admiration and our veneration.

According to Mr. Drew, the charge alleged against Dr. Coke in the British conference, was neither "the manner in which he discharged the duties of the new office he was appointed to fill," nor his having assumed "the title of bishop:" but, simply, that he, *being a British subject*, had expressed to General Washington sentiments, *in relation to the American revolution*, which, *as a British subject*, they conceived he ought not to have expressed. Mr. Drew, though himself a British subject, has vindicated both the conduct and the motives of Dr. Coke on that occasion, with a triumphant ability which leaves us nothing to add. A few fuller extracts from the same pages from which Mr. M'Caine took his, will place the subject in the fair and candid light, in which it was regarded by Dr. Coke's more magnanimous biographer.

"It is well known," says Mr. Drew, "that in the unhappy contest between Great Britain and America, Mr. Wesley very warmly espoused the cause of England, and reprobated the conduct of the colonists. This circumstance placed the Methodists in a very suspicious light in the eyes of the Americans. The contest was indeed now brought to an issue. But although the tempest had subsided, the agitation which it occasioned, still continued, and the waves were occasionally heard to beat upon the shore. The suspicions, therefore, which the Methodists incurred, it was incumbent on them to wipe away. The citizens thought it their duty to rally round the infant government, and to express their approbation of the principles which had been adopted. Among these citizens the different religious sects presented their addresses. Amidst these examples, and under the peculiar circumstances in which the Methodists were placed, it was scarcely possible for them to avoid making a similar acknowledgment without incurring the vengeance of their foes. Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury having assumed the character of bishops, were in the eyes of all the acknowledged head of the American Methodists; and no address could be considered as official, unless it bore their signatures, as the organ of the body. Thus circumstanced, an address was drawn up, and signed by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury in behalf of the American Methodists, and presented to General Washington.

"Dr. Coke had both a private and a public consistency of character to sustain. As a subject of Great Britain, tenacious of the consistency of his personal actions, prudence would have directed him not to sign. But as a minister of Jesus Christ, as filling an official station in the Methodist societies, and as a superintendent in America, the welfare of the gospel commanded him to promote its interests, and to leave all

private considerations as unworthy of bearing the name of rival. Between these alternatives he made a noble choice, and acted upon an *exalted principle*, to which none but superior spirits can aspire. He has taught us by his magnanimous example that

"Private respects to public weal must yield,"

and that personal reputation was no longer his when the interests of Christianity demanded the costly sacrifice. By walking on this vast and comprehensive circle, he has encircled his name with wreaths of laurel, which will continue to flourish, when the sigh of smiling pity, and of sneering condolence, can be no longer heard. Those who still continue to censure his conduct on the present occasion, now the mists of prejudice are done away, and all the consequences of each alternative appear in their proper bearings, plainly tell us how they would have acted under similar circumstances, if, like him, they had been called to feel the touch of Ithuriel's spear.

"A copy of this address was introduced" [into the British conference] "as a ground of censure against the doctor. It was urged against him, that, as a subject of Great Britain, it was inconsistent with his character to sign the address. That several expressions therein contained, in favour of the American government, implied a severe reflection on our own," [the British,] "and could not justly have been used by a British subject.——That, as a member of the Methodist society in England, and a leading character in the connexion, his conduct was calculated to provoke the indignation of *government*,—and, finally, that the address itself was *a tacit impeachment of Mr. Wesley's political sentiments*, and tended to place the whole body of Methodists" [in England] "in a very equivocal and suspicious light.

"Dr. Coke heard these charges urged against him IN PROFOUND SILENCE.

"Under these circumstances, as some decisive steps were necessary to be taken in this critical affair, it was finally determined that the name of Dr. Coke should be omitted in the Minutes for the succeeding year. This prudent resolution had the desired effect, and the business of conference proceeded and terminated in peace.

"But this silent mark of disapprobation, as was evident from the effects which followed, was on the whole more *nominal* than *real*. The doctor *still maintained his rank in Mr. Wesley's affectionate regard*, and *continued to retain those offices which he had hitherto filled*. At the conclusion of the conference he proceeded as though nothing disagreeable had occurred, travelling through the societies in the same manner as he had travelled before he went to America."

Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, pp. 102–145.

Such was the "punishment" then of Dr. Coke. Such the cause that led to it. Such the "profound silence" with which he heard the charge, and the Regulus like magnanimity and self devotion with which he acted, for the sake of beloved America and of American Methodists. And shall they forget him; or now remember him only to stain him with dishonour! "Oh tell *this* not in Gath."

It will be observed that Mr. M'Caine repeatedly asserts that the

address to General Washington, by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, was presented in the year 1785. Now in that address they styled themselves bishops. We ask then, according to Mr. M'Caine's dates, why was it that neither Mr. Wesley nor the British conference did *then* object to that title, or censure Dr. Coke for it? Mr. M'Caine, indeed, says his assuming that title, in that address, was a ground of the omission of his name in the British Minutes. This we deny. It is an assertion wholly gratuitous, and unsupported by one particle of testimony But if that address was presented to General Washington in 1785, it follows that Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury had taken the title of bishops three years previously to the introduction of it into the Minutes, and without censure. This title was not introduced into the Minutes till 1788; nor was Mr. Wesley's objurgatory letter to Mr. Asbury written till September 1788. And though Dr. Coke was completely in Mr. Wesley's power during this interval, yet it does not appear that he inflicted on him the smallest penalty. Can Mr. M'Caine explain all this, and still assert that the address was presented to General Washington in 1785?

But on the hypothesis of Mr. M'Caine's dates, there is something still more curious in this affair. He maintains that the address to General Washington was presented before Dr. Coke left the United States in 1785;—that it was published in the newspapers; and that a copy of it was introduced into the British conference, as a ground of censure against the doctor, on his return to England in that same year.

Now, supposing these facts, is it not a singular conjecture that Mr. Asbury or his friends, in order to screen *him* also from "punishment," or with any other motive, should have "changed the date of this address," and published it with an "altered" date, four years later than the true one, if it had been published in the *newspapers, four years before* with its true date, carried across the Atlantic, and laid before Mr. Wesley, the British conference, and the world! In other words, that Mr. Asbury, or his friends, from any motive, should have committed such a stupid forgery in the falsification of an official document, when both he and they must have known that the means of their exposure were so notorious, that their detection and conviction would be inevitable! For it will be recollected that the parties were then all living, and the circumstances all recent, and matters of public notoriety. From what principle so vile an insinuation could proceed, on ground not only so futile, but so perfectly and manifestly absurd, the reader must form his own conclusion.

It will by no means excuse Mr. M'Caine to say that he does not directly assert "by whom this thing was done." Every reader of his work cannot but consider Mr. Asbury, or his friends, or both, as implicated. The "History and Mystery" of the "Episcopacy" of those days was his subject; and the application is so plain, that he who runs may read. Besides, by whomsoever it was done, Mr. Asbury must either have been privy to it, or certainly have known it afterwards, and Dr. Coke also. And on this ground, at all events, they stand implicated by this insinuation, in the guilt of having at least countenanced and concealed an act of such criminality and baseness.

Section XII.—*Methodist Episcopacy.*

The following views of our Episcopacy were those of the bishops themselves, as contained in the notes on the Discipline, prepared by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, at the request of the General Conference.

"The most bigotted devotees to religious establishments, (the clergy of the church of Rome excepted*) are now ashamed to support the doctrine of the apostolic, uninterrupted succession of bishops——and yet nothing but an apostolic, uninterrupted succession can possibly confine the right of Episcopacy to any particular church." And "the idea of an apostolic succession being exploded, it follows that the Methodist Church has every thing which is scriptural and essential to justify its Episcopacy." Edn. 1798, pp. 6, 7.

"Nor must we omit to observe" (speaking of primitive Episcopacy) "that each diocess had a college of elders or presbyters, in which the bishop presided. So that the bishop by no means superintended his diocess in a despotic manner, but was rather the chief executor of those regulations which were made in the college of presbyters." Ib. 8.

"Nothing has been introduced into Methodism by the present Episcopal form of government which was not before fully exercised by Mr. Wesley.——But the authority of Mr. Wesley and that of the bishops in America, differ in the following points:

"1. Mr. Wesley was the patron of all theMethodist pulpits in Great Britain and Ireland for life, the sole right of nomination being invested in him by all the deeds of settlement.—But the bishops in America possess no such power. The property of the preaching houses is invested in the *trustees*, and the right of *nomination to the pulpits* in the *General Conference*, and in such as the *General Conference* shall from time to time appoint.† Here, then, lies the grand difference between Mr. Wesley's authority, in the present instance, and that of our American bishops. The former, as (under God) the father of the connexion, was allowed to have the *sole, legal, independent* nomination of preachers to all the chapels: the latter are *entirely dependant* on the General Conference." Ib. 40–41.

"But why does the General Conference lodge the power of stationing the preachers in the Episcopacy? We answer, On account of their entire confidence in it. If ever, through improper conduct, it loses that confidence in any considerable degree, the General Conference will, upon evidence given, in a proportionable degree, take from it this branch of its authority. But if ever it betrays a spirit of tyranny or partiality, and *this* can be proved before the General Conference, the whole will be taken from it: and we pray God, that, in such case, the power may be invested in other hands." Ib. 41.

"And we verily believe, that if our Episcopacy should, at any time, through tyrannical or immoral conduct, come under the severe censure of the General Conference, the members thereof would see it highly for the glory of God to preserve the present form, and only to change the men." Ib. 42.

* Perhaps a few others, who still claim a very near relationship to Rome, ought to have been included in this exception.

† With this before our eyes, is it not strange that any candid writer should attempt to excite odium against the bishops by representing our churches as "Bishops' property?"

"2. Mr. Wesley, as the venerable founder (under God) of the whole Methodist Society, governed without any responsibility whatever;—But the American bishops are as responsible as any of the preachers. They are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference." Ib. 42. The words "*entirely dependant*" and "*perfectly subject*," are printed in italics by the bishops themselves, to invite our particular attention to this acknowledged fact.

After naming one other point of comparison between the powers of Mr. Wesley and those of our bishops, viz. in the entire management of all the conference funds, which he possessed, and they do not; the bishops thus conclude:

"We have drawn this comparison between our venerable father and the American bishops, to show to the world that they possess not, and we may add, they aim not to possess, that power which he exercised, and had a right to exercise, as the father of the connexion:—that, on the contrary, they are *perfectly dependant;* that their power, their usefulness, themselves, *are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference.*" Ib. 43–44.

Now what more can we desire than such acknowledgments and declarations, freely and voluntarily made by the bishops themselves? And with what propriety, in the face of them, can our Episcopacy be denominated an "absolute Episcopacy;" or the bishops our "masters?"

The power of stationing the preachers is certainly a great and weighty power, for the due and faithful exercise of which the bishops should be carefully and watchfully held to a strict responsibility. But it is a power vested in them by the preachers themselves, and is liable to be modified, or to be wholly taken from them, whenever the body of preachers shall judge such a measure expedient or necessary. The weight of this power rests upon the itinerant preachers. But surely they, of all men, have the least right to complain of it, since the vesting of it, and the continuing of it in the bishops, is their own voluntary act and choice. They have submitted, and continue to submit to it, often, doubtless, with many and great inconveniences and sacrifices, because they have believed it most efficient, with an itinerant ministry, for the spread of the gospel, and for the good of the church. And it is believed that our members, with very few exceptions have always been of the same opinion.

The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have no control whatever over the decisions of either a general or an annual conference. Whereas the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church have an *absolute negative* in their general conventions, and no act whatever can be passed in that church, without the consent of the house of bishops, though it might even be unanimously agreed to, and ardently desired by the whole body both of the clergy and laity: a power certainly greatly superior to any power possessed by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Another evidence of the dependence of our bishops on the General Conference, is, that if they cease to travel without the consent of that body, they become immediately incapable of exercising among us any Episcopal, or other ministerial function. In other words, as the bishops in their notes interpret this part of our Discipline, they "are obliged to travel till the General Conference pronounces them worn out, or

superannuated." A restriction, which, as they justly remark, is not to be found in any other Episcopal church.

Again; a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church cannot ordain a single individual, except in the mode prescribed by the General Conference, by the vote and direction of an annual conference.

In the notes on the Discipline, Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury did indeed claim the right, on their responsibility to God, binding them to "lay hands suddenly on no man," to "suspend the ordination of an elected person," if such reasons appeared clearly against it that they *could not proceed with a good conscience.* But they, at the same time, acknowledged the necessity and the obligation of great caution, in the exercise of this claim. And we are not aware that a single instance of the actual exercise of it has ever yet occured, since the organization of our church. That cases might occur, and that facts might take place, or come to light, even after the election of individuals for orders, in which it would be the conscientious *duty* of a bishop to suspend proceeding in the ordination, there can be few persons so unreasonable as not to admit. And how the claim of this right to "suspend" an ordination in such a case can be represented as censurable on the part of the bishops, as it has been by a late writer, we do not understand. It is, in fact, expressly required of them by the Discipline.—"If any crime or impediment be objected, *the bishop shall surcease* from ordaining that person, until such time as the party accused shall be found clear of the crime."—See the form of ordaining both deacons and elders.

The late Rev. *John Dickins*, in his remarks on the proceedings of Mr. Hammet, says, in relation to the superiority of our bishops, as derived not from their "separate ordination," but from the suffrages of the body of ministers,—"Pray, when was it otherwise?"—and "how can the conference have power to remove Mr. Asbury and ordain another to fill his place, if they see it necessary, on any other ground?" Mr. Hammet had said, "Let your superintendents know therefore,—that their superiority is derived from your suffrages and not by virtue of a separate ordination. Gain and establish this point, and you sap the foundation of all arbitrary power in your church for ever." Mr. Dickins replies, "Now who ever said the superiority of the bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination? If this gave them their superiority, how came they to be removable by the conference? If then what you there plead for will sap the foundation of all arbitrary power, it has been sapped in our connexion from the first establishment of our constitution." p. 31. Again, he remarks, p. 32, "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the conference, and therefore his office is at their disposal." "Mr. Asbury," he says in another place, "was thus chosen by the conference both before and after he was ordained a bishop; and he is still considered as the person of their choice, by being responsible to the conference, who have power to remove him, and fill his place with another, if they see it necessary. And as he is liable every year to be removed, he may be considered as their annual choice." p. 15. The high standing of John Dickins is too well known to need any statement of it here. He was also the particular and most intimate friend of bishop Asbury. And the

pamphlet containing the above sentiments, was published by the unanimous request of the conference held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1792; and may be therefore considered as expressing the views both of that conference and of bishop Asbury, in relation to the true and original character of Methodist Episcopacy. It may be confidently affirmed, then, that the Methodist Episcopacy, if preserved on its original basis, as it ever should be, has as little independent power as the Episcopacy of any other Episcopal church whatever.

Section XIII.—*Title Bishop.*

Episcopos, (Greek,)—Episcopus, (Latin,)—a bishop, or overseer. The Hebrew Paked, as the Greek Episcopos,—whence the Anglo-Saxon bischop, and our English word bishop,—is any man that hath a charge and office for any business, civil or ecclesiastical. It is derived from επι, *(epi,) super*, and σκοπειν *(skopein,) intendere,—superintendere,* to *superintend.* And hence *superintendent*, from the Latin, is of precisely the same import as *bishop* from the Greek.—"Inter Πρεσβυτερον, tamen, et Επισκοπον, hoc interest: Πρεσβυτερος nomen est ordinis: Επισκοπος nomen in illo ordine officii." Between bishop and presbyter there is, nevertheless, this difference. Presbyter is the name of an *order.* Bishop is the name of an *office* in that order. See Leigh's Critica Sacra.

Originally "the name Επισκοποι," [*Episcopoi*, bishops,] given "to the governors of the church under the gospel," was "a name importing *duty* more than *honour;* and not a title above *presbyter.*" Irenicum, p. 286.

We say, then, with the Rev. Asa Shinn, that "intelligent Christians, before they either vindicate or vilify a simple name, will inquire into its precise signification." We have done so with regard to our term bishop. And the inquiry conducts us to the conclusion, that it may be vindicated, but cannot be justly vilified.

The following is the Rev. Nicholas Snethen's account of the introduction of the term bishop, in addressing our superintendents.

Mr. O'Kelly had asserted that "about the year 1787, Francis directed the preachers whenever they wrote to him to title him bishop." Mr. Snethen replies, that among Mr. Asbury's acquaintance this assertion sufficiently refutes itself, and that no one who has ever known the man can possibly give it credit for a moment; and adds,

"Some time after ordination was introduced among us, several of the ministers altered the inscription of their letters to each other, from "Mr." to "Rev." Some were dissatisfied; they thought that it savoured more of pride than of piety; others had more serious scruples, and even doubted whether it were not impious to address men in a style and title given to Jehovah himself, as in Psalm cxi, 9. 'Holy and *reverend* is his name.' In the conference for 1787, this was made a subject of conversation, for the sake of those of scrupulous consciences. The conference advised that every one should use his own choice; and that those who doubted the propriety of *Reverend*, might give the simple name, with the official character, as *bishop*, *elder*, or *deacon.* It was not thought proper to expose this little circumstance in print." Reply to James O'Kelly, pp. 10–11.

The same liberty still exists. No man is obliged to style our general superintendents bishops. Any that choose to retain the original title of superintendent, are perfectly at liberty to do so, whether in writing, or otherwise. By some the latter title is still most generally used; and by most, if not by all of us, it is frequently used, without scruple, as synonymous with bishop; and not only equally proper, but equally respectful. Indeed, according to Mr. Snethen's statement, the conference of 1787 seem to have considered the title bishop less exceptionable to scrupulous consciences, than that of *Reverend;* and advised the use of the former, by those who scrupled the propriety of using the latter. Yet this title, *Reverend*, we have not understood that Mr. M'Caine himself has ever declined; nor some other gentlemen of our modern days, who war with titles much less august.

Mr. M'Caine, p. 42, quotes "a writer" who states that, "In 1786, Mr. Asbury proposed to Mr. Wesley three persons to be appointed bishops for the United States, to act under Mr. Asbury." Mr. Wesley's answer, he says, is worthy to be engraven in characters of gold. It was, he states, "During my life there shall be no *archbishops* in the Methodist Church. But send me the man of your choice and I shall have him appointed *joint superintendent* with you." Now admitting this statement, we ask, in the name of common sense, if what we maintain is not here confessed: viz. that Mr. Wesley himself considered the term "superintendent" as synonymous with *bishop?* Why did he refuse to appoint a superintendent to act *under* Mr. Asbury? Because this would have been making Mr. Asbury an *arch*bishop; that is a bishop over bishops. Of course the superintendent under him would have been a bishop. According to this statement then, as *arch*-superintendent means *arch*bishop, it necessarily follows, that "*joint* superintendent" means *joint* bishop, and *superintendent*, simply *bishop.*

The following extract of a letter from the late Rev. and venerable Wm. Watters, will shed further light on this subject.

"My Dear Brother,

"That there should be those who through prejudice, think the Methodists since they have had bishops among them, are quite a different people, is not strange. But is it not strange that those who have known them from the beginning, should admit such a thought, till they have investigated the matter thoroughly? All must know that names do not alter the nature of things. We have from the beginning had one among us who has superintended the whole work. At first this person was solely appointed by Mr. Wesley, and called the general assistant; at a time when there were none but European preachers on the continent. But why was the name of general assistant, ever changed? All that will open their eyes may know why. The Methodists in England and in America, formerly did not call themselves a particular church; but a religious society in connexion with different churches, but mostly with the Episcopal Church. After the revolutionary war, the Episcopal clergy became very scarce, and in far the greatest number of our societies, we had no way of receiving the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. It was this that led many

of our preachers, as you well know, to take upon them the administration of the ordinances. Mr. Rankin, who was our first general assistant, after staying the time in this country he came for, returned home. This was at a time when we had no intercourse with England, and Mr. Asbury, the only old preacher that determined (in those perilous times,) to give up his parents, country, and all his natural connections, was finally and unanimously chosen by the preachers (assembled in conference,) our general assistant. He continued such, until the year 1784, when the doctor came over, and not only the name of general assistant was changed to that of superintendent, but we formed ourselves into a separate church. This change was proposed to us by Mr. Wesley, after we had craved his advice on the subject; but could not take effect till adopted by us: which was done in a deliberate, formal manner, at a conference called for that purpose: in which there was not one dissenting voice. Every one of any discernment, must see from Mr. Wesley's circular letter on this occasion, as well as from every part of our mode of church government, that we openly and avowedly declared ourselves Episcopalians; though the doctor and Mr. Asbury, were called superintendents. After a few years, the name from superintendent was changed to bishop. But from first to last, the business of general assistant, superintendent, or bishop, has been the same; only since we have become a distinct church, he has, with the assistance of two or three elders ordained our ministers; whose business is to preside in our conferences, and in case of an equal division on a question, he has the casting vote; but in no instance whatever, has he a negative, as you are told. He has also the stationing of all the travelling preachers, under certain limitations. Which power as it is given him by the General Conference, so it can be lessened, or taken from him at any time conference sees fit.* But while he superintends the whole work, he cannot interfere with the particular charge of any of the preachers in their stations. To see that the preachers fill their places with propriety, and to understand the state of every station, or circuit, that he may the better make the appointment of the preachers, is no doubt, no small part of his duty; but he has nothing to do with receiving, censuring, or excluding members; this belongs wholly to the stationed preacher and members." Memoirs, p. 103.

Mr. M'Caine, p. 34, reproaches our fathers with entering Mr. Wesley in the Minutes of 1789 as a "bishop,"—"after it was known that the very term was so extremely offensive to him." This is not correct. They did enter him as exercising "the Episcopal *office*." But they did not entitle him "bishop." The former was not offensive to him. He well knew the distinction between the *title* and the *office*. The latter he did exercise, and asserted his right to exercise it. And we have already shown from the extract of Dr. Coke's Journals, that the statement of his having been so entered in the American Minutes, was published in England, in Mr. Wesley's lifetime, and dedicated to

* As our General Conferences were originally constituted, they possessed the power of our whole body of ministers. Whenever the powers of the present delegated General Conference are spoken of in this work, it is of course to be understood agreeably to the principles of the restrictive limitations.

himself. This gave him no offence. On the contrary, when pressed concerning his "acting as a bishop," he did not deny, but justified it, and answered, "I firmly believe that I am a Scriptural *Episcopos* as much as any man in England, or in Europe. For the *uninterrupted succession* I know to be a fable which no man ever did or can prove." Letter to the Rev. ——, on the Church. Works, vol. xvi, English edition.

SECTION XIV.—*Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

Our argument has hitherto been conducted on the ground that Mr. Wesley did institute, and did intend to institute, under the title of superintendents, an Episcopacy for the American Methodists; and that by Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our fathers, it was so, honestly and in good faith, understood. And in this we are well satisfied that the candid and intelligent reader will agree.

But leaving out of view, for argument sake, the recommendation of Mr. Wesley altogether, we are still prepared, in the circumstances which then existed, to defend the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Had Mr. Asbury been actuated by the dishonourable motives of ambition and self aggrandizement imputed to him, how easy had it been for him to have accomplished his purpose, and to have organized a church in America, with himself at its head, independently of Mr. Wesley, and of the whole European connexion. And what plausible pretext, or occasion, did he want? Early in the revolutionary struggle, every other English preacher had fled. He alone, through the contest, devoted himself to American Methodism, at the risk and hazard of every thing dear. Mr. Wesley himself had openly and publicly espoused the royal cause against the colonies. This greatly embarrassed the American Methodists, and especially the preachers, who were watched, and hunted, and imprisoned, and beaten, as his emissaries; and, through him, as the *disguised* emissaries of Great Britain. The societies, except in very few instances, were destitute of the sacraments. They could neither obtain baptism for their children, nor the Lord's supper for themselves. On this account, as early as 1778, Mr. Asbury was earnestly importuned to take measures that the Methodists might enjoy the same privileges as other churches. He resisted the proposal. Yet so serious was the crisis, that a large number of the preachers, to satisfy the urgent necessities of the societies, chose from among themselves three senior brethren, who ordained others by the imposition of their hands. Among these were some of the ablest and most influential men then in the connexion. Surely no man ever had a fairer, or a more plausible opportunity than Mr. Asbury then had, to organize and to place himself at the head of the Methodist church in America, independently of Mr. Wesley. Yet it was he who, with the late venerable Watters, Garrettson, and others, resolutely remained in connexion with Mr. Wesley; and rested not till by his indefatigable labours the whole of the seceding body were brought back, to await and to abide by Mr. Wesley's advice. And this is the same man, who

after his death, is now charged with the vilest dissimulation and hypocrisy, and with violating the obligations both of "honour" and of "truth," for the sake of organizing a church, separate from and independent of Mr. Wesley, with himself at its head, in conjunction with another!

Dr. Coke was appointed and set apart by Mr. Wesley, aided by other presbyters, as a general superintendent of the American Methodists. In that character he was *unanimously received* by the American conference, and with their consent was to exercise Episcopal powers among them, and to act as a bishop, though called a superintendent.

Mr. Asbury was unanimously chosen by the same conference, to be a general superintendent conjointly with Dr. Coke. He was first ordained deacon and elder, and then superintendent, agreeably to the unanimous voice of the conference, by Dr. Coke, a presbyter of the Church of England, and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, who had been previously ordained presbyters by Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke, and Mr. Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England; with the assistance of Mr. Otterbine, a presbyter of the German Reformed Church.

The intention of the conference was that Mr. Asbury also should exercise Episcopal powers, and act as a bishop, though to be called a superintendent; and the church was then, and thenceforth, called the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Admitting the validity of ordination by presbyters, and that, in such an exigency, they may even ordain bishops, such as are contended for in these pages, as we have shown they may, on what ground is the Methodist Episcopacy, thus understood, and thus instituted, in such circumstances, to be pronounced "illegitimate," unlawful? It is true Mr. M'Caine persuades himself "that the impartial, intelligent, and pious of other denominations" will so pronounce it. And he has certainly done all in his power to induce them to do so; and not only "the intelligent and pious" of other denominations, but the bigotted and prejudiced of every description, and especially the avowed enemies of the Methodist Church; separatists, and such as have been expelled from her communion; the restless and dissatisfied within it; and the enemies of Christianity in general. To such Mr. M'Caine's book has doubtless afforded a high gratification. But if there be any law, divine or human, prohibiting or proscribing such an Episcopacy, let it be produced. Let the edict itself be shown, and let not any man think us impertinent if in demanding the production of it, we require that the terms of the edict be very express and positive.

If this matter be pressed still further, we then insist that the unanimous election and appointing of the first Methodist bishops was of itself sufficient, in the circumstances then existing, to constitute a valid Episcopacy, according to the judgment of archbishop Cranmer, and those divines who concurred with him, as stated by Stillingfleet. And let those who maintain that any other authority was indispensable to its legitimacy, produce their warrant. And let them remember beforehand that we are not to be governed by tradition.

If it be objected that those proceedings took place among the preachers only; we answer: This was, undeniably, in accordance

with the original principle on which the Methodist societies had been gathered, and united by the preachers, who determined on what principles of discipline and of administration they would devote themselves to take charge of, to guide, and to serve, those who, *upon these principles, chose* to place themselves under their care, and especially upon what principles they could feel themselves at liberty to administer to them the ordinances.

If there were any law of God, or man, making this "illegitimate," unlawful, on the part of the preachers, let this edict also be produced. In the days of "the *fathers*" and of the *founders* of Methodism, at all events, both in Europe and in America, we hazard the assertion that these were principles recognised and acquiesced in by the Methodist *people* also. That it necessarily follows, however, from these premises, that any modification of this system, in all aftertime, and in any change of circumstances, is absolutely precluded, is what we do not here mean to say. Nor is that a field into which our present subject requires us at all to enter.

But leaving out of view, for the present, any circumstances which might be collected of the divine approbation of the proceedings of the conference of 1784, from the great and signal blessings which followed upon the labours of the preachers, and the special prosperity of the work from that time, we will conclude this part of our subject with an argument, which, with some of our opponents perhaps, may have more weight.

We maintain, then, that the proceedings of that conference in organizing the "Methodist Episcopal Church" with general superintendents, vested with Episcopal powers, and intended to act as bishops, were, in *fact*, if not in *form*, approved and sanctioned by the people, the Methodist people, of that day. And that the preachers set apart at that conference, in their appropriate and respective characters, as deacons, elders, and superintendents or bishops, were freely and cordially received and greeted by the people, as such; and the sacraments gladly accepted, as they had long been urgently demanded, at their hands. Our proofs follow.

"The Methodists were pretty generally pleased at our becoming a church; and *heartily united together in the plan which the conference had adopted.* And *from that time* religion greatly revived."—Lee's History, p. 107.

"25th December, 1784. We became, instead of a religious society, a separate church, under the name of The Methodist Episcopal Church. This change gave *great satisfaction through all our societies.*"—William Watters, Memoirs by Himself, p. 102.

"The conference met December 1784. It was unanimously agreed that circumstances made it expedient for the Methodist societies in America to become a separate body from the Church of England. They also resolved to take the title, and to be known in future by the name of The Methodist Episcopal Church. They made the Episcopal office elective,——Mr. Asbury was unanimously elected, and Dr. Coke was also unanimously received, jointly with him, to be the superintendents, or bishops, of the *Methodist Episcopal Church.* From that time the Methodist societies in the United States became an inde-

pendent church, under the Episcopal mode and form of government. *This step met with general approbation, both among the preachers and the members.* Perhaps we shall seldom find such *unanimity* of sentiment, upon any question of such magnitude."

Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, on Asbury, pp. 108–109.

Of those who were members of the church at that period, very few are now living. And of such as are, these are not they who now complain of that act. That those who have voluntarily united themselves to this church since, knowing it to be thus constituted;—and some perhaps who have left other churches to join it;—or boys of yesterday, who but a few days ago solicited admission into it, thus organized;—that these should now represent the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a tyrannical *usurpation* over *them*, is an abuse of language so gross, that we marvel how men of common intellect or conscience can allow themselves in it.

The following is a copy of a letter from Mr. Wesley to Mr. Asbury, transcribed from the original. Its contents are in all respects highly interesting. But it is introduced here to show, that though written so recently after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at a period when Mr. Wesley could not but have known that event, it does not contain one syllable of censure, or of disapprobation. It is dated

"*Bristol, September* 30, 1785.

"My dear Brother,—It gives me pleasure to hear that God prospers your labours even in the barren soil of South Carolina. Near fifty years ago, I preached in the church at Charleston; and in a few other places: and deep attention sat on every face. But I am afraid few received any lasting impressions.

"At the next conference it will be worth your while to consider deeply whether any preacher should stay in one place three years together. I startle at this. It is a vehement alteration in the Methodist discipline. We have no such custom in England, Scotland, or Ireland.

"I myself may perhaps have as much variety of matter, as many of our preachers. Yet I am well assured, were I to preach three years together in one place, both the people and myself would grow as dead as stones. Indeed this is quite contrary to the whole economy of Methodism: God has always wrought among us by a constant change of preachers.

"Newly awakened people should, if it were possible, be plentifully supplied with books. Hereby the awakening is both continued and increased.

"In two or three days I expect to be in London. I will then talk with Mr. Atlay on the head. Be all in earnest for God.

"I am, your affectionate friend and brother,

"J. Wesley."

Section XV.—*Leaving Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes.*

The meaning of this phrase seems not to have been correctly understood. In some places Mr. M'Caine asserts that Mr. Wesley's name was left off in 1785; and then expresses surprise that he, notwithstanding, by his letter of September 1786, attempted "to exercise his authority, as formerly, by desiring that Mr. Whatcoat should be appointed a superintendent." In other places he represents this event as having taken place in 1787. The confusion was in Mr. M'Caine's own mind, not in the subject. This is easily explained.

In the Minutes of the conference of 1784, in answer to the second question, it was said, "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government to obey his commands." This Minute remained unaltered till the conference of 1787. At that conference it was resolved to omit it. This act, and this only, is what is properly meant by leaving Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes.

With regard to that Minute, the conference of 1787 did not consider it in the light of a *contract* with Mr. Wesley. It had no such character. It was a mere voluntary declaration on the part of the conference of 1784, and one which had neither been required of them, nor was unalterably binding on their successors; who were as free to judge and act for themselves as their predecessors had been. If there was any thing improper in that business, Mr. Lee contends, it was in originally adopting the Minute, and not in rescinding it. History, page 127.

The declaration of the conference of 1784 was, that "during the life of Mr. Wesley they were ready to obey his commands *in matters belonging to church government*." That it was not understood or intended, however, from the commencement of our organization as a church, that Mr. Wesley should, thereafter, *personally appoint our church officers*, is susceptible of clear proof. In the form for "the ordination of superintendents," prepared for us by Mr. Wesley himself, and "recommended" to us in the Prayer Book of 1784, are these words;—"After the gospel and the sermon are ended, the *elected* person shall be presented by two elders unto the superintendent, saying," &c. Again, in the same form;—"Then the superintendent and elders present shall lay their hands upon the head of the *elected* person kneeling before them," &c. These passages indisputably prove, that Mr. Wesley himself at that time contemplated the future *election* of our superintendents, and not that they were to be appointed by him.

On this principle Mr. Asbury acted from the commencement. When the design of organizing the Methodists in America into an independent Episcopal church, was first opened to the preachers then present, by Dr. Coke and Mr. Whatcoat, at their first meeting at Barratt's chapel, in Delaware, on the 15th of November, 1784, Mr. Asbury frankly declared, "If the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment." Journal, vol. i, p. 376. This frank avowal, at that early period, is a full refutation of Mr. M'Caine's unworthy insinuation,

that Mr. Asbury hypocritically pretended subjection to Mr. Wesley's authority "at that juncture," lest by doing otherwise he should dash from his lips the cup of sweets. As soon as the plan was opened to him, and long before his election or ordination, he explicitly stated that if placed in the office of superintendent it must be by the voice of his brethren. When the conference was convened he made the same declaration, and declined to serve on any other ground. Nor was he ordained, nor was Dr. Coke received as a superintendent, until they were severally elected by the conference. This proves that the conference concurred in the same view. It is demonstrable that the conference of 1784 could not have viewed this subject in any other light; for in the same Minutes, in answer to the twenty-sixth question, they expressly said, "N. B. No person shall be ordained a superintendent, elder or deacon, *without the consent of a majority of the conference.*" In the case of Mr. Whatcoat Mr. Lee says, "Most of the preachers objected, and would not consent." History, p. 126. This they certainly had a right to do, agreeably to the original Minutes.

It will be observed, farther, that the design of organizing the Methodists in America into "an independent Episcopal Church," was first opened by Dr. Coke to Mr. Asbury and the preachers present, in the presence of Richard Whatcoat. Now there is every reason to believe that Mr. Whatcoat had a correct acquaintance with the intentions of Mr. Wesley:—and when Dr. Coke stated the design of forming the Methodists in America into an "independent Episcopal Church," if Mr. Whatcoat knew that this was contrary to Mr. Wesley's intentions, it was his duty to express it. The universally admitted character of Mr. Whatcoat is a sufficient guarantee that he would have done so. A man of greater simplicity, guilelessness, and honesty, probably never lived. Mr. M'Caine must therefore involve Mr. Whatcoat also in the guilt of this knavish conspiracy; or else set him down as an ignorant tool. Yet Mr. Wesley, who knew him well, thought him not unworthy, two years after, to be recommended for the office of general superintendent. Such are the consequences continually involved in Mr. M'Caine's hypotheses.

In a letter dated "London, September 6, 1786," addressed to Dr. Coke, Mr. Wesley says,

"Dear Sir,—I desire that you would appoint a General Conference of all our preachers in the United States, to meet at Baltimore, on May the first, 1787. And that Mr. Richard Whatcoat may be appointed superintendent with Mr. Francis Asbury."

The calling of this conference by Dr. Coke, by the direction of Mr. Wesley, at a time and place unauthorized by any previous conference, was the first ground of dissatisfaction in the conference of 1787. The time fixed for it, being much earlier than had been anticipated, subjected many of the preachers to considerable inconvenience; and some, in consequence of the derangement of their plans, did not attend at all. Among these, were Ezekiel Cooper, and John M'Claskey, who then travelled in Jersey. This proceeding was one of the chief causes which led to the signing of the instrument given by Dr. Coke at that conference, in which he promised not to exercise any government in the Methodist Episcopal Church *when absent* from the United States.

The subsequent part of Mr. Wesley's note does not seem to us at present, however it may have been intended, as an absolute appointment of Mr. Whatcoat. In one place, page 43, Mr. M'Caine himself says, "It will be seen then that he does not 'appoint' Mr. Whatcoat a superintendent, but simply expresses a 'desire' that he 'may be appointed' one." Yet only one page before he expressly says, "Mr. Wesley accordingly *appointed* Mr. Whatcoat." So that, according to Mr. M'Caine, we have both assertions, he *did* appoint him;—and he *did not*. It is certain, however, that Dr. Coke contended that this letter of Mr. Wesley's was an appointment of Mr. Whatcoat; and that the conference were therefore "obliged" to receive him, in consequence of the Minute of 1784 to obey Mr. Wesley's commands in matters relating to church government. And had the conference considered themselves obliged, as Dr. Coke contended, to receive Mr. Whatcoat, merely by virtue of Mr. Wesley's authority, they might have been equally required by the same authority to submit to the recall of Mr. Asbury. Considering it therefore as their right, agreeably to the form of ordination, and to the rule adopted by the conference of 1784, to elect their superintendents; and finding that the Minute respecting obeying Mr. Wesley in matters belonging to church government, was likely to become a source of contention, and to be construed in a sense which the conference of 1784 never intended, so as to deprive them of that right, they resolved to rescind it, and accordingly did so. But this act did not in any degree proceed from want of personal respect or regard for Mr. Wesley. At the very same time they addressed an affectionate letter to him expressing their attachment; and their desire, if it were practicable, that he could visit them, and become personally acquainted with their affairs. For they did not believe it possible for him, at the distance of three thousand miles, to judge as correctly respecting their superintendents as they could who were on the spot. They did believe also that unjust representations of Mr. Asbury had been made to him, by some person, or persons, unfriendly to Mr. Asbury; and that if they accepted of Mr. Whatcoat merely by his authority, in these circumstances, it might probably lead to Mr. Asbury's recall. They therefore declined to receive Mr. Whatcoat. But it was the *conference* that declined, as Mr. Lee states, and not Mr. Asbury, as we shall now further prove.*

As Mr. M'Caine, on this subject, has only revived and new dressed

* One of Mr. M'Caine's unnamed authorities says, "About this time there was a great rumour in London concerning the strides taken by Mr. Asbury for the extent of power, and one elderly gentleman, the Rev. T. R.," [Thomas Rankin, we presume,] "said it would be right to recall a man of that ambitious turn. *Mrs. Asbury*" [the mother of bishop Asbury] "heard of this saying, and intimated to her son she hoped to see him shortly in England."

Mr. Snethen says also, "Mr. Asbury was the only English preacher that adopted the American country, and was determined to stand or fall with the cause of independence; all the rest returned, and *one at least* was not very well affected towards him: and Mr. Asbury's intentions were questioned, and Mr. Wesley was advised to keep a watchful eye over the great water." Answer to J. O'Kelly's Vindication, page 18.

It appears too, from Mr. Snethen's account, that a preacher who was expelled in 1792, had been misrepresenting Mr. Asbury, and imposing on Mr. Wesley. Through *his* aid Mr. Hammett endeavoured to stab the character of Mr. Asbury. Mr. O'Kelly

the old charges of Mr. O'Kelly, to refute them we have only to adopt the former refutation of Mr. O'Kelly by Mr. Snethen.

Mr. O'Kelly had asserted "Francis was opposed to a joint superintendent."—"For a refutation of this charge," says Mr. Snethen, "see the following testimony."—The certificates of Dr. Coke, of Philip Bruce, and of Mr. Whatcoat himself.

"When Thomas Coke and Mr. Asbury met in Charleston, Thomas Coke informed him, that Mr. Wesley had appointed Richard Whatcoat, as a joint superintendent, and Mr. Asbury *acquiesced* in the appointment, as did the Charleston conference when it was laid before them.—Thomas Coke proposed the appointment to the Virginia conference, and to his great pain and disappointment, James O'Kelly most strenuously opposed it: but consented that the Baltimore conference might decide it, upon condition that the Virginia conference might send a deputy to explain their sentiments.

Jan. 7, 1796. Signed. THOMAS COKE.

"I perfectly remember that Mr. O'Kelly opposed the appointment of Richard Whatcoat; and that Mr. Asbury said enough to him and me, to convince us that he was not opposed to the appointment."

Norfolk, Nov. 30, 1796. Signed. PHILIP BRUCE.

"Mr. Asbury *was not opposed* to my being joint superintendent with himself. After receiving Mr. Wesley's letter he wrote to me from Charleston, upon the subject. As I have not the letter by me at present, I cannot give the contents verbatim; but as well as I recollect, the conclusion was—"And if so you must meet me at the Warm-springs, and we will make out a plan for your route through the continent." Signed. R. WHATCOAT.*

"How could he" (Mr. O'Kelly) says Mr. Snethen, "publish such an idea? Had he forgotten the conversation which passed between himself and Mr. Asbury, at Dick's ferry, upon Dan river? in which Mr. Asbury told him it would be best to accept Richard Whatcoat."—Rev. N. Snethen's reply to James O'Kelly's apology, pp. 9–10.

We may add also that Mr. Snethen has as triumphantly vindicated Mr. Asbury from "the smallest blame" in relation to the leaving of Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes. Mr. O'Kelly had asserted that "Francis took with him a few chosen men, and in a clandestine manner expelled John, whose surname was Wesley, from the Methodist Episcopal Church." Mr. Snethen replies,

"Surely an author that will publish such a slander against an innocent man, is but little better than he who would be guilty of the charge. Mr. Asbury has given the compiler a particular detail of every circumstance relative to himself, that had the most remote relation to the leaving Mr. Wesley's name out of the American Minutes;

used the materials which they had prepared to his hand; and Mr. M'Caine has availed himself of them all, with the addition of Mr. Kewley's productions, but without naming his authorities.

* Let the reader compare these certificates with the letter of the 31st of Oct. 1789, which Mr. M'Caine, p. 47, imputes to Mr. Wesley, in which it is stated that Mr. Asbury "flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat." From this comparison it is certain, either that Mr. Wesley never wrote that letter as it is given to us; or, if he did, that he had been imposed on by *false information*.

which makes it appear that *Mr. Asbury was not deserving of the smallest blame in the whole business;* and the compiler" Mr. Snethen, "is *certain* that *Dr. Coke*, and *all the preachers then living, who were at that time members of the conference* were *perfectly satisfied* that Mr. Asbury was *entirely innocent* of the charge." Reply to Mr. O'Kelly's Apology, p. 12.*

On the whole, viewing this subject with a candid and affectionate reverence for all parties, we do not say that a gentler and more conciliatory course on the part of that conference, in relation to Mr. Wesley personally, might not have been, perhaps, the more excellent way. But this is submitted with all our added light, and when the excitements, the apprehensions, and the embarrassments of that day, are wholly gone. Yet we do say, that, had we lived in the days of "our fathers," it is highly probable that a majority of us would have felt, and judged, and acted, as a majority of them did; and very doubtful whether we, or their censors, would have done better.

At one time, Mr. Wesley's name, to use the common phrase, was left off the *American* Minutes. At another, *Dr. Coke's* was omitted in the *English* Minutes. And at yet another (1778) Mr. Asbury's name also was omitted in the American Minutes. In each case it was done from what were then deemed prudential considerations.—With our *present lights*, we may doubt perhaps the real necessity of either of them. Yet are *we* prepared to assert, with confidence, what might, and would have been the effects, if these measures had not been adopted?†

Mr. M'Caine is also displeased that, at the death of Mr. Wesley, no account of him was given in the American Minutes. We wish this had been otherwise. But if he can believe that the omission resulted from "*contempt*" of Mr. Wesley we must leave him to enjoy his

* Since writing the above we have seen a statement from Mr. Snethen of the circumstances in which his publications respecting Mr. O'Kelly were compiled.—It does not appear, however, to require any alteration of what we have written.—The facts and documents remain the same. We are well satisfied also that Mr. Snethen would never, even as a member of a committee, have published any thing which he did not himself believe. And we are equally satisfied that he always had and still has, too high an opinion of bishop Asbury's personal moral worth, to believe for a moment that he would have furnished either documents, or any statement of facts, even in his own defence, which he knew to be either forged or false.

† With respect to the "rejecting of Mr. Wesley," or leaving his name off the Minutes, the following is Mr. Asbury's statement.

"I was amazed to hear that my dear, aged friend, Benjamin Evans, (now gone to glory) was converted to the new side by being told by J. O'Kelly that I had offended Mr. Wesley, and that he being about calling me to account, I cast him off altogether. But, *quere*, did not J. O'K. set aside the appointment of Richard Whatcoat? and did not the conference in Baltimore strike that *minute* out of our discipline which was called *a rejecting of Mr. Wesley?* and now does J. O'K. lay all the blame on me? It is true, I never approved of that binding minute. I did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley, at three thousand miles distance, in all matters relative to church government; neither did brother Whatcoat, nor several others. At the first General Conference I was mute and modest when it passed, and I was mute when it was expunged. For this Mr. Wesley blamed me, and was displeased that I did not rather reject the whole connexion, or leave them, if they did not comply. But I could not give up the connexion so easily, after labouring and suffering so many years with and for them."—Journal, vol. ii. p. 270.

opinion. The adoption of such a sentiment requires a strong predisposition, and desire to believe it.*

The truth seems to be, that, as the deaths of American preachers are not mentioned in the British Minutes, so the deaths of the European preachers are not mentioned in the American Minutes; although, in a general sense, we are all regarded as one body. In the case of Mr. Wesley, an exception to this general mode of proceeding, might doubtless have been made with great propriety. But that not a particle of any thing like "cold neglect" or "contempt" of Mr. Wesley had place in the mind of Mr. Asbury, on that occasion, we have the explicit testimony of Mr. Moore. Even on receiving from Mr. Wesley the letter of Sept. 1788, Mr. Moore says, "Mr. Asbury *lost none of his veneration* for his father in the gospel," Mr. Wesley; and as a *proof* of this he cites the entry which Mr. Asbury made in his journal, on the occasion of the death "of that dear man of God;" in which after expressing himself in the highest terms of Mr. Wesley's character and attainments, Mr. Asbury adds,—"I conclude his *equal* is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up, nor his *superior* among *all the sons of Adam*." *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii, p. 286. With what face, after this, can Mr. Asbury at least be involved in the insinuation of treating the memory of Mr. Wesley with "cold neglect, if not contempt?"

Even in the British Minutes, the notice of Mr. Wesley's death was extremely short: For the conference declared that they found themselves "utterly inadequate to express their ideas and feelings on that awful and affecting event."

That Mr. Wesley before his death, became satisfied of the continued affection and attachment of the American Methodists, appears from his correspondence.

In a letter to the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, written only twenty-nine days before his death, after mentioning his growing infirmities, he says, "Probably I should not be able to do so much, did not many of you assist me by your prayers. See that you never give place to one thought of separating from your brethren in Europe. Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,

> 'Though mountains rise, and oceans roll
> To sever us in vain.'"

This proves that he did not then consider us as separated from himself, or from our European brethren.

The same sentiment has been since officially avowed both by the British and American conferences. The credentials furnished by our brethren in Europe, either to their ministers or members, are recognised and honoured by us here, as entitling them to every privilege of our church. The credentials which we furnish are also acknowledged by them. And of late years the two connexions have mutually ex-

*When the great Fletcher died, the account of him in the English Minutes was contained in *one line and a quarter*. That *line and a quarter*, however, from the pen of Mr. Wesley, expressed, we confess, as much as some of our modern pages.

changed delegates, as the representatives of each other, in our respective conferences. Of this state of unity and affection every friend of this great work will cordially say—may it be perpetual.*

Section XVI.—*Mr. M'Caine's Arithmetical Calculations.*

Mr. M'Caine states, page 65, that the "appeal" proposed by Mr. O'Kelly, in the conference of 1792, "was the origin and cause of a secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, of such great extent, that in less than five years the Minutes of Conference exhibit a decrease of 20,000 members."

Now how does he make this out? The conference at which Mr. O'Kelly proposed his appeal, was in *November* 1792. The first return of numbers thereafter was in 1793. The total number of members, white and coloured, on the face of the Minutes, then was 67,643. In 1798, five years afterwards, the total number was 60,169; making a decrease of only 7,474. Or, if we take it in 1797, four years from 1793, the total number then was 58,663; making a decrease of 8,980. If we make the calculations from 1792, the decrease, according to the Minutes, in 1796 was 9,316; and in 1797, it was 7,317.

But did not Mr. M'Caine, in order to show so large a decrease, go back to 1791? If he did, why did he do so? In 1792 the aggregate numbers on the face of the Minutes was 65,980; and it was *subsequently* to that return that the General Conference of 1792, at which Mr. O'Kelly proposed his appeal, was held. Of course the numbers as returned for 1791, could not justly be made the starting place for this calculation. Besides from 1791 to 1792 there was, in reality, an *increase* of more than 2,000 members; which further shows the impropriety of beginning the calculation of a *decrease* from 1791. It happens, however, that in 1791 the face of the Minutes exhibits so very large an aggregate, that it suited Mr. M'Caine's purpose excellently well to begin his calculation from that date. But in that aggregate, as exhibited by the Minutes, did Mr. M'Caine discover no mistake? If he did not, his examination was extremely superficial. If he did, it was a great want of candour, and great injustice to his readers, not to state it. On either ground we submit whether this specimen affords

* On the proceedings of the conference of 1787, Dr. Coke in his Journal of that date remarks,—

"Never surely was more external peace and liberty enjoyed by the church of God, or any part of it, since the fall of man, than we enjoy in America: and every thing seems to be falling before the power of the word. What then remained for the infernal serpent, but to sow the seeds of schism and division among ourselves. But, glory be to God, yea, glory for ever be ascribed to his sacred name, the devil was completely defeated. Our painful contests, I trust, have produced the most indissoluble union between my brethren and me. We thoroughly perceived the mutual purity of each other's intentions in respect to the points in dispute. We mutually yielded, and mutually submitted; and the silken cords of love and affection were tied to the horns of the altar for ever and ever."

We shall be most truly rejoiced to find that as much purity of intention, and sincerity of affection, and of "the wisdom that is from above," exist among us at the present day, as actuated the hearts of our excellent "fathers."

us any very great encouragement to rely implicitly on Mr. M'Caine's diligent investigation, and accurate report of *documents?* Whoever will examine the Minutes of 1791 will find that there is an error in the aggregate of the numbers stated for that year, of between *twelve and thirteen thousand too many*. The *whole* number, of both whites and coloured, is first given at the foot of the column headed "Whites;"—and then the number of the *coloured* is given *besides*, which makes an error equal to the whole number of the coloured members, which must be deducted from the total aggregate of the two columns, to ascertain the true aggregate.

In this calculation Mr. M'Caine is the more inexcusable, as he had before him Mr. Lee's history, in which the increase and decrease are regularly stated from year to year. This might have led any careful investigator to an easy discovery of the error in the Minutes. In 1794 the first decrease took place that had occurred for fourteen years. The largest decrease was in 1795. In 1796 there was still a decrease. But in 1797 there was again an increase, nearly 2,000 having been added to the numbers.

In the simple addition and subtraction of figures, we should have supposed that Mr. M'Caine would have been peculiarly accurate. And if he has so palpably erred in a case so plain, and so perfectly susceptible of investigation and correction, it can be no want of charity to believe that he may have equally erred in matters much more difficult and intricate, in which he has bewildered himself in the mazes of "mystery," where the certain science of mathematics could afford no aid.

But we have a few other cases of arithmetical logic to propose, in bar of Mr. M'Caine's. If the "decrease" stated by Mr. M'Caine, and the "secessions since that period in different parts of the United States," be a fair argument against our "Episcopal form of church government," are the *increase* and the *accessions* since, no argument in its favour? We put then the following cases for Mr. M'Caine's calculation.

In the year 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was first organized, the number of members in our societies was 14,988. In forty-three years, under our Episcopal form of church government, the increase has been 367,009;—the total number of members now being 381,997.

In less than five years, at one period, Mr. M'Caine says there was a *decrease* of 20,000 members; though the true decrease, during that period, was not half that number. In *one* year, (the last,) we have had an *increase* of 21,197.

The secession which caused the decrease which Mr. M'Caine names, soon came to nought; and scarcely a wreck, or a vestige of it now remains; whilst Episcopal Methodism, from which that secession drew off, has been graciously and divinely prospered, to an extent even beyond the anticipations of its most sanguine and devoted friends. Now the answer required is, taking all these cases together, what is the sum of the arithmetical argument;—on which side is the true balance; and to what amount?

Section XVII.—*The Address to General Washington.*

Of all Mr. M'Caine's book, those parts which respect the address to General Washington, are the most extraordinary. "It is evident," he asserts, page 46, "that the *date* of this address was altered." That he does not, in direct terms, charge Mr. Asbury with the alteration, and for the base purposes named, as we have before shown, cannot excuse him. The implication is too clear to be mistaken. If a false date were forged, and imposed on the public, Mr. Asbury could not have been innocent. He could not have been ignorant of the truth in the case, nor of his duty respecting it. We have therefore examined this subject minutely; and the result has amply repaid our pains.*

Mr. Drew does not give the address itself; nor state expressly what its precise date was. He seems, indeed, to have been left in peculiar embarrassment with regard to dates, in consequence of the death of Dr. Coke at sea, before he had arranged his papers in chronological order, for his anticipated biographer, as he had intended. This is intimated in Mr. Drew's dedication. Admitting, however, from the course of his narrative, that it was his impression that the address was presented in 1785, this mistake can be much more readily excused in Mr. Drew than in Mr. M'Caine. Mr. Drew was a foreigner, writing in a foreign country. Mr. M'Caine was here on the spot, writing in reference to prominent and well known events in our history, and where the most ample and accurate sources of information were perfectly open to him. The two dates, 1785 and 1789, were *both* before him. Both were subjected to his deliberate investigation. He *chose* that of 1785; and went so far as to charge that of 1789 with being an "altered" date, and consequently forged. Nothing could be more deliberate, and at the same time more grossly erroneous. Any former publisher might have overlooked an error in the narrative, as a court in the ordinary routine of business, without investigation or argument, or having the attention directed to the points of a case. But Mr. M'Caine's error is that of a court solemnly deliberating, hearing the arguments of counsel, taking time to advise, and then pronouncing a most glaringly unfounded and injurious decision, against all evidence and reason, and all justice and truth.

* Mr. M'Caine asserts also, pp. 37, and 38, that the *Minutes of Conference* "*were altered*"—"to make them quadrate with subsequent proceedings." In proof of this, and showing the *application* to Mr. Asbury, he refers to Lee's History. Now Mr. Lee says, "In the course of this year" [1787] "Mr. Asbury reprinted the General Minutes, but *in a different form* from what they were before," p. 127. The Minutes had been printed before in one general body of consecutive questions and answers. Mr. Asbury "methodized and arranged them under proper heads." So also Mr. Lee says in another place, p. 68, "The form of the annual Minutes was changed this year" [1779] "in a few points; and the first question stands thus, 'Who are admitted on trial?'—The first question used to be, 'Who are admitted into connexion?'" It is evident therefore that Mr. Lee had reference simply to the *form* in which the Minutes were methodized and printed. And has not their form been repeatedly altered since? Has it not been altered, and as some think, improved, several times within the last few years? If this be deemed any crime, those considered guilty would be much obliged if the accusation may be made in their life time, that they may have an opportunity to answer for themselves.

Mr. M'Caine repeatedly states that the address was made to General Washington, "President of the American Congress." He does this not only when quoting Mr. Drew, but when he has no reference to Mr. Drew. See particularly page 62. Now did he not know, or ought he not to have known, that General Washington never was president of the American congress? and that in 1785 he was in no official situation whatever, but a mere private citizen, attending to his farms. In fact Washington was a private citizen during the whole period from the resignation of his command of the American armies in 1783, till his election to the presidency in 1789; except only during the few months in which he was a member and president of the convention, for the formation of the Constitution of the United States, in 1787. These facts and dates are contained in our common *school books.*

Mr. M'Caine, however, did know that Washington was not president of the United States till after the adoption of the Constitution in 1788. This he states, p. 46. Why then, in the name of consistency, did he still insist that the true date of the address was in 1785? Do not both the address and the answer contain perfect *internal* evidence that their proper date *must* have been after the adoption of the Constitution, and the election of General Washington to the presidency. Unless we admit this, we must allege a forgery not only in the *date*, but in the *body* and *matter* both of the address and answer. The address commences thus:

"To the *President of the United States.*" It then proceeds to express the congratulations of the bishops on the general's "appointment *to the presidentship of these states.*" And, in the ensuing paragraph, their most grateful satisfaction at his course respecting "the most excellent Constitution of these states."

The president, in his reply, returns his thanks, for their demonstrations of affection, and expressions of joy, "on his late appointment." Now can any one tell what "late appointment" General Washington had received in 1785? or how any sense can be made out of this whole business, if its date be fixed at any time anterior to 1789?

But we will not detain the reader longer with reasoning on the subject, though our reasoning alone would be conclusive. We will present him with the evidence of documents which shall put this matter to rest. The following is an

Extract of a letter from the Rev. Thomas Morrell, to the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, dated "Elizabethtown, (N. J.) Aug. 26, 1827."

"With regard to the information you request concerning the address to General Washington, I can furnish you with every material circumstance respecting it, having acted as a sub-agent in the transaction, and having a distinct recollection of the whole business. The history of it, is, That Mr. Asbury, in the New-York conference in 1789, offered for the consideration of the conference the following proposal:—Whether it would not be proper for us as a church, to present a congratulatory address to General Washington, who had been lately inaugurated president of the United States, in which should be embodied our approbation of the Constitution, and professing our

allegiance to the government. The conference unanimously approved, and warmly recommended the measure; and appointed the two bishops, Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, to draw up the address. It was finished that day, and read to the conference, who evinced great satisfaction in its recital. Brother Dickins and myself were delegated to wait on the president, with a copy of the address, and request him to appoint a day and hour, when he would receive the bishops, one of whom was to read it to him, and receive his answer. It was concluded that although Dr. Coke was the senior bishop, yet not being an American citizen, there would be an impropriety in his presenting and reading the address; the duty devolved of course on bishop Asbury. Mr. Dickins and myself waited on the general; and as I had some porsonal acquaintance with him, I was desired to present him with the copy, and request his reception of the original by the hands of the bishops. The president appointed the fourth succeeding day at twelve o'clock to receive the bishops. They went at the appointed hour, accompanied by brother Dickins and Thomas Morrell. Mr. Asbury, with great self possession, read the address in an impressive manner. The president read his reply with fluency and animation. They interchanged their respective addresses, and after sitting a few minutes we departed. The address and the answer, in a few days, were inserted in the public prints; and some of the ministers and members of the other churches appeared dissatisfied that the *Methodists* should take the lead. In a few days the other denominations successively followed our example.

"The next week a number of questions were published, in the public papers, concerning Dr. Coke's signing the address. Who was he? How came he to be a bishop? Who consecrated him? &c, accompanied with severe strictures on the impropriety of a *British subject* signing an address approving of the government of the United States; charging him with duplicity, and that he was an enemy to the independence of America; for they affirmed he had written during our revolutionary war, an inflammatory address to the people of Great Britain, condemning, in bitter language, our efforts to obtain our independence; and other charges tending to depreciate the doctor's character, and bringing him into contempt with the people of our country. As I did not believe the assertion of the doctor's writing the address above mentioned, I applied to a gentleman who was in England at the time, to know the truth of the charge; he assured me the doctor had published no such sentiments in England during the revolutionary war, or at any other period, or he should have certainly had some knowledge of it. And this was the fact, for the doctor had written no such thing. As there was no other person in New-York, at that time, in our connexion, who could meet these charges, and satisfactorily answer these queries, I undertook the task, and in my weak manner endeavoured to rebut the charges, and answer the questions. A second piece appeared, and a second answer was promptly published. No more was written on the subject in New-York. The doctor afterwards gave me his thanks for defending his character.

"Such are the material circumstances that occurred concerning the address to General Washington, and his reply, which you are at

liberty to make use of in any way you think proper; and if you judge it necessary may put my name to it.

"THOMAS MORRELL."

I certify that the above is a true extract of an original letter of the Rev. Thomas Morrell, addressed to me, bearing the above date, and now in my possession.

EZEKIEL COOPER.

New-York, September 7, 1827.

To this we add the following copy of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Sparks, of Boston, to whom the papers of General Washington have been entrusted, for the purpose of making such selections for publication as he shall deem proper; in which important work this gentleman is now engaged. And for this polite and prompt reply to our inquiries, we here tender to Mr. Sparks our most respectful thanks.

"*Boston, September* 1, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,—Your favour of the 26th ultimo has been received, and I am happy to be able to furnish you with the information you desire. The "*date*" of the address presented by bishops Coke and Asbury to General Washington, is May *twenty-ninth*, 1789. It is proper to inform you, however, that I do not find the *original* paper on the files, but take the date as it is recorded in one of the volumes of "Addresses." It is barely possible that there may be a mistake in the record, but not at all probable.

"It is not likely, that any address from any quarter was presented to Washington in 1785. I have never seen any of that year. He was then a private man, wholly employed with his farms.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

Mr. J. Emory. "JARED SPARKS."

To complete this investigation we have examined the newspapers published in this city, (New-York,) in 1789, of which files are preserved in the New-York Library. The address of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury was published in the *Gazette of the United States*, on the 3d of June, 1789; and is dated May 29, of that year; exactly corresponding with the date stated by Mr. Sparks, from the Washington records. The same address may be found in the Arminian Magazine for June 1789, published in Philadelphia by John Dickins. It is there dated May 19, 1789. This seems either to have been a typographical error of 19 for 29; or, probably, the original draught of an address was prepared about the 19th,—and this date *then* put to it was inadvertently left uncorrected when placed in the hands of the printer. This difference of a few days, however, cannot now be of any possible moment, as it is placed beyond all dispute, that the true date of the address, as presented to Washington, was May 29, 1789.*

* At the British conference in 1820, an address was adopted on the occasion of the death of George III., and the accession of George IV to the throne of Great Britain. The original draught of that address was prepared by Dr. Adam Clarke

The visit of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury to General Washington, at Mount Vernon, in 1785, was merely to solicit his influence in favour of a petition which they had it in contemplation to present to the general assembly of Virginia, on the subject of slavery. They dined with the general, and had a personal interview on the subject, but made no particular address. A circumstantial account of that visit, and the politeness with which the general received them, may be seen in Dr. Coke's Journal of May 1785.*

Since writing the above we have received a letter from the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper; of which the following is an extract:

"*Trenton, N. J., Oct.* 16, 1827.

"*Rev. John Emory,*

"Dear Sir,—I have a book, now lying before me, entitled, '*A Collection of the Speeches of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress at the opening of every Session, with their Answers.—Also, the Addresses to the President, with his Answers, from the time of his Election.*' Printed at Boston by Manning and Loring, for Solomon Cotton, 1796.—In which book, at pages 133, 134, is the address of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the President, and his answer. The address is dated New-York, May 29, 1789. This agrees with the information you have from Mr. Jared Sparks, as to the time the address was presented.

"It is now to be hoped, that neither the author of the History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy, nor his friends or advocates, will be so bold, I am almost ready to say so presumptuous, as to believe the reproachful or slanderous charge of altering the date of the said address, to answer some unworthy and falsely supposed purpose. For in so doing, it will implicate Washington himself, who has left it on record among his papers, that the said address was received by him May 29, 1789. Also Mr. Sparks, who is in possession of Washington's papers, and testifies, in the communication to you, that it there stands dated May 29, 1789. And also the compiler or editor of the

previously to the conference. It was read by him and submitted to the conference on the *first* day of the session, and *dated* on that day, though not finally acted on till some days after, nor presented till still later.

* In the account which Mr. Drew gives of Dr. Coke's and Mr. Asbury's address to General Washington, he states that "various addresses" of other denominations about the same time found their way into the American newspapers, and across the Atlantic; among which none so much attracted the attention of the English Methodists as that which bore the signature of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury.—Life of Dr. Coke, pp. 143, 144. Of these other addresses, that of the Presbyterian Church was dated May 26, 1789, and presented June 5;—of the German Reformed, June 10, 1789;—of the Protestant Episcopal Church, dated August 7, and presented August 19, 1789. These were all published in the Gazette of the United States of that year. That of the Protestant Episcopal Church was also published in the New-York Daily Gazette. The president's answer to each of them bears no date; except that to the Protestant Episcopal Church, as published in the Gazette of the United States, is dated August 19. But as published in the New-York Daily Gazette this also is not dated. And we believe the president did not usually date his answers to addresses, at that period.

book before me, above mentioned, in which the address and answer are published, bearing the same date, May 29, 1789. Surely, every one must be fully convinced and satisfied of the false and unworthy charge.

"The answers of Washington to the addresses are generally without date: scarcely an instance of date. Some of the addresses and answers are both without date.

"As to the difference of the date of bishops Coke and Asbury's address, as published in the Arminian Magazine, May 19, and as published in the above mentioned book, &c, May 29, it might have been a typographical error; otherwise the original draught might have been written in Philadelphia, where the conference sat the 18th of May—and the conference sat in New-York the 28th. At New-York they probably dated it the 29th, and brother Dickins might have printed from the draught made in Philadelphia, dated the 19th. The Magazine was published in Philadelphia.

"Yours, &c,

"Ezekiel Cooper."*

Section XVIII.—"*History and mystery*" *of Mr. M'Caine's inconsistency.*

After all Mr. M'Caine's denunciations of the name of bishop, and of the Episcopal office among us, he thus concludes, pp. 70–72.

"Let the local ministers and the laity be represented in the legislative department of the church.—On the other points which we have mentioned above, we place, comparatively, no stress. We are not tenacious of them. We are willing, if it should be thought best, to relinquish any, or all of them. But, representation from the local ministry and laity, by the help of God, we will never relinquish."—Now one of "the *other points*" mentioned above was,—"Let the name of bishop, and the Episcopal office as it now exists among us, be put away for ever." Yet, founded in falsehood, in imposture, and in fraud, as he represents these to have been, and disgraceful and contemptible almost beyond expression, he is, nevertheless, "not tenacious" of their being "put away," provided the laity and the local ministry, of whom he is one, may be admitted into a higher state of participa-

* We take pleasure in adding, that having had frequent interviews with Mr. Cooper, and free conversations on the subjects of this work, we believe we are warranted in saying that he concurs in our views. To this intelligent and able man, one of the most aged of our itinerant ministry now living, we here also tender our thanks for several interesting facts derived from the treasures of his well stored memory; and also from some private manuscript notes of his own. The concurrence of Mr. Cooper on the topics here discussed, is the more valued, as all who are acquainted with him know that, as no man among us is more capable of forming a correct judgment respecting them, or has paid more minute and constant attention to them, so no one is less disposed unduly to exalt the Episcopacy, or would be more free and fearless to expose any imposition or fraud if discovered.

tion with this base concern!—Is Mr. M'Caine sincere? Does he really mean, after all he has said, that if admitted into the General Conference, he would not be "tenacious" of "doing away the name of bishop and the Episcopal office, as it now exists among us"—or does he say this, lest by saying otherwise "at this juncture" he might "dash from" *his* "lips the cup of sweets?"*

But a still more extraordinary "mystery" of inconsistency remains to be developed. Mr. M'Caine states in his preface, p. 5, as one of the reasons for his publication, that he thinks the "exposure" he has made "will tend much to lessen, if it will not totally overcome, the opposition of travelling preachers to representation."—That is to the representation of the local preachers and laity in the General Conference.

Now the reader will please to observe, that for many years past, a large portion of the travelling preachers had been desirous to effect some diminution of the Episcopal prerogative, by vesting in the annual conferences some voice in the selection of the presiding elders. This Mr. M'Caine knew. Yet during the very period in which he was engaged in preparing his book, in order it would seem to "lessen if not totally to overcome" Episcopal opposition, too, to the representation of the local preachers, he made a communication, in a way to reach Episcopal ears, that if he might take the liberty of expressing *all his mind*, the probability would be greater for the *continuance* of the exercise of this prerogative from a *local* representation, than without it. And why? Because, in his opinion, *affection* and *veneration* for Episcopal men might, *and no doubt would*, lead a Local representation to *support* a measure which they had no immediate and direct interest in opposing!—Thus, by "exposure" of Episcopacy and of Episcopal men, Mr. M'Caine exerts himself, on one side, ("candidly" too, he assures us,) to lessen if not totally to overcome the opposition of travelling preachers to the representation of local preachers. And, at the same time, on the other side, he endeavours to convince Episcopal men that the representation of local preachers will tend to confirm and to perpetuate their prerogative: and this too, not on the ground of reason or argument, but from the *affection* and *veneration* of the local preachers for Episcopal men. So that in the opinion of Mr. M'Caine, this was the return which those said travelling preachers would "*no doubt*," receive from those same local brethren who had been labouring to induce them to assist the said local brethren to get into General Conference. On all this we shall leave the reader to make his own comments. The facts, we apprehend, will not be

*This part of Mr. M'Caine's work has been noticed by another writer, in the following terms of strong rebuke. "We must say, that if he believes all that he has written in the previous part of his book, and would be satisfied with *this*, he offers a base and disgraceful compromise. If we believed, as he asserts, that the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church originated in falsehood, and has been perpetuated by fraud and forgery, we would disdain to make any compromise at all with the authors of it: we would be satisfied with nothing which did not go to overthrow the whole establishment, and wipe from the remembrance of all men, this foul blot on the character of Methodism." Dr. T. E. Bond's Appeal.

denied. But if Mr. M'Caine's opinion be correct, how it is calculated to "lessen, if not totally to overcome" opposition to the representation of local preachers, on the part of those travelling preachers at least who have been desirous of effecting some diminution of this Episcopal prerogative, is to us, we confess, a "mystery."

SECTION XIX.—*Union Society of Baltimore;—Conclusion.*

Mr. M'Caine, states, p. 4, that "the result of his investigation was read before the Union Society of reformers in Baltimore, and the writer was requested to print it for the information of his brethren." Of what number, or persons, the Union Society of Baltimore consists we are not informed. Some of the individuals who compose it, we know. And we are unwilling to believe that they could have deliberately and understandingly, sanctioned and recommended such a publication. Our hope, therefore, is, either that the members of that society were not all present when Mr. M'Caine's manuscript was read; —or they did not hear the whole of it;—or they did not all approve of it; —or they had not a fair opportunity of weighing and examining it, and have thought differently of it since it was printed; but if disappointed in all these hopes, then we persuade ourselves that they will at least give this defence a fair and candid consideration; and if convinced that Mr. M'Caine has led them into error, that they will frankly and honourably declare it.

Have the Union Society of Baltimore forgotten that the remains of Bishop Asbury were disinterred, and removed from Virginia, and deposited in their city, as a place peculiarly dear to him? Have they forgotten the solemn rites with which, by the joint act of the General Conference, and of the Baltimore Society, they were placed under the pulpit of the Eutaw church, as in a sacred and chosen asylum, where his ashes might rest in honoured peace, under their affectionate and generous protection? With what feelings then could such of our brethren as may have sanctioned the publication of Mr. M'Caine's book, stand in that very pulpit, over those ashes, to preach to those whom they know to hold the name of that venerable man in so much filial love and reverence? Can it be supposed that their hearers could avoid the association of the *book*, the *preacher*, and the injured "*father?*" And could such an association be either agreeable or profitable?—Ought not the ashes of that father first to be taken up and given to the winds; or be sent to the Potters field, where *strangers* lie in peace? Or at least be returned to their resting place in Virginia, whence they were solicited? And will not a voice from his tomb be otherwise continually reproaching the Union Society of Baltimore; or their proceeding be a standing reproach to him?*

* Since the above was prepared for the press, we have seen a publication in which it is stated that no vote of recommendation to publish Mr. M'Caine's work had passed the Union Society. This is stated on the authority of the president and secretary: and it is added that Mr. M'Caine also "declared that he had no

We have now performed, in some respects, a painful, in others a pleasurable task. The investigations to which it has led us, have occupied our close and prayerful attention. If the result be as satisfactory to others, as it has been to our own mind, the Methodist reader will continue to bless God that his name has been associated with those of Wesley, of Coke, and of Asbury; and with the names of those excellent "fathers," through whose labours, and the "institutions received from" them, with the divine blessing, the foundations were laid of that great work of God which has been spread over these lands. And with regard to our own Asbury particularly, he will confidently and triumphantly conclude, in the language of Mr. Snethen on the occasion of his death,—"Whatever of scandal may hereafter attach to us, neither we, nor our children, shall have to bear the reproach of crimes in our human leader. Few among those who have followed in the same track, have excelled him, in any of the qualities which constitute a good man;—*in the union of them all* NONE HAVE SURPASSED HIM."

allusion to a vote of the Union Society." We will not charge Mr. M'Caine with a design to mislead his readers, or to give currency to his book, by representing it as sanctioned by the Union Society of Baltimore. Nor will we impute to the officers of that society the littleness of descending to the quibble that no such "vote" passed the society, if the work had been in any manner sanctioned by that body. But that such of Mr. M'Caine's readers as were not in the secret, have understood him to allude to the Union Society before whom the result of his investigations was read, as requesting him to print it, there can be no doubt.—Indeed we do not see how any other rational construction can be put on the sentence;—"The result of his investigation was read before the Union Society of reformers in Baltimore; and the writer was requested to print it for the information of his brethren." p. 4. If, in this, however, we have been mistaken, and there be no "mystery" in this thing, then our remarks are to be applied not to the society as such, but to the individuals concerned.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—*Respecting Dr. Coke's Letter to Bishop White.*

Having received an extract from Dr. Coke's letter to the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, on this subject, but too late for insertion in the body of this work, we introduce it here.

For two years or more, previously to 1792, Mr. O'Kelly had excited much disaffection in Virginia; particularly in the important and extensive district over which he then presided. It was, indeed, a matter of controversy at that period, whether he, and the preachers who adhered to him, were in "the union," as he expressed it; although his name was regularly continued on the Minutes as a presiding elder, till 1792, when he withdrew. In 1792 our General Conferences were first established Previously to that time we had none, except that of 1784. Dr. Coke was of opinion that some general and permanent bond of union, was imperiously needed. Mr. Asbury was of the same opinion. The "council" was proposed as an expedient; but not being found to answer the purpose, it was discontinued, after only two sessions, in 1789, and 1790. In that measure Dr. Coke did not concur. The proceedings of Mr. O'Kelly produced great agitation. Special pains were taken to enlist Dr. Coke in his views, and to produce disaffection between him and bishop Asbury. Dr. Coke became alarmed for the safety of the connexion; and in that state of mind, without consulting his colleague, resolved to ascertain whether a union could be effected with the Protestant Episcopal Church, on such terms as he conceived would secure the integrity and the rights of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was also under an impression, as before stated, that such a junction would greatly enlarge our field of action; and that myriads would attend our ministry in consequence of it, who were at that time much prejudiced against us. All these things, "unitedly considered," led him to write to bishop White in 1791, and to meet him and Dr. Magaw in Philadelphia. This he states in his letter to Mr. Cooper. An extract of that letter is now before us. It is dated "Near Leeds, Yorkshire, Jan. 29, 1808;" and is in the form of an address to the General Conference. The correctness of the extract is certified by Mr. Cooper, as taken by himself from the original, in Dr. Coke's hand writing. In this letter after adverting to the circumstances above named, and to the labour and fatigue with which, a short time before he wrote to bishop White, he had prevailed on James O'Kelly, and the preachers who adhered to him, to submit to the decision of a General Conference, Dr. Coke replies to the following question: "If he did not believe the Episcopal ordination of Mr. Asbury valid, why he had ordained him?" To this he says, "I answer,

"1. I never, since I could reason on those things, considered the doctrine of *the uninterrupted apostolic succession of bishops*, as at all valid, or true.

"2. I am of our late venerable father, Mr. Wesley's opinion, that the order of bishops and presbyters is one and the same.

"3. I believe that the Episcopal form of church government is the best in the world, when the Episcopal power is under due regulations and responsibility.

"4. I believe that it is well to follow the example of the primitive church as exemplified in the word of God, by setting apart persons for great ministerial purposes by the imposition of hands; but especially those who are appointed for offices of the first rank in the church.

"From all I have advanced, you may easily perceive, my dear brethren, that I do not consider the imposition of hands on the one hand, as essentially necessary for any office in the church; nor do I, on the other hand, think that the repetition of the imposition of hands for the same office, when important circumstances require it, is at all improper.

"If it be granted that my plan of union with the old Episcopal Church was desirable, (*which now, I think, was not so, though I most sincerely believed it to be so at that time*) then, if the plan could not have been accomplished without a repetition of the imposition of hands for the same office, I did believe, and do now believe, and have no doubt, that the repetition of the imposition of hands would have been perfectly justifiable for the enlargement of the field of action, &c, and would not by any means have invalidated the former consecration or imposition of hands.

"Therefore I have no doubt but my consecration of bishop Asbury was perfectly valid, and would have been so even if he had been reconsecrated.

"I never did apply to the General Convention or any other convention for reconsecration. I never intended that either bishop Asbury or myself should give up our Episcopal office, if the junction were to take place: but I should have had no scruple then, nor should I now, *if the junction were desirable*, to have submitted to, or to submit to, a reimposition of hands, in order to accomplish a great object: but I do say again, I do *not* now believe such a junction desirable.

"I have thus simply and candidly, though in few words, told you my whole mind on this subject. I do not consider my solemn engagements to you invalidated by any thing I have done, or you have done. But I charge you by the glory of God, and by every tie of love, gratitude and candour, that you take no step which may injure my character. And now I conclude with assuring you, that I greatly love and esteem you; that it is a delight to me to pray for your prosperity; and that I am, with unfeigned esteem, your very affectionate brother and faithful friend,

"T. Coke."

We hope, after this, to hear no more of Dr. Coke's "*doubts*" of the validity of his Episcopal ordination, or of that of bishop Asbury; unless our modern race of writers can persuade us that they are better acquainted with the mind of Dr. Coke than he was himself. The assertion is as unfounded as that "the introduction of Episcopacy among the Methodists in the United States was expressly disapproved and forbidden by Mr. Wesley;" or that "the formation of the present plan of government among us was the undivulged project of a few, who meeting in secret conclave, excluded the junior members even of their own body;" or that the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have ever founded their Episcopacy on the ground of "uninterrupted succession from the apostles," or that the rejection of that doctrine has ever been "struck out" of our discipline. Such assertions only serve to show how superficially those who make them have examined the subject; or how servilely they copy others. We should regret that the repetition of them should oblige us to give back the "modest" imputation either of "ignorance, or want of candour."

No. II.—*A Communication from the Rev. N. Bangs.*

My Dear Brother,

Having had the pleasure of hearing you read your manuscript in the "Defence of our Fathers," &c, against the attacks of the Rev. Alexander M'Caine, I take this opportunity of expressing to you my views of the orders of our ministry. This I can do the more readily because I have already published them in my little book on "Methodist Episcopacy," and it will also give me an opportunity of correcting some mistaken opinions which have been circulated, not much to the credit of the authors of them, respecting my views on this subject. Indeed I have been represented as holding that a third *order* in the church is *jure divino*, or of *divine right*, without which, of course, there can be no valid ordinances. That this is an entire misrepresentation of my views, will appear manifest to every impartial mind, from the following quotations from my book on the subject of our Episcopacy.

In chapter ii, which treats of "Elders and of their duty," p. 35, is the following sentence:—"I shall undertake to prove, that the body of elders in their collective capacity, had the right of consecrating ministers, and of establishing ordinances for the government of the church." It will be perceived that this sentence contains the main proposition which I set myself to prove, and to sustain throughout that chapter; and among other proofs cited in support of this doctrine, is the following

from Stillingfleet:—"Before the jurisdiction of presbyters was restrained by *mutual consent*, the presbyters enjoyed the same liberty that the presbyters among the Jews did, of *ordaining* other presbyters, by that power they were invested in, or with, at their own ordination." p. 40. And the whole reasoning in this chapter is designed to show that consecration by presbyters is scriptural, with a view to vindicate Mr. Wesley's ordination of Dr. Coke as a superintendant, and others as elders, for the Methodist Episcopal Church. How then, I may ask, could I have held at the same time, that a third order was *essential* to constitute a gospel church? I appeal to every man that has read my book with candour, that has consulted the pieces on this subject subsequently published in the Methodist Magazine, of which I acknowledge myself the author, for the correctness of the above statement.

It is true, I did believe, as I believe still, that in the primitive church, in the age immediately succeeding the apostles, there were an order—(I use the word *order* merely for convenience, to avoid circumlocution, meaning thereby nothing more than that they were invested by consent of the eldership with a power to preside over the flock of Christ, and to discharge other duties not so convenient for the presbyters to discharge)—of ministers denominated *evangelists*; that these were itinerating superintendants, (or bishops if any like the term better,) having a general oversight of the whole church; and that these are very nearly resembled by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But that these were an order of ministers by *divine appointment* so essential that there can be no valid ordination or ordinances without them, is a sentiment I neither *now* nor *ever* believed. In proof of this, see "Methodist Episcopacy," p. 56, where are the following words: "It moreover appears highly probable, that whatever authority these itinerating evangelists possessed, they derived it by delegation from the body of presbyters; to whom belonged the *original* right of modifying the government of the church, as they saw it expedient for the benefit of the community, provided they did not transcend the bounds of their authority by transgressing a known precept of Christ."

As to the account of the Methodist Episcopal Church, published first in Martindale's Dictionary, and afterwards in Buck's Theological Dictionary, which I prepared under the sanction of the Book Committee before you were associated with me in the book concern, I consider it a simple statement of a matter of fact, that the Methodist Episcopal Church acknowledges three *orders* of ministers, deacons, elders, and bishops, which fact certainly no one can contradict, still understanding the word *order*, when applied to bishops as above defined. If any choose to say that we acknowledge two *orders only*, and a superior minister possessing a delegated jurisdiction chiefly of an executive character, he has my full consent; I will not dispute about words. That Mr. Wesley did, with the aid of other presbyters, invest Dr. Coke with fuller powers as a Methodist superintendent, than he did those whom he denominated elders, and that he intended to establish a Methodist Episcopal Church among the Methodists in America, I think you have fully proved; and I heartily wish you success in your undertaking: for I think it a sacred duty we owe to the "venerable dead," to vindicate them against such invidious, unprovoked, and unmanly attacks, as those of the author of the "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy;" a title as *quaint* as the contents of the book are manifestly *unjust* and erroneous.

New-York, Nov. 1827. N. Bangs.

No. III.—*The Minute to obey Mr. Wesley.*

We have shown that by leaving Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes, was simply meant the rescinding of the Minute of the conference of 1784, to obey him in matters belonging to church government; and also the peculiar circumstances in which that act took place. With regard to the conference of 1787, by whom that Minute was rescinded, Mr. Snethen said, if he might be permitted to show his opinion, he should "applaud them for renouncing the obligation." Answer to J. O'Kelly, p. 18.

A

DEFENCE OF THE TRUTH,

AS SET FORTH IN THE

"HISTORY AND MYSTERY

OF

METHODIST EPISCOPACY,"

BEING A

REPLY TO JOHN EMORY'S

"DEFENCE OF OUR FATHERS."

BY ALEXANDER M'CAINE.

Fear them not therefore; for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed: and hid, that shall not be known.—*Jesus Christ.*

I take it to be my duty, to be so faithful to the stock of reputation God hath given me, as to defend it at the rate of opening the TRUTH.—*Baxter.*

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY R. J. MATCHETT, 57, SOUTH STREET.

1829.

PREFACE.

When I commenced an investigation of the origin of Methodist episcopacy, I was a minister of the Methodist episcopal church. I conceived it, therefore, to be my *right*, and felt it to be my *duty*, to make the investigation. I commenced it in the fear of God, and as a candid inquirer after truth. I did it to obtain satisfaction upon points, respecting which, my mind had been, more or less, exercised for many years. I did it to ascertain the truth of the statement in the minutes of conference, that Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government: which statement, I could not reconcile with his letter to Mr. Asbury, in which, with unparalleled severity, he censured Mr. Asbury, for having assumed the title of bishop. I did it, to find out by what means the travelling preachers had become possessed of the legislative, judicial and executive power, when these same travelling preachers declared, that neither local preachers, nor laymen have any right to a representation in the general conference.

At the commencement of my undertaking, I determined to spare no pains to obtain all possible information, on the subject of my research. I resolved to avail myself of what had been written, respecting Methodist episcopacy, by its friends, or reputed enemies. I determined to weigh every argument as I went along, with all the impartiality I was able; and to judge of their value, not only by contemplating them in the abstract, but by taking them in connexion with the facts, upon which they were intended to have a bearing.

In forming the above determinations, I laid it down as a governing rule, to apply to no person, who might be suspected of being inimical to the institutions or prosperity of the church. When it was known that I was writing upon the subject, I was frequently urged to apply to certain individuals, who, it was thought, had an intimate knowledge of early Methodism: but as I was aware how the testimony of these individuals might be received, if it were obtained, I declined making any application. I thought it best to introduce no testimony, that might vitiate my book, but to rest my positions upon personal knowledge, the records of the church, such publications as I knew to be true, or such as had the approbation of the connexion, by being printed at the book room, and by being sold by the travelling preachers.

times, on a similar subject, except the far-famed Cobbett's History of the Reformation."

As these *gentlemen* have represented me in this odious light, it remains for them to make their assertions good; otherwise, the infamy they intended to fix on me, will fall upon themselves. I call on them, therefore, nay, I *defy* them to prove what they have said: For, to say nothing of the other parts of their statement, they commence by saying that *which is not true;* namely that I have "assailed the *whole system of Methodism.*" Nor, was the publication of this slanderous address the only means used to destroy my character. Private and scandalous reports were put in circulation. And this same Dr. Thomas E. Bond has since acknowledged to myself, that he said, "if he were to sweep the streets of Baltimore, he could not find a man under the influence of worse motives than I was." And although he has since denied it, the Rev. Mr. —— will affirm that Dr. Bond said to him, "there was not a worse man in the cells of the penitentiary than M'Caine."*

In continuation of the plan to destroy my character, and thereby sink the credit of my book, charges of "slander and falsehood"† were preferred against me, for having, in a district con-

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*That the reader may know what credit is due to Dr. Bond's statements, I subjoin the following letter of recommendation, which I obtained last year, when I was going to the South.

"BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER 8th, 1827.

"As the Rev. Alexander M'Caine has it in contemplation to spend the ensuing winter in the Southern States, with the view of improving his health; and as he has signified to us his intention to employ himself, while on the tour, in making arrangements for the sale of books, and in obtaining subscriptions for useful, literary and scientific works, &c &c.; we cheerfully avail ourselves of the occasion, to recommend him to the notice and confidence of such professional gentlemen and other citizens of taste and reading, as may feel desirous to be accommodated by his attentions."

JOHN B. DAVIDGE, M. D. } *Professors in the University of Maryland.*
NATHANIEL POTTER, M. D. }

PETER CHATARD, M. D.

HORATIO G. JAMISON, M D
JAMES H. MILLER M. D
SAMUEL K JENNINGS M D.
SAMUEL ANNAN, M. D.
JOHN W. VETHAKE, M. D.
W. W. HANDY, M D.
} *Professors in the Washington Medical College, Baltimore.*

N. BRICE, } *Judges of Baltimore City Court*
ALEX. NISBET, }

ELIAS GLENN, *Judge of the U. S. District Court.*
NATHL. WILLIAMS, *U. S. District Attorney.*
JOHN PURVIANCE, *Counsellor at Law.*
WM. WIRT, *Attorney General of the U. S.*
SAML. L. SOUTHARD, *Secretary of the Navy.*
JOHN M'LEAN, *Postmaster General*

†The following are the specifications furnished on that occasion by Mr. Hanson.

"SPECIFICATION 1. In having at the district conference at Georgetown, D. C. in the year 1821, represented me as a dishonest man, and as having while in

ference, nearly *seven years* before, objected to a certain man's obtaining a license to preach. What hand Dr. Bond had in urging this man to prefer these charges, I will not say, though I believe he was at the bottom of it. One thing, however, is certain, that on the trial, the man of *copper spike* memory sent a person for his "friend Dr. Bond," and when the Doctor came in, his first effort, even before he sat down, was to have Alcæus B. Wolfe, Esq. my *stenographer*, turned out of the room. Failing in this, the Doctor then sat down beside the prosecutor, and appeared to be very busy in helping him to sustain the charges and carry on the prosecution. Will the reader believe, that although this man of *copper spike* memory was told by one of my witnesses on the trial, what I do not think it prudent to write, and was told it too, in the presence of James M. Hanson, Dr. Bond, the committee, and twenty or thirty witnesses, yet this same man, was in a Methodist pulpit the next day thereafter, and continues to have access to Methodist pulpits still; whilst Dr. S. K. Jennings and ten other local ministers have been expelled the church on account of their reforming principles!!

Finding that my pamphlet was working its way, notwithstanding the publication of the above address, signed "William Wilkins chairman," and "John Howland secretary;" and that the charges of "slander and falsehood" COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED, they next brought me to trial for writing the book. The same charges were preferred against me, which were preferred against the other brethren, who had been tried for being reformers, namely that I was a member of the Union Society, and patronised the Mutual Rights. To these was added, that I was the author of the "History and Mystery of Methodist episco-

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the employment of Mr. Thomas Kemp, on Fell's Point, purchased copper, knowing it to be stolen; and of having left that place to avoid the penitentiary, or a legal prosecution.

SPECIFICATION 2. Of having in said conference made such allusion to, and representation of the circumstances which occurred at Fell's Point, as he knew to be untrue, and which made on the minds of the members of the conference, such an impression against me as a dishonest man, as induced them to reject my application for license to preach, notwithstanding I had the necessary recommendation from the quarterly meeting conference of which I was a member.

SPECIFICATION 3. That the said Alexander M'Caine, did on the 24th day of June last, or thereabouts, at Marcella Chapel, before the congregation then and there assembled for public worship, make allusion to some person who had been in the habit of holding public worship in that place, and who had been at some former time compelled to fly from justice to avoid the penitentiary, (inuendo) meaning thereby me the subscriber, as will appear not only from his having made the same allegations in the district conference, but from his private communication made to Mr. Rezin Worthington, and to Mr. Nicholas Owings, as will appear by reference to certificates No. 5 and 7." [A true copy,]

August 1, 1827. J. M. HANSON.

pacy." How far the other charges may have contributed to my expulsion, I cannot say: but I believe the principal cause was, the writing of the pamphlet. To try the merits of this book, in the answering of which, I have reason to believe exertions were made to obtain the aid of Doctors of Divinity, Masters of Arts, preachers old and young, and even the bishops themselves, Nicholas Harden, Samuel Gore, and Edward Hall, three local preachers, were appointed a committee. These men are as capable of judging of the merits of the work, as they are of Newton's Principia. They know as much, perhaps, of Church History, as they do of algebra or conick sections. They were not, however, disqualified by their ignorance to answer Mr. Hanson's purpose, or the purpose of Mr. Hanson's masters, if he was directed to these measures by the bishops, or by any one of them.

It would seem, that the church authorities and the friends of Methodist episcopacy did not think it safe to rest their cause, upon the attacks made upon my character; it was, therefore, thought necessary, that something should be done, which, under the semblance of argument, might have the appearance of confuting my book. To write it down, the Rev. John Emory, D. D. took up his mighty pen; how far he has succeeded, an enlightened public will judge. Whether he was stimulated to the undertaking by personal animosity—by vanity—by a hope of aggrandizement—by the importunity of the friends of Methodist episcopacy—or by higher motives, one thing is certain: in preparing his "Defence, &c." he had every facility, and in obtaining for it a circulation and a character, he had every advantage he could possibly have desired.

He tells us in his preface, that he "asks not for charity, in the cold sense of that abused term" That all he "demands is simple justice—sheer justice." In conformity with his wishes, I shall endeavour to do him "sheer justice;" and, as is my manner, I shall "use great plainness of speech." The circumstances under which I write, require that I should be plain.—They have left me no alternative. My work has been attacked by so many pens. My character has been assailed from so many quarters. So many base stratagems have been resorted to, with a view of injuring my reputation, weakening my influence, and destroying my temporal interests, that men, who know the value of character, will not, it is hoped, think I have transcended the bounds of Christian moderation, in exposing these proceedings. From men who can commend a work which I am compelled to believe was written to effect these purposes, I cannot, I do not anticipate any approbation. On the contrary, I know they will be exasperated in proportion as it is found that I am able to repel their attacks, and establish the views I have taken of Methodist episcopacy. I write not, therefore, for

them. I neither seek their applause, nor dread their arguments. I write in justification of my own character, and in defence of the truth, and shall leave to an impartial public to pronounce the verdict.

In reviewing Mr. E's book, I have followed the divisions of his work, and have even adopted the titles of his sections. It is respectfully suggested to the reader, that he read a section in the "Defence of our fathers" first, and then read the review of that section in my work. By this means he will be able to keep clear of all entanglement and confusion—judge of the merits of the respective works—and determine on which side lies the truth.

ALEXANDER M'CAINE.

Baltimore, December, 1828.

A DEFENCE, &c.

Before I enter upon a review of Mr. Emory's book, I shall say a few words respecting its title. It may not be generally known, or remembered, that when the work was first announced, in the "Christian Advocate and Journal," it was announced under the name of the "Theory and History of Methodist episcopacy." Why was this title changed? Did the author think, that the work did not correspond with the title? And that the public would be induced to expect more from the title, than they would find realized in the book? Or, did he think that "Theory and History" was too cold and uninteresting a title, and that to call it "A Defence of our Fathers," was much more likely to promote its sale—awaken the sympathies of the members of the church, for "the fair and honorable fame of our fathers"—arouse their indignation against the man who undertook to examine the nature and origin of the episcopacy—and promote the views of the author, by fixing on *him*, the eyes of all, as being the man, who best deserved to be advanced to the episcopate? Be the reason what it may, the name of the work was changed, and it is now circulated through the country, by the travelling preachers and others, under the imposing title of "A Defence of our Fathers."

And who does the author mean by "our fathers"? It has been universally admitted, that Messrs. John and Charles Wesley were the founders of that religious denomination of people, called Methodists. To them the name was originally applied. Their names were appended to the general rules, by which the societies are governed. Mr. John Wesley claimed the title of "Father" for himself, and says, in a letter addressed to Mr. Asbury, dated London, September 20th, 1788, "You are the elder brother of the American Methodists I am, under God, the *father* of the whole family." Although these were the fathers and founders of Methodism, yet neither of them has any share in Mr. E's "Defence." Of Mr. Charles Wesley nothing is said, only in an incidental way; and how Mr. John Wesley has been defended, will be seen hereafter.

As the "fathers" of the Methodists are passed over in silence, it is probable Mr. E. intended that Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, the latter of whom Mr. Wesley calls the "elder brother," should be considered as "our fathers." I must be permitted, here to supply the omission of their names, as I do not find that the local preachers who first formed societies in America—

the travelling preachers who came over from England—the preachers who composed the conference of 1784—Mr. Whatcoat who was elected the first bishop, after the church had been organized—Mr. McKendree, now the senior bishop, or any of the gentlemen associated with him in the episcopacy, receive any notice, or partake in the slightest degree, of any advantage from Mr. E's "*masterly* defence."

But why does Mr. E. more than any other man out of one thousand five hundred travelling preachers, to say nothing of the numerous personal friends that Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury had, among local preachers and laymen, enter the lists in "defence of our fathers"? Was it in consequence of a vote of any of the annual conferences? Was it because there was no man competent to the undertaking but himself? Was it because he was so long, and so intimately acquainted with these gentlemen, whose "defence" as he calls it, he undertakes? Was it because his attachment to them was so strong, that any attack, real or imaginary, made on their "fair fame" would stir the blood within him to espouse their cause, and induce him to engage in a controversy, for which, from *disposition* and *habit*, he had such a settled and inveterate aversion? Nothing of all this. For, although Mr. E. writes as if he was the greatest, if not the only personal friend, that Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury ever had; yet, I believe, he never saw Dr. Coke or received a line from his pen. And as for Mr. Asbury, if he had any acquaintance with him, it must have been very superficial. There was nothing that could be called an intimacy:—there was, perhaps, not even any correspondence. As there could be nothing, of a strong personal nature, to interest Mr. E. more than any other man, we must look for some other reason for writing the "Defence of our Fathers," than what grows out of personal esteem, and disinterested friendship.

He tells us, however, that the "fair and honourable fame of our fathers is a treasure committed to our common trust; in which all who bear their name ought to feel an interest; and to defend which is our common duty." This, to be sure, is very specious: but it will admit of some doubt, with those who are *intimately acquainted* with Mr. E. if, notwithstanding all he says about "duty," he would not have left the "duty" unperformed, if he had not thought, that the present occasion furnished a most happy opportunity, of indulging his vanity—gratifying his malignity—and promoting his views of ambition and aggrandizement.

At the general conference in 1824, Mr. E. had been put in nomination for a bishop. At that conference he received several votes for the office. His prospects of arriving at the episcopate, at some future, perhaps at no distant day, were as favorable as were those of his rival. The hope, therefore, of being raised to that elevated station, may have had a great influence

in inciting him to perform this "duty." And as the "History and Mystery" might gradually and effectually sap the foundations of Methodist episcopacy, if suffered to pass without an attack, it became necessary to make a show of defence, to prevent, if possible, such an event. Mr. E. knew also, that he would be obliged to relinquish the book agency, to which he had been appointed by the general conference; and in view of this relinquishment, a "Defence of our fathers" could be undertaken, which, under the appearance of vindicating the characters of the dead, might effectually promote the views and interests of the living. Besides, there is in the view of a proud man, so much honor in being a bishop;—there is in the view of an ambitious man, so much power and so many privileges connected with the office, that it is no wonder if Mr. E was transported with the idea of being exalted to that station. To a man of his disposition, the very term is capable of producing such a train of pleasing ideas in the head, and so many delightful sensations in the heart, that to wish to be a bishop was too powerful a temptation to be resisted. Who can tell, what thrilling emotions he would feel, when he would hear, or read an appointment announced in these words; "Bishop Emory will preach in Light street church next Sunday morning at 10 o'clk." What ecstacy to see his likeness, executed by Longacre in his best style of engraving, put in the Magazine, placed in the windows of print shops, or hung up in the parlors of the wealthy Methodists, with this inscription, "John Emory, D. D. one of the bishops of the Methodist episcopal church."

In addition to the influence which the love of honor, and the love of power may have had, the love of money may also have had a share, in bringing forth the "Defence of our Fathers."—For when a bishop in the Methodist episcopal church is elected, he is elected a bishop for life. His support, and the support of his family, is no longer precarious or uncertain, depending on the stewards, or on the voluntary contributions of the members. It is from the book concern that he draws his support; and this support is commensurate with all his wants, of whatever nature, and to whatever extent, they may be. This is an object worth seeking. This is a "treasure" for which some would not be unwilling to write a "Defence;" a "treasure," which it is pretty plain, is more prized, than "the fair and honourable fame of our fathers."

To make his "Defence" popular, Mr. E. has taken great pains to make his readers believe, that I am the personal enemy of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury; that I have written my "History and Mystery" "with all the malignity of which the human heart is capable;" and that with great "unkindness I pursue Mr. Asbury in his grave."* Def. p. 56. I must be allowed,

*Mr. Wesley had the same charge preferred against him. "His sacrile-

however to say, that there is not one word of truth in all this : so far from it, that I possessed the confidence and friendship of both these gentlemen as long as they lived. With Dr. Coke, it is true, I was not so intimate as I was with Mr. Asbury ; owing to the Doctor's residing, principally, in Europe. Nevertheless, I corresponded with him, until he sailed for India. But with Mr. Asbury I was particularly intimate, and have good reason to believe, that there were few men, for whom he entertained a greater affection, than he did for me. It is therefore, a gratuitous assertion for Mr. E. to make, that I "have taken advantage of the lapse of time and the silence which death has imposed on the accused, to impute to them unheard of frauds and forgeries, which in their life time, no man living, had the effrontery even to insinuate." Def. p 54. If, by this assertion, Mr. E. means, that I would not have published the views I now entertain, of the origin of Methodist episcopacy, if Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury were alive, he must allow me to tell him, he is very much mistaken. Had I, before their death, the light on the subject, which I now have, I cannot conceive any reason why I should have been deterred from giving publicity to my views: but I had not. For, I never examined the subject until lately, always receiving as true, the statements published in the book of Discipline and Minutes of conference. If he means that I did not, or would not tell Mr Asbury, at any time, what I thought to be wrong, he is again mistaken. On every subject, on which I expressed an opinion, I did it according to my apprehensions of *truth ;* sometimes of himself, sometimes of his administration, and sometimes of his colleague; and never received a word of censure from him, for doing so. Indeed it never was my manner, or disposition to avail myself of the absence of men, to say of them what I believed it to be my duty to say. And if the reader will pardon the appearance of egotism, I will tell him, that since God was pleased to convert my soul, I have made it a rule not to say any thing of a man in his absence, that I would not say in his presence ;—that from that period to this, my heart has been free from the fear of man ;—and that I am not now conscious, of having flattered a man in all that time.—This is not the smooth way to heaven, but as far as I understand the principles and precepts of the New Testament, it is the way that is prescribed ; and this is the way I choose to walk in.

To shew the reader, that I am not the man, that Mr. E. would fain make his readers believe me to be, and to prove, that I possessed Mr. Asbury's confidence and friendship in a very high degree, I shall submit a few extracts from some of his letters.

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gious hand violates the *ashes of the dead,* and traduces the character of Mr. Whitefield." "With *ungodly craft* he claws up the *ashes of the dead.*"—Wesley's Works, vol. x. p. 484.

Norfolk, March 29th, 1799.

"My very dear Brother,

I had an impression upon my knees, that you would be the most acceptable person, to take a station in Norfolk in Virginia for the present year. My confidence in you as a man of *piety, conscience*, and *honor* is hereby signified &c.

Thy soul's real friend,

FRANCIS ASBURY."

Baltimore, July 16th, 1806.

"My dear Son,

If I loved thee less, I should not put myself to pain and scribbling. I love you, you know. I have always manifested it.—Your *honest bluntness* I approve &c.

As ever, F. ASBURY."

In order that the reader may understand the import of the following request, it may be proper to inform him, that for several years, before Mr. Asbury's death, he had frequent conversations with me about undertaking the compilation of a work, to be extracted from the writings of the most pious and practical commentators on the Holy Scriptures. This work he frequently urged me to undertake; and in his peculiarly sententious, and emphatic manner of expressing himself, he used to call it a "focus." The following extract refers to this subject.

Philadelphia, April 30th, 1815.

"Dear M'Caine,

This following I write highly momentous. The *focus* upon the great book. Have you begun? Keep your book always by you. Begin book after book; general history and contents: *mind, mind, mind.* I stir up your pure mind; make the best of every moment. A small introduction, of a few pages, will tell what stations the author hath filled. It hath been upon my mind for years; but who I should fix upon, it is *Alexander M'Caine.* I must as your bishop, father and brother bind it upon you.

As formerly and as ever thine,

FRANCIS ASBURY."

Shortly after the date of the above letter, and *not long before his death*, having heard that I had lost my companion, he wrote to me, pressing me to enter into the travelling connexion again, and to commence the work which he had so often urged me to begin.

Philadelphia, July 1st, 1815.

"My dear Son,

You cannot ride a district or circuit; you are past the meridian Still we have work enough. Should you return to your mother's house, the chambers of her that bore you, perhaps you might be employed orderly and quarterly in Augusta, Sa-

vannah, Columbia, Charleston, Camden, Fayette, Georgetown, Wilmington, Newbern, Norfolk. You could not be too much confined. You are very positive about the key; but where materials can be had of the very best kind, *you* can do it, if you give up your time and mind, and only be called off to preach. Those leisure hours might be well spent for future generations. I have been reading these fifty years, and have never seen what meeteth my mind, I mean an universal *focus* taken from all authors worthy of notice.

Thine the same,

FRANCIS ASBURY."

I will not ask Mr. E. if he can produce any thing like the above. I am sure he cannot. These extracts, therefore refute the bitter, calumnious charges which he has scattered through his book; and furnish testimony from Mr. Asbury's own hand that he "loved me"—that I possessed his "confidence as a man of *piety*, *conscience* and *honor*"—that he "approved of my honest bluntness"—that he made choice of me for executing "a highly momentous" work—and that he was very solicitous to have me again in the travelling connexion.—How could he do all this, if he believed me to be such a man as Mr. E. has represented me to be. In Mr. E's efforts to blacken me, he spots Mr. Asbury; and wounds him, with the same weapon, with which he strikes at me. Such is the way that this champion wields his weapons in his "*unanswerable* and *masterly* defence of our fathers." There is only one way in which he can avoid this conclusion, which is, to prove that I have changed. This I challenge him to do. He would be glad if he could fix this imputation upon me. But the reader will allow me to tell him, I have not changed. I entertain the same love of *truth* that I always did. I have the same hatred for *falsehood* that I always had. I detest *low cunning* and *intrigue* as much as I ever did. And as for my "honest bluntness," which Mr. Asbury approved, but which some men hate, I think it is very likely it will go with me down to my grave.

Having said this much respecting the *title* of the book, and the motives of the author, it may not be amiss to make a passing remark on the *style* of the work, or the *manner* in which the "duty" has been performed. This is the more necessary, as I have heard it said, "the Defence of our Fathers" is a "*masterly* and *unanswerable* production." I was not surprised at this declaration, considering the quarter from which it came, and the persons, by whom it was made. For there are many, very many, who are ready to applaud what *they do not understand*. That Mr. E. as a writer, is deficient, in what critics consider the first and most essential quality of good writing, I mean *perspicuity*, no man, who has read his "Defence," and

who is capable of judging, will deny. Without stopping to account for this defect, I will say, if in any place, in the following review, I have misapprehended his meaning, it must be attributed to the obscurity of his style. This obscurity renders him, as he himself said of bishop White in his controversy with that gentleman, "hard to be understood, and of course, hard to be answered."

Section I.—*On Episcopacy.*

In my "History and Mystery," I inquire, page 9, "what views, do ecclesiastical writers give us, of an episcopal form of church government?" Which form of government, it is said in the minutes of conference, was "*recommended*" to the American Methodists by Mr. Wesley, and was adopted in consequence of his "*counsel.*" In answer to this question, I collected and presented the views of different classes of ecclesiastical writers upon the subject. I did this, conceiving it would be proper, at the very outset, to ascertain the meaning of the phrase, "the episcopal form of government," that my readers might know the point of my inquiry, and understand, precisely, the subject of my investigation. The first of the writers from whom I quoted defines it thus; "Episcopacy is that form of church government, in which diocesan bishops are established, as *distinct from and superior to presbyters.*" And all the authorities which I gave, although they differ upon other matters, agree in this cardinal point, that *bishops are a distinct order from presbyters and superior to them.* The reader is requested to bear in mind, that it constituted no part of my inquiry, whether episcopacy is of "divine appointment;" or whether bishops are a "distinct order" from presbyters, by "*divine right*," or "*apostolic succession.*" My inquiry was, (1) whether bishops are a distinct order from presbyters? And (2) if bishops in the Methodist episcopal church, are a distinct order from presbyters and superior to them, by whose appointment were they made? These are the points to which my inquiry was directed, and to them, I confined myself, in my letter to the bishops. I asked them, "whether there is any paper to be found, in which, Mr. Wesley gave "*counsel*" to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury or any other person or persons, to ordain a *third order* of ministers in our church, meaning by that phrase, an order of bishops, distinct from and superior to presbyters? His. and Mys p. 74. The same question was proposed in my letter addressed to each of the six preachers, who were members of the general conference in 1784.

From this plain and simple statement, every one will perceive the matter of inquiry, and must acknowledge, that the question

is so free from all abstruseness, that in the judgement of common sense, there could have been no great difficulty in giving an answer But to avoid coming fairly to the question, Mr E. finds himself under a necessity, to entangle the subject, by introducing it in alliance with "*divine right.*" This is unfair; and although it shews the ingenuity of the man, in forming this *holy alliance*, it will not escape the attention and censure of the intelligent and the pious. He says, "Mr M'Caine represents the *common acceptation* of the term bishops to be an order of ministers distinct from presbyters by *divine appointment*, to whom the power of ordination is reserved, by the *same appointment*, and is the chief mark of their distinction; and in whom, as successors to the apostles, is vested the *exclusive* right of granting the *divine commission* to execute the ministerial office." Def. p. 20, Now this is a misrepresentation; for I say no such thing. I neither gave "divine appointment &c." as my own sentiments, nor as the *common acceptation* of the term. I did not believe that these sentiments were the sentiments of even a majority of episcopalians. That I quoted them as the opinions of *some* ecclesiastical writers, I admit. So did Mr. E. when he gave the same opinions from Dr. Miller. Would it be fair in me to say, that Mr. E. and Dr Miller represented the "*common acceptation*," of the term bishops, to be an order of ministers distinct from presbyters, by "*divine appointment*" &c., because some quotations from Dr Miller, who gives the different views of ecclesiastical writers, respecting an episcopal form of church government, contain these sentiments? Surely not; especially, when not more than one out of twenty of the episcopalians, hold these sentiments. The fact is, I made no inquiry respecting bishops being a distinct order by "divine appointment; divine right," or "apostolic succession" Mr. E. knew very well that my questions had no reference to these things. I consider his statement as a specimen of his artifice to mislead his readers; but it is certainly too glaringly fallacious to escape detection, and too palpable to be imposed on men of sense.

Long before I wrote my "History and Mystery," I knew there were some writers, who use the words bishops and presbyters synonymously: that there were others, who make a distinction in the orders, representing the bishops to be superior to presbyters; yet this distinction and superiority, they represent as only of *human* appointment.* Whilst others consider bishops to be an order of ministers superior to presbyters, not by human appointment and expediency, but by "*divine ap-*

* "The form of ecclesiastical government established in England, was one of the first grievances of which the Puritans complained This controversy was not carried on with animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pret[illegible] their dignity from no other s[illegible] than h[illegible]

pointment"—"*divine right*," and "*apostolic succession*." I wished, therefore, to know, in what sense a bishop in the Methodist episcopal church is to be considered; whether as a distinct order from presbyters and superior to them; and if superior to them, by what appointment, "human," or "divine."

But, Mr. E. says, I ought to have known, "that there are ecclesiastical writers who describe *episcopacy* with *other features*." Def. p. 5. Here his language is equivocal. If by the phrase "other features," he means, that there are "other features" belonging to episcopacy, which I have omitted to give, *his* "other features" are to be superadded, to those which I have presented, to make the likeness complete. To supply this omission was his design, I suppose, in making his numerous extracts. But, notwithstanding he draws so largely on Dr. Miller and bishop Stillingfleet, will it not be somewhat of a curiosity to find, that although nine pages of his book are filled with extracts to prove, that "other features" ought to be added to what I have given; yet these "other features" are identically the same, with those which were given by me. Only let the reader attend to what I have extracted, and he will find this to be the case. My authorities represent episcopacy in the following points of light. 1. "Episcopacy is that form of church government, in which diocesan bishops are established, as distinct from, and superior to presbyters." Buck's Theo. Dic. Art. episcopacy. 2. "Episcopalians, in the strict sense of the word, are those, who maintain, that episcopacy is of apostolic institution; or that the church of Christ has ever been governed by three distinct orders, bishops, presbyters or priests, and deacons." R. Adams's Religious World, vol. 2. Art. Episcopalians. 3. "Bishops were ordained in all churches by the apostles, and derived from them, in a constant succession." Arch-bishop Potter p. 155. Again, "It is a principle universally established among episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles, in the order of bishops, as an order superior to and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite, without which a valid Christian ministry cannot be preserved; and that such bishops alone, possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to feed the flock of Christ."

The reader is requested to notice, that here are three different views of episcopacy, all agreeing in one point, and yet differing in others. The point in which they all agree is this: that bishops are a distinct order from presbyters, and superior to them. This is the light in which all episcopalians, strictly speaking, consider this order of ministers; and this is what I

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laws of their country, and pleaded a right *purely human*, to the rank they held in the church;" Wesley's Church History, Vol 3. p. 247. See, also, Buck's Theo. Dic. Art. Bishop.

consider the *common acceptation* of the term. But, as in Mr. E's quotations, so in mine, episcopalians differ among themselves, with respect to the *origin* of episcopacy, some considering it of "human institution;" and others, of "divine appointment."

But if, by the phrase "other features," Mr. E. means that the features of episcopacy which I gave, are not true and correct ones;—that I have drawn a caricature instead of a perfect likeness; and that I have misrepresented the subject altogether; then, I suppose, he means by an exhibition of *his* "other features," to correct my mistake, and set me, and my readers, right. But what, if Mr. E. should fail to accomplish this? What, if after all his vapouring, it shall be found, that *his* "other features" of episcopacy are the very same which I gave, only set out in a different dress? If this be the case, who is guilty of "*misrepresentation*"? He purports to give his readers "other features," differing from those which I gave, and then gives them precisely the same. The reader will now hear Mr. E. and then compare his statement and mine together.

"It ought to be understood, says Dr. Samuel Miller, that among those who espouse the episcopal side, there are *three classes*. The first consist of those who believe, that neither Christ nor his apostles laid down any particular form of ecclesiastical government, to which the church is bound to adhere in all ages. That every church is free, consistently with the divine will, to frame her constitution, agreeably to her own views, to the state of society, and the exigence of particular times.—These prefer the episcopal government, and some of them believe it was the primitive form; but they consider it as resting on the ground of *human expediency* alone, and not of *divine appointment*. This is well known to have been the opinion of arch-bishops Cranmer, Grindal and Whitgift, of bishop Leighton, of bishop Jewel, of Dr. Whittaker, of bishop Reynolds, of archbishop Tillotson, of bishop Burnet, of bishop Croft, of Dr. Stillingfleet, and of a long list of the most learned and pious divines of the church of England, from the reformation down to the present day." Def. p. 6.

Before I proceed to make farther extracts, I must be allowed to offer two remarks on this passage. *First.* I have asserted in the first volume of the "Mutual Rights," under the signature of "Nehemiah," that "neither Christ nor his apostles laid down any particular form of ecclesiastical government." *Second.* I never doubted nor denied "that every church is free, consistently with the divine will, to frame her constitution, agreeably to her own views, to the state of society, and the exigence of particular times." On these points, there is no difference between Mr. E's authorities and myself; nor are these the points at issue. The subject of inquiry is this; if the societies,

now constituting the Methodist episcopal church, in the exercise of their right to frame their constitution, preferred, at their organization, the *episcopal government*, in what light are the bishops of that church to be considered? As mere presbyters, or as an order of ministers distinct from and superior to presbyters? This is the inquiry under consideration, and Mr. E. knows it; and although he may wish to avoid it, he must be kept to this point. Now I say, that episcopalians in the strict sense of the word, maintain that bishops are distinct from and superior to presbyters. It remains for Mr. E. to prove, that the four arch-bishops, the five bishops, and the two doctors, whose names are found in the above paragraph, together with a long nameless "list of the most learned and pious divines of the church of England" held the *parity* of bishops and presbyters, otherwise I shall claim them all as witnesses in favor of my position.

"Another class of episcopalians go farther. They suppose that the government of the church by *bishops*, as a superior order to *presbyters*, was sanctioned by *apostolic example*, and that it is the duty of all churches to imitate this example But while they consider episcopacy as necessary to the *perfection* of the church, they grant it is, by no means, necessary to her *existence*; and accordingly, *without hesitation*, acknowledge as true churches of Christ, many, in which the episcopal doctrine is rejected, and presbyterian principles made the basis of ecclesiastical government."

"A third class go much beyond either of the former. While they grant that God has left men at liberty to modify every other kind of government according to circumstances, they contend that one form of government of the church is unalterably fixed by *divine appointment;* that this form is episcopal; that it is absolutely *essential* to the existence of the church; that of course, wherever it is wanting, there is no church, no regular ministry, no valid ordinances." *ib.*

Now, wherein do those "other features" as Mr. E. calls them, differ from the features which I presented in my book? In no respect whatever. They are identically the same, as may be seen by the following parallelism.

"*History and Mystery.*"	"*Defence of our Fathers.*"
1. "Episcopacy is that form of government in which bishops are established as distinct from and superior to presbyters.' p. 9.	1. "These prefer the episcopal government, and some of them believe that it was the primitive form; but they consider it as resting on the ground of human expediency alone, and not on divine appointment."

2. "Episcopalians in the strict sense of the word are those, who maintain, that episcopacy is of *apostolic institution;* or that the church of Christ has ever been governed by three distinct orders, bishops, presbyters or priests and deacons." *ib.*

3. "Bishops were ordained in all churches by the apostles, and derived from them in a constant succession." Again, "It is a principle universally established among episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order superior to, and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite, without which, a valid Christian ministry cannot be preserved, and that such bishops alone, possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to feed the flock of Christ." p. 10.

2. "Another class of episcopalians suppose, that the government of the church by bishops as a *superior order* to presbyters was sanctioned by *apostolic example*, and that it is the duty of all churches to imitate this example." *ib.*

3. "A third class go much beyond either of the former. They contend that one form of government is unalterably fixed by divine appointment; that this form is episcopal; that it is absolutely essential to the existence of the church; that of course wherever it is wanting, there is no church, no regular ministry, no valid ordinances." *ib.*

In a two-penny pamphlet, called an "Address" written by Dr. Thomas E. Bond, and signed by "William Wilkins chairman and John Howland secretary," it is said that I have "*misrepresented facts*" in my "History and Mystery;" but these gentlemen have taken good care to furnish no specifications, or offer any proof of their charge. I will ask them, and all others concerned in that address, if I have "*misrepresented*" the sentiments of ecclesiastical writers respecting episcopacy. If they know any thing of the subject, they know I have not. For all the writers, whom I have quoted, represent bishops as a distinct order from presbyters and superior to them. This is the *common acceptation* of the term bishops, and as such I gave it, when I expressed myself thus: "The *distinction* between bishops and presbyters being the *foundation* of episcopal government, and this *distinction* having no existence in fact, nor in Mr. Wesley's creed, our episcopal superstructure falls to the ground." But can I say that Mr. E. is guiltless of the charge of misrepresentation? I cannot. For he not only makes me say, that "the common acceptation of the term bishops is an order of ministers distinct from presbyters, by *divine appointment* &c." but he strives to make his readers believe, that I represent these as "the sentiments of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury" Def. p. 7. With

adroitness he fastens upon the opinions of the third or last class of episcopalians, and represents these sentiments as mine.—With more truth and propriety might I attribute them to him: for I am arguing throughout my book against the imparity of bishops and presbyters. Whereas Mr. E. if he means any thing by his laboured production, must be understood as holding the opposite sentiment The only reason he can assign for ascribing the sentiments of this third class to me is, that they are to be found as a *quotation* in my book. On this ground they are attributable to Mr. E also; and not to him only, but in a qualified sense, to all who applaud and receive his book.

But why did Mr. E. select the sentiments of this class of episcopalians and give them as mine, in preference to the sentiments of the other two classes? It was not because they were the sentiments of the majority; for he tells us "that *nineteen twentieths*, of all the episcopalians in Great Britain and in the United States, hold no such opinions." Perhaps he thought, if he could succeed in directing the attention of his readers to opinions so "extravagant" and offensive, he would be able to keep the imparity of bishops and presbyters out of sight. Excellent device!! To have given the sentiments of such an overwhelming majority, as the *common acceptation* of the term bishops, would, however, have been more fair. But alas! Mr. E. too well knew, that neither truth nor fair dealing could help his cause.

In sundry places in his work, Mr. E. censures me severely for not giving the name of an author, from whose work I made one of the foregoing extracts; and asks, "was it not because he was *ashamed* of it?" Mr. E may not be better pleased with me now, for giving the name, than he was because I formerly omitted it. Be that as it may, I do not know that I have any greater reason to be ashamed of giving Dr. John Kewley as my author, than I would have, were I to have occasion, to give the name of Dr. John Emory.

1. Dr. John Kewley was born in Europe; received a liberal and classical education, being intended for a Roman Priest.	1. Dr. John Emory was born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, received a classical education, being intended for the law.
2. Dr. John Kewley declined entering into holy orders, studied medicine, and became a practitioner of physic, first in the West Indies, afterwards in the United States.	2. Dr. John Emory studied law, was admitted to the bar, and became a practitioner on the Eastern Shore.
3. Dr. John Kewley joined the Methodist Episcopal	3. Dr John Emory joined the Methodist episcopal

church, relinquished the practice of medicine, and after some time, was received as a preacher, into the travelling connexion.

4. Dr. John Kewley "deserted the Methodist episcopal church, and joined the Protestant Episcopal church; and after pronouncing upon that church, the most fulsome and high toned eulogies, subsequently abandoned it also, and went where all who hold such principles as he had avowed, to be consistent with themselves ought to go—to the Papists." Def. p. 33.

5. Dr. John Kewley professed to be converted under my ministry. He travelled round the circuit with me; I had, therefore, a good opportunity of conversing with him daily, and of noticing his deep piety and devotedness to God.

church, relinquished the practice of the law, and was received as a preacher into the travelling connexion.

4. Dr. John Emory was formerly announced as a *Reformer*, (see Dr. Jennings's third letter to Mr. Duvaney "Mutual Rights," vol. 1.) which representation Mr. E. never contradicted. In conjunction with Waugh, Morgan and Griffith, he published a pamphlet against the tremendous power of the bishops * But since *he* received a few votes to be a bishop, he has "deserted" the reformers, and become one of their most bitter opposers.

5. Dr. John Emory was stationed in Philadelphia, when I became acquainted with him. Being his colleague that year, I had an opportunity of conversing with him daily, and of hearing the sentiments of the people of his charge concerning him. And from the intimate knowledge I have had of the two men, I do not hesitate to say, that as a scholar, a Christian and a man of principle and honor, Dr. John Kewley is greatly to be preferred to Dr. John Emory.

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* "A scrupulous and precise adherence to all the minutiæ of the present mode of appointing presiding elders, is so far from being essential to Methodism, that in its first and *purest* days, there were no presiding elders, and to this day, there are none in our sister connexion in Europe; and we believe it is a fact, that Mr. Asbury himself, when appointed by Mr. Wesley, a *general superintendent*, or a general *presiding elder* (for Mr Wesley expressly maintained that *bishops* and *elders* are the *same order*) refused to serve in that office until he was elected by the free suffrages of his brethren in conference." See the above pamphlet, p. 2. "This claim of power we did then oppose; and we have ever since opposed it; and we hope we shall never cease to oppose it" p. 6. (But Mr. Emory and Mr Waugh are now book agents, with comfortable livings and we hear of no farther opposition.) "We regard it as calculated to be acted upon, and to be *built*

Section II.—*Sentiments of Bishop White.*

For what purpose, are the sentiments of bishop White introduced? Is it to vindicate the validity of Methodist episcopacy? or, to demonstrate, that bishops, in the Methodist episcopal church, are truly and really an order of ministers, distinct from and superior to presbyters? That could not have been Mr E's object. They are introduced, ostensibly, to prove what I never denied, and what I thought, no man, possessed of common sense, having a proper regard for his own character, and for public opinion in these United States, would deny; namely, that every church has a right, not only to choose her own particular form of government, at the commencement of her existence; but to alter, change or amend it, after it has been adopted. Are these Mr. E's sentiments? If they are, why did he express himself in opposition to them, in the answer to the memorial from "reformers" to the late general conference? If they are not, why attempt to pass off the sentiments of bishop White, who, according to the 34th Article of the church of England, allows the right of every church to alter and change things "ordained only by man's authority," as favouring Methodist episcopacy? This is another instance of Mr. E's disingenuousness; and it was done for no other reason, it would seem, but to blind the reader, by throwing a little more dust in his eyes; or to pave the way for episcopal *succession.* To shew that there is no relevancy in the sentiments of bishop White, to the subject under discussion, it will be proper to state the circumstances which elicited these sentiments from the rev. author.

"After the connexion, which had been formed between the spiritual authority in England, and the episcopal churches in America, had been dissolved by the revolution," Dr. White, now bishop White, published a pamphlet entitled "the case of the Episcopal churches in the United States considered." In this pamphlet he remarks, "all former jurisdiction over the churches being withdrawn, and the chain which held them together being broken, it would seem, that their future continuance can be provided for, only by voluntary associations for union and good government;" p. 7. It being "generally understood that the *succession*, supposed necessary, to constitute the *episcopal* character of these churches cannot be obtained at the present, the conduct meant to be recomended, is to include in the proposed frame of government, a general approbation of

upon for generations yet unborn," p. 7. "Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held, when once acquired Its march is onward, and its tremendous tendency is to accumulate." p. 12.

"Manners with fortunes; humours turn with climes;
Tenets with books, and *principles* with times."

episcopacy and a declaration of an intention to procure the *succession* as soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time, to carry the plan into effect, without waiting for the succession." p. 15. From this extract, and from other parts in the pamphlet of a similar import, it may be fairly inferred, that the sentiments of bishop White are 1, "The succession is supposed necessary to constitute the *episcopal* character of the episcopal church." 2, "That the *succession* cannot at present, be obtained." 3, "That efforts should be made to procure the succession as soon as possible." 4, That in the mean time "voluntary associations for union and good government" be formed. And 5, that "any supposed imperfections of the intermediate ordinations might, if it were judged proper, be supplied, without acknowledging their nullity, by a *conditional ordination* resembling that of conditional baptism in the liturgy."

And are these the sentiments, on which so much reliance is placed to help on the cause of Methodist episcopacy? Are these the sentiments with which Mr. E. is so much delighted, that he declares, he "finds no small consolation from being in company so respectable"? They are consistent enough, to be sure, coming from the pen of an Episcopalian, who maintains the *imparity* of bishops and presbyters, and who holds the doctrine of "succession;" but for a Methodist preacher, who would be understood to reject these sentiments, to cry out, "*so say we*," is strange, passing strange, indeed. However, as the former ground on which Methodist episcopacy was made to rest, has been removed, and as Mr. E. has said the "march of power is onward" he may have intended, as was intimated above, that the introduction of these "sentiments" should serve as an entering wedge for the "succession" in the Methodist episcopal church; and that the "episcopal succession" being obtained, "any supposed imperfections of the intermediate ordinations, might, if it were judged proper, be supplied without acknowledging their nullity by a conditional ordination."

That Mr. E. may have had some squinting towards the "succession," as being introduced, at some future day, to subserve the interests of Methodist episcopacy, is probable: else why condemn the Protestant Episcopal church for the failure of the proposals, which had been made by Dr Coke to bishop White? Hear what he says. "If this statement be correct, then the *responsibility* for the rendering of our deviation from *that line of episcopacy*, permanent, rests on *them*." Def. p 22. Had there been no disposition, no desire, no "proposal" to go back to "*that line of episcopacy*" in which "the succession is supposed *necessary* to constitute the episcopal character," why blame the Protestant Episcopal church for the failure of the proposed union? But Mr. E. goes on. "The proposed union, by which our *temporary* deviation *might have been cured*, according to Dr.

White's plan of *conditional ordinations*, on the principle of conditional baptisms, was *rejected by them.*" So then, " the temporary deviation might have been cured," Mr. E. being judge, had it not been that the proposals made by doctor Coke to bishop White failed. What now is to be done? How shall this evil be remedied ? Very easily, if Mr. E's principles be adopted and his reasoning be acted on. He thinks it is not " *unlawful* to revive," what formerly, in the apostles' days, had an existence; that " admitting the lawfulness of our practice in this respect," (to revive what was formerly in existence) " the *expediency* and utility of it must be judged by those, whose concern it is," that is, the Methodist episcopal church. That " to make a thing *unlawful* which was before *lawful*, there ought to be some express prohibition of it; which in this case we suppose, with Stillingfleet, men will not easily produce from the word of God. As such an itinerant and extensive oversight, as was practiced by the *apostles*, and by Timothy and Titus, fell greatly into disuse, very shortly after their decease, it cannot be conclusively inferred, that it is unlawful to revive a similar superintendency in churches that may desire it." Def p. 26.

That the Methodist episcopal church may "revive such a superintendency as was practised by the apostles and by Timothy and Titus," Mr. E. strives to get rid of one very formidable obstacle, which, he clearly saw, stood directly in his way : that is, the *character* of those church officers who were employed by Christ, in planting churches in the days of the apostles.— Mr. Wesley says " The *extraordinary* teachers, whom Christ employed to lay the foundation of his kingdom, were the twelve apostles, and the seventy disciples. To these the *evangelists* are to be added, by which title those were distinguished, whom the apostles sent to instruct the nations." Wesley's Church History, vol. 1 p. 55. Now let the reader attend to the method which Mr E. takes to dispose of the difficulty growing out of the " *extraordinary*" character of those early " church officers," who " practised such a superintendency" as he wishes to "revive." He says 1. " That, in the apostles' times there were individuals travelling extensively as superintendents, bishops, inspectors, or overseers, in a larger sphere, and setting in order the things that were wanting in multitudes of churches, is undeniable." 2. " Whether such church officers were *extraordinary*, or not, as Stillingfleet says, *we now dispute not.*" 3. " It is not *unlawful* to revive a *similar* superintendency in churches which may desire it." 4. " To make a thing *unlawful* which was before *lawful*, there ought to be some express prohibition* of it.

*Stillingfleet said, " the constitution of our church stands upon this *single point*, all things are lawful which are *not forbidden.*" Allow this " single point," and " brother Peter" will ask no more. It will also serve the pur-

As there were "apostles and evangelists employed by Christ in planting churches," and the "superintendency" of these "church officers fell greatly into disuse;" and as there is no "*express prohibition*," making that "*unlawful* which was before *lawful*," it may be inferred, that it is Mr. E's wish "to revive such a superintendency as was practised by the apostles, and by Timothy and Titus." This being the case, when Mr. E. is bishop, there will be another *apostle* JOHN, and his presiding elders will be ranked with the *evangelists* Timothy and Titus. These apostles, though not of the old school, will be *divinely inspired*, as the itinerant preachers are now the "*divinely authorized*" expounders of God's word. They will have, also, the "gift of tongues," and be endued with power to work miracles. The "apostle JOHN" will then be able to say with propriety, when he is about to ordain a man, "receive the Holy Ghost;" and all this must be admitted, if it should be "judged expedient to revive it," by the Methodist episcopal church, "whose concern it is;" because there is "no *express prohibition*" to the contrary. Although these things may not be considered very *modest*, yet if Mr. E. can persuade the people not to "dispute" about them, or if he can induce the people to allow these pretensions, it may not be long before they will be asserted by the "divinely authorized" expounders of God's word, and the "divinely authorized" administrators "of moral discipline."

SECTION III.—*Mr. Wesley's opinion.*

"As to my own judgment, says Mr. Wesley, I still believe the episcopal form of church government to be scriptural and apostolical, I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. But that it is *prescribed* in scripture, I do not believe." Def. p. 17. As Mr. Wesley's opinion is introduced by Mr. E. into his book, which was written expressly to vindicate "our Fathers," in relation to their having organized the Methodist episcopal church, and adopted the episcopal form of church government, it is submitted to the candid, whether common readers will not suppose, that Mr. Wesley expressed this

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pose of the gamester, as well as the pope. There is no "express prohibition' says the gambler against billiards, backgammon, cards dice or any of these games of play. No "express prohibition" against dances, theatres, races, or puppet shows, &c. One of Stillingfleet's opponents said, "the point on which his church stood, would make a pure fricasee of religion, it would justify the addition of oil, cream, spittle, and salt in baptism and it would as much authorize a minister to preach the gospel with a helmet on his head, and a sword and buckler in his hand as signs of our spiritual warfare as the cross in baptism. It is not enough in religion that things are not *forbidden*, they must be *commanded*."

opinion with reference to this very subject. But, the following circumstances which gave rise to the expression of this opinion will show, that an occasion, very different from that with which Mr. E. has connected it, produced it.

Mr. Wesley published a sermon entitled a "Catholic Spirit," in which are to be found the following expressions. "I dare not presume to impose my mode of worship on any other. I ask not, therefore, of him with whom I would unite in love, are you of my church? of my congregation? Do you receive the same form of church government, and allow the same church officers with me? Let all these things stand by &c." Mr. Wesley informs us, that he "sent this sermon to Rev. Mr. Clarke with no particular view; but as a testimony of love to a fellow labourer." Wesley's Works, Am Ed. vol. x p. 231. Mr. Clarke, with "openness and candor," wrote to Mr. Wesley, in which letter he gave "a very fair explication" of the text, to which, Mr. Wesley says, he had "no objection at all." After this, Mr. Wesley addressed a letter to Mr. Clarke, from which, Mr. E. extracted the above "opinion." It ought to be farther stated, that Mr. Wesley's letter to Mr. Clarke, which contains the above "opinion," is dated "Castlebar, July 3, 1756," twenty eight years *before* the organization of the Methodist episcopal church, upon which subject it is intended to have a bearing. This is another instance of Mr E's disingenuousness.

It will not escape the attention, of the intelligent reader, that Mr. Wesley has given no definition of an "episcopal form of church government;" nor described those "church officers," whom he received. He merely refers to some opinion which he had expressed on a former occasion. Indeed the circumstances, under which he wrote, did not require him to be more explicit, inasmuch as he introduced those subjects incidentally. Had he been writing a "Defence" of episcopacy, or of an episcopal form of church government, "this great master of logic" would have settled the meaning of these phrases. He certainly would have told us, what he meant by "episcopacy"—what by "bishops"—what by an "episcopal form of church government." Has Mr E. done this? He has not. It may, therefore, be inferred, that *he* is not a "great master of logic;" or that he has studiously avoided giving a definition of any of the subjects upon which he writes; knowing, that *definition* would be *destruction* to his cause. The reader will please keep in mind, that in all his book, Mr. E. has not *explicitly* stated what he means by "a *Methodist bishop*." That leaves it undetermined, whether he meant to represent this church officer as a "third order," distinct from a presbyter; or whether he intended that a bishop and a presbyter should be considered as of the same order. When the reader meets the term "bishop," "episcopacy," or "an episcopal form of church government,"

in the "Defence of our Fathers," he will bear this circumstance in mind, and ask himself, does Mr. E. mean that a bishop in the Methodist episcopal church is a *third order* of ministers distinct from a presbyter? I do not add by "divine appointment," "divine right" or "apostolic succession," as he does; but simply, whether "our" bishops are a distinct order from and superior to presbyters? This is the point; and I shall insist, that Mr. E. ought to have confined himself to it.

In the foregoing extract, Mr. Wesley's judgment is given, with reference to some opinion which he had previously expressed. When did he express that opinion, and where is it to be found? Turning to his Notes on the New Testament, I find them dated "Bristol Hot Wells, January 4th, 1754." Between the date of these Notes and the date of the above letter to Mr. Clarke, there are just *eighteen months*. If we consult the Notes, they will enable us to comprehend, precisely, what Mr. Wesley meant, when he said, "I believe the episcopal form of government to be scriptural and apostolical." We shall then understand to what order those "church officers" belonged, whom he received; and we shall perceive at the first glance the irrelevancy of this quotation, and its inapplicability to Methodist episcopacy. Mr. Wesley expresses himself in the following manner in his Notes.

"The word bishops here includes all the presbyters at Philippi, as well as the ruling presbyters: the name *bishop* and *presbyter* or elder being promiscuously used in the first ages." Phil. I ch. 1 ver.

"*A bishop*, or pastor of a congregation." I Tim iii ch. 2 v.

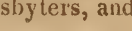
"*Likewise the deacons must be serious.* But where are the presbyters? Were this order essentially *distinct* from that of *bishops* could the apostle have past it over in silence?" I Tim. iii ch. 8 v.

"I read over Lord King's account of the primitive church. In spite of the vehement prejudices of my education, I was ready to believe that this is a fair and impartial draught. But if so, it would follow, that *bishops* and *presbyters* are essentially of one order; and that every Christian congregation was a church independent on all others." Wesley's Journal, January 20, 1746.

"Bishops and presbyters are the same order and consequently have the same right to ordain." See his letter of September 10, 1784.

"I firmly believe I am a scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England, or in Europe; for the *uninterrupted succession* I know to be a fable, which no man ever did, or can prove." Wesley's Works, Am. Ed. vol. x. p. 94. "When I said I consider myself a scriptural bishop, as much as any man in England or in Europe, I spoke on Lord King's supposition that bishops and presbyters are the same order."

No writer can express the parity of bishops and presbyters more clearly and unequivocally than Mr. Wesley did in the above extracts. No one was farther from advocating a third order of ministers, no matter by what name it is called, whether bishop or superintendent, than he was. And yet Mr. E. offers Mr. Wesley's opinion to support Methodist episcopacy, and her episcopal form of church government, although it is as clear as a sun-beam, that Mr. Wesley believed "bishops and presbyters are the *same order*;" and that the "episcopal form of government which he believed to be scriptural and apostolical, that is, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles," was a government by presbyters, and an ordination by presbyters.



Section IV.—*Ordination.*

Mr. E. intimates pretty strongly, that I am a down right *simpleton*, for having brought a "silly witness" into court, and having put such answers into his mouth as would suit my purpose" Def. p. 37. Had I done this, I must have been a fool indeed; to rest my cause upon the testimony of such a "witness," when I knew, at the time I was framing those answers, that this "silly" creature would be liable to be cross examined by such a "profoundly learned" lawyer and doctor of divinity as Mr. E. "Silly," however, as this "witness" is, Mr. E. with all his pretensions to superior wisdom and learning, has past over these very questions and answers without a remark, thereby tacitly acknowledging, that they are too knotty for his mighty powers, or too self-evident to be confuted. To keep clear of such an imputation hereafter, Mr. E. shall be permitted to choose the witnesses, and put such answers into their mouths as he thinks will suit *his* purpose. The subject on which they shall be examined, stands as the title of this section, and all the answers, one only excepted, are taken from his own book, and from the book of discipline. Now, let Mr. E. through his witnesses answer for himself.

Q. What is ordination?

A. "Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office." Def. p. 19.

Q. Whence did Christians derive the "custom of ordination"?

A. "Their custom of ordination was evidently taken up, by the Christians from a correspondency to the synagogue." p. 18.

Q. In what manner, did the Jews, "under the synagogue," perform this ceremony?

A. "That under the synagogue was done by laying on of hands." *ib.*

Q. What use was there for performing this ceremony by the imposition of hands?

A. "A two fold use I find of this symbolical rite, beside the solemn designation of the person, on whom the hands are laid. The *first* is to denote the delivery of the person or *thing*, thus laid hands upon, for the right use and peculiar service of God. The *second* end of the laying on of hands, was the solemn invocation of the Divine presence and assistance, to be upon and with the person, upon whom the hands were laid." *ib.*

Q. Did "the *bare imposition of hands* confer any *power* upon the person" upon whom they were laid?

A. No: "but with that ceremony, they joined those words whereby they did confer that authority upon them." *ib.*

Q. If imposition of hands conferred no authority, in what light was it considered?

A. "What is imposition of hands but prayer over a man." *ib.*

Q. If no authority was conferred by the imposition of hands, why was this rite practised?

A. "The practice our Saviour used in blessing children, healing the sick, and the apostles in conferring the gift of the Holy Ghost; and from thence it was conveyed into the practice of the primitive church, who used it in any more solemn invocation of the name of God in behalf of any particular persons." *ib.*

Q. Had the apostles any express command for laying their hands upon persons?

A. "We have no ground to think that the apostles had any peculiar command for laying on their hands upon persons in prayer over them, or ordination of them." p. 19.

Q. Why then did they do it?

A. "The setting apart some persons for the peculiar work of attendance upon the necessities of the churches by them planted, being enjoined, they took up and made use of a laudable custom, then in use upon such occasions." *ib.*

Will Mr. E. pronounce these witnesses "silly"? Will he object to the answers which they, together with himself, have given? I presume not. Then, let the testimony offered, by himself, be received and what follows? That the *imposition of hands* does not constitute ordination; does not impart any authority; does not create a new order; does not, in one word, make a bishop. These concessions and statements ought to be distinctly noticed, for it undeniably follows from the foregoing testimony, that Dr. Coke was not ordained a bishop by Mr. Wesley, nor did the bare imposition of his hands confer any authority.

Q. What was Dr. Coke's opinion, respecting the imposition of hands?

A. "I do not think the imposition of hands, on the one hand, as essentially *necessary* for any office in the church; nor do I,

on the other hand, think that the repetition of the imposition of hands for the *same office*, when important circumstances require it, is at all improper." Def. p. 90.

Q. As "the imposition of hands is not necessary for any office;" and as it imparts no authority, whence is "the *superiority* of our bishops" derived?

A. "The late Rev. John Dickins says, in relation to the superiority of our bishops, as derived, not from their separate ordination, but from the suffrages of the body of ministers. Pray when was it otherwise?" Def. p. 65. Again: 'now who ever said the *superiority* of the bishops was by virtue of a *separate ordination?*" *ib.* And again: "we all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the conference." *ib.* And in another place, "Mr. Asbury was thus chosen by the conference both *before* and *after* he was ordained a bishop."*

From the testimony of Rev. John Dickins, it is plain, that "*separate ordination*" does not constitute a bishop. For the superiority of "our bishops," is derived, not from ordination, but from the suffrages of the body of ministers. It will follow, therefore, that Dr. Coke was no bishop; for he was not elected by the body of the ministers to that office. If he was one at all, he was one before he crossed the Atlantic. Mr. E. goes on: "The pamphlet containing the above sentiments, was published by the unanimous request of the conference held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1792; and may be, therefore, considered, as expressing the views, both of that conference and of bishop Asbury, in relation to the *true* and *original* character of Methodist episcopacy." Def. p. 66.

As the Rev. John Dickins's sentiments are considered "the sentiments of the Philadelphia conference, and of bishop Asbury in 1792," and as these sentiments are said to afford a very correct view of "the *true* and *original* character of Methodist episcopacy."

Q. Which of these methods, "separate ordination," or "the suffrages of the body of ministers" is *now* used in constituting a Methodist bishop?

A. Neither, singly.

Q. How is a bishop constituted now?

A. "By the election of the general conference, and the laying on of the hands of three bishops, or at least of one bishop and two elders." Book of Dis. ch. I. sec. 4.

Q. "If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our church what shall we do?"

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* The superiority of Methodist bishops consisted of two electiosns; the one *before*, the other *after* he was made a bishop, Solomon who said there is no new thing under the sun, did not live long enough to see this new sort of "*superiority*" of a Methodist bishop.

A. "The general conference shall elect a bishop; and the elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the general conference for that purpose, shall ordain him according to our form of ordination."

Q. "What is our form of ordination?"

A. "After the gospel and the sermon are ended, the elected person shall be presented by two elders unto the bishop, saying, We present unto you this holy man to be ordained a bishop." After being interrogated upon several points, "the bishops and elders present, shall lay their hands upon the head of the elected person, kneeling before them upon his knees, the bishop saying,

Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee, by the imposition of *our hands* in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.* And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee, by the *imposition of our hands*; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness"

This quotation is of too important a character, to be passed over without being noticed: I shall therefore make two remarks on it. 1. It does not agree with Mr. E's testimony above, where it is asserted that "imposition of hands confers no authority, imparts no power;" because it is affirmed here, that the Holy Ghost is conveyed, by the *imposition of hands* for the office and work of a bishop. And the elected person is exhorted to "stir up the grace of God which is given him, by the *imposition of the hands*" of the ordainers. "Silly" as my witness was, he did not contradict himself; for it is a property of *truth* to be consistent. 2. There is not a man in the whole connexion, who believes, that it is in the power of the bishops to impart the Holy Ghost, the third person in the ever blessed Trinity, to the elected person, about to be ordained. Does the bishop himself believe, that it is his prerogative to do so, by the imposition of his hands? Do the elders, who are associated with him, in the performance of this rite, believe that they can do it? Does the person, who remains upon his knees believe, that he receives the Holy Ghost by the imposition of their hands upon his head? I will venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction; that neither the bishop who ordains, the elders who assist, the man upon his knees, nor the members who are eyewitnesses of the ceremony, believe that it is in the power of a poor, sinful worm of the earth, to impart the Holy Ghost, by the imposition of his hands. Why then, are these words ever used, when those who use them, do not believe their plain and obvious meaning? Why are they to be found in the book of discipline of the Methodist episcopal church? These words, with others of a similar import, may have been originally inserted in the ordination service *ad captandum vulgus*, and to favour the design of ambitious men; but in the mouths of Method-

ists, who, when they use them, do not believe one word of what they say, they are very improper.

Having presented the testimony of Mr E. and his witnesses, on the subject of ordination, the reader is now prepared to estimate, as he ought, what is said respecting "both the good sense of those who framed it" (the answer to ques 2 ch. 1. sec. 4. in the book of discipline) "and their acquaintance with ancient ecclesiastical usage" Respecting the good sense of those who framed that answer, I shall say nothing. But if Mr. E. says, that the manner of constituting a bishop, in the Methodist episcopal church, agrees with the form of constituting a bishop, in the primitive church, for the first three hundred years after Christ; or if he would be understood to say, that Methodist bishops are of the same rank, or are made in the same manner that bishops were then made, I must say Mr. E. himself knows nothing of ancient ecclesiastical usage

That there is a great discrepancy in the testimony of Mr. E's witnesses, is very obvious. At one time, although the imposition of hands is "not necessary," yet certain words, which are used at the time of their imposition, convey "authority," and constitute the person upon whose head the hands are laid, a bishop. At another time, we are told, "the superiority of our bishops is not derived from their *separate ordination*, but from the suffrages of the body of ministers." And yet, in the face of this assertion, the Rev. Joshua Soule, who was elected a bishop in the general conference of 1820, "by the suffrages of the body of ministers," derived no "superiority" from his election; nor would he be allowed to exercise the office of a bishop without the "imposition of hands:" thereby making the imposition of hands "essentially necessary," the testimony of Dr. Coke, Rev. John Dickins, the conference held at Philadelphia Sep. 5. 1792, bishop Asbury, and I may add Mr. E himself, to the contrary notwithstanding.

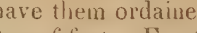
At another time, Mr. E. differs from the preceding witnesses, and from himself: for he affirms that "Dr. Coke's ordination (as a bishop) was performed as ordinations usually are—with the usual solemnities; by the imposition of hands and prayer, with the assistance of other ordained ministers, and under the protection of Almighty God." Def p. 24. Now, how does this account agree with the testimony in the former part of this section; wherein it is affirmed that imposition of hands imparts no authority? How does it agree with the sentiments of Rev. John Dickins; of the Philadelphia conference held Sep. 5. 1792; and of bishop Asbury, all of whom make "the suffrages of the body of ministers" the source of the superiority of our bishops? How does it agree with Mr. E's own sentiments, who says, respecting "the suffrage of the body of ministers," that it constitutes "the *true* and *original* character of Methodist episcopacy?" How

does it agree with ch. 1. sec. 4 of the book of discipline? Not at all. Nor does any one of these views, nor do all of them put together agree with the "ancient ecclesiastical usage" in constituting a bishop. For, in every instance, where a bishop was constituted in the primitive church, let the meaning of the term bishop, be what it may, he was always elected by the suffrage of the *people*, as well as by the "body of ministers." Yes, I say the *people* had a voice in the election of their bishop; and I defy Mr. E. to produce a single writer, on church history, who denies this to be the fact. The truth is, Methodist episcopacy has no precedent in "ancient ecclesiastical usage." It is a perfect anomaly. And from the above specimen of inconsistencies and contradictions, the writers in "defence" of Methodist episcopacy are at as great a loss to settle the form of ordination and define the term, as they are, to tell us what a Methodist bishop is.

Before I dismiss the subject of "ordination," I must make a few remarks upon a sentence, in the section under consideration, which, I think, is not a fair representation, of the case of which it treats. It is this: "Great probability there is, that where churches were planted by presbyters, (as the Methodist episcopal church was) upon the increase of churches and presbyters, they did, from among themselves choose one to be as a bishop over them. For we no where read, in those early plantations of churches, that where there were presbyters already they sent to other churches to desire episcopal ordination for them," Def. p. 19.

This purports to be a quotation from Stillingfleet, but where it is to be found in his works, I am not told. Nor, while I am noticing this omission, is this the only quotation which Mr. E. gives, without making the proper reference to the page &c. This is the more reprehensible in him, because he is so lavish of his abuse of me, for having once failed to give the name of an author from whom I made an extract. But allowing the fairness of the extract, the representation, which it makes, is not true. 1. It asserts that the "Methodist episcopal church was planted by presbyters." Not so; for long before this church was organized, the societies which constituted it, were "planted," not by presbyters, but by lay preachers. 2. It intimates that there was no bishop until *after* the church had been organized, and that then, "upon an increase of churches and *presbyters*," those "presbyters did, from among themselves, choose one to be a bishop over them." This is not correct; for the creation of presbyters, the creation of bishops, and the organization of the church, all took place at the same conference. 3. It conveys the idea that the bishop was chosen by the *churches* and presbyters;" or that the "*churches*" as well as the presbyters, had a voice in electing the bishop. Nor was this the case. The "*churches*," societies, congregations, or members had no voice in the organiza-

tion of the church, or in the election of the bishop. 4. It supposes that "there were presbyters already" in the Methodist episcopal church; and therefore, there was no necessity to send to other churches to have them ordained. Nor does this statement accord with matter of fact. For the societies sent to Mr. Wesley, requesting him to send them ordained ministers. 5. And after all, the whole proceeding, to which Stillingfleet alludes, is represented by him, only as a matter of "great probability;" and yet Mr. E. transfers it to the account of Methodist episcopacy.



SECTION V.—*Ordination of Dr. Coke.*

I said in a former part of this work, that Mr. E. has misrepresented me, by making me say, that the *common acceptation* of the term bishop is "an order of ministers distinct from presbyters by *divine appointment*, and is the chief mark of their distinction; and in whom, as successors, of the apostles, is vested the *exclusive right* of granting the divine commission to execute the ministerial office." Def. p. 20. How he could have made this assertion is the more surprising; as in the paragraph immediately preceding this sentence, there are several quotations from my book, in which I distinctly state the *common acceptation* of the term bishop. "If Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke a bishop in the *common acceptation* of that term, then he created a church officer *greater* than himself; and of consequence, he brought himself into *subjection* to Dr. Coke, by making the doctor his *superior*. Again, "If the doctor was constituted a bishop" (in the common acceptation of the term is here dropped,* says Mr. E. "he was raised to a rank *above a presbyter*, and invested with *superior powers*. In that case, he that was sent, was *greater* than he that sent him; and then Mr. Wesley, who was only a presbyter, and consequently *inferior to a bishop*, assumed the prerogative to send his *superior* to do a work in his name, which he himself could not go and do." And again, "If the doctor by the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands is created a bishop, then the objection of the bishop of Norwich lies in full force; if a presbyter can ordain a bishop, then the *greater* is blessed of the less."

Now, in the name of common sense, is there any thing like *divine appointment* in any of these extracts? I merely stated

*What if it is? Will any scholar say it was necessary, or that it would be elegant to insert the phrase "common acceptation" again, after it had been inserted in the preceding sentence, which related to the same subject? He will not. Mr. E's censure proves that he is ignorant of the rules of composition, or that he carps unnecessarily, with a design to mislead his readers.

the *common acceptation* of the term "bishop" to be a "rank above presbyters," "superior to presbyters," "greater than presbyters" &c. and this distinction will admit the addition of "*human expediency*" with more propriety, than it will "divine appointment." For Mr. E. to have added "divine appointment" to this distinction, when nothing was said upon which this addition could be founded, is utterly unjustifiable; and moreover, it would lead a person to believe that Mr. E. did not much regard what he said, so that he could only make his cause appear good. "All the smart sayings," therefore, which he has uttered here and elsewhere respecting "divine appointment," vanish into thin air; and, when he writes again, he must consider the *common acceptation* of the term bishop to be, an order of ministers "distinct from and superior to presbyters."

On page 23 of "His. and Mys." I expressed myself thus: "As Mr. Wesley and Dr Coke were of the same order, to wit, the order of presbyters, the doctor had as good a clerical right to ordain Mr. Wesley a bishop, as Mr. Wesley had to ordain the doctor. This was the case according to Mr. Wesley's views of ecclesiastical usage, and this is the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Moore, Mr. Wesley's biographer." Upon which Mr. E. remarks, "As good a *clerical* right; Mr. M'Caine seems to have felt, here, that his argument was lame." Def. p. 21. Lame! No indeed, I did not feel it was "lame;" and upon farther and closer examination, I find nothing like lameness in it. I find it strengthened and supported by Mr. Wesley's and Mr. Moore's authority; and the only fault Mr. E. can find with it, is, that it is but too well adapted to produce conviction, of the invalidity of Dr. Coke's ordination, as a bishop.

But let us examine it more closely. Whence had Mr. Wesley any right to ordain? From his being a clergyman of the church of England. According to Mr. Wesley's own account, "bishops and presbyters are the *same order*, and consequently have the *same right* to ordain." His *right* to ordain, grew out of his being a clergyman, and of course, was a "*clerical* right." And as Dr. Coke was a presbyter, as well as Mr. Wesley, the doctor had as good a clerical right to ordain Mr. Wesley a bishop, as Mr Wesley had to ordain the doctor a bishop. It was not, however, upon his "abstract" clerical right to ordain, that I grounded Mr. Wesley's right to appoint Dr. Coke a superintendent over the American Methodists, but upon an acknowledged jurisdiction, then existing, in respect of Mr. Wesley. This is the very point upon which I insist, in the same paragraph from which Mr. E. made the above extract. This is the circumstance which justifies Mr. Wesley, and explains the whole of his proceedings. I say, "Mr. Wesley considered himself, under God, the father of all the Methodists in Europe and America. He considered that he had a *right to govern* those societies, which had been

raised by his instrumentality, and had put themselves "under his care." He considered it to be his prerogative, to transfer the power of governing the societies, which he could not personally superintend, to Dr. Coke or any other person, he might see fit to appoint." "His and Mys." p. 23. From these statements I argue, if Mr. Wesley had been in America, he could have personally superintended the Methodist societies, without being ordained a bishop: in like manner Dr. Coke being appointed a superintendent, could have governed those societies without being created a bishop. There was no necessity in the one case, that a third order of ministers should be created, any more than in the other. All that was necessary was, to transfer the *right of governing* to the delegated person; with a view to overcome the objections which might, possibly, be offered, if any attempt was made to govern them without Mr. Wesley's consent. This transfer of power, is called by Mr. Wesley, an investing of the doctor with "fuller powers;" and Dr. Coke, who is thereby appointed a superintendent, is made a bishop, by the friends of ecclesiastical power, contrary to Mr. Wesley's design.

I could not proceed with my observations upon the supposed ordination of Dr Coke, without having first replied to Mr. E's misrepresentations and criticisms I shall now take up that subject, and notice the circumstances which gave rise to it; and then treat of the different parts of it, in their consecutive order.

First. That which gave rise to it, was the distressed state of the societies. The Methodist societies in America, at the close of the revolutionary war, "were very much distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England." There were preachers, who were in connexion with Mr. Wesley, but they were not ordained or authorised to administer the ordinances. "For hundreds of miles together," says Mr. Wesley, "there was none, either to baptize or to administer the Lord's supper." This is a brief account of the state of the societies; and upon it I shall make two remarks. 1. That it was the duty of those societies, in their then distressed state, to take all proper steps to obtain the administration of the ordinances. 2. That there was none, to whom they could apply for a supply, with more propriety, than they could to Mr. Wesley. His acknowledged piety and usefulness—his age and experience—and above all, the relation in which he stood to the Methodists, as the "father of the whole family," made it reasonable, that they should submit their case to him, ask his advice, and seek to be supplied through his agency. There was, besides, another reason, why he should be made acquainted with their state. "As early as 1778, a considerable number of the preachers earnestly importuned Mr. Asbury to take proper measures, that the people might enjoy the privileges of all other churches, and no longer

be deprived of the Christian sacraments. Mr. Asbury's attachment to the church of England, was at that time *exceedingly strong:* he, therefore, refused them any redress. On this, the majority of the preachers withdrew from him, and consequently from Mr. Wesley, and chose, out of themselves, three senior brethren, who ordained others by the imposition of their hands. The preachers, thus set apart, administered the sacraments to those they judged proper to receive them, in every place where they came. However, Mr. Asbury, by indefatigable labour and attention, and by all the address in his power, brought them back one after another, and by a vote of the conference, the ordination was declared invalid." Coke and More's life of Wesley. p. 350-1

Mr. E has paid a very flattering compliment to the "good sense" of those preachers, who "framed the answer, to ques. 2. sec. 4. ch. 1. of the book of discipline." Whether any of those, who framed that answer, were of the number of those who declared the above ordination "invalid," I know not. If they were, notwithstanding all "their acquaintance with ancient ecclesiastical usage," they voted that this "ordination was invalid." Now, either their "acquaintance" &c. was not as extensive as Mr. E. would represent it; or some of his authorities are not entitled to all the credit, he would claim for them. For he tells us, after Stillingfleet, that in the reign of Edward VI. about the year 1547,* a very grave and *learned* assembly of *select divines*, was called by the king's special order, for debating the settlement of things according to the word of God, and the practice of the *primitive church*. It consisted of Cranmer, arch-bishop of Canterbury, the arch-bishop of York, and many other prelates and divines of the first distinction. To the questions propounded to the assembly, by order of the king, those eminent divines gave in their answers, severally on paper. The following are some of the questions and answers.

Q. 13. "Whether, (if it fortuned a prince Christien lerned, to conquer certin domynyons of infidells, having none but the temporal lerned men with him,) it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preche and teche the word of God there or no, and also make and *constitute priests* or no?"

A "It is not against God's law, but contrary, *they ought indeed so to do*, and there be historyes that witnesseth, that some Christien princes and *laymen* unconsecrate have done the same."

Q. 14. "Whether it be forfended by God's law, that if it so fortuned that all the bishopps and priests were dedde, and that the word of God shuld there unpreched, the sacrament of baptisme and others unministered, the king of that region shoulde make *bishopps and priests* to supply the same or no?"

* Bishop Burnet, in his "History," says "Stillingfleet was mistaken as to the date."

A. "It is not forbidden by God's law." Def. p. 34-5.

Second. Of Mr. Wesley's right to ordain. As there seems to be no difference of opinion between Mr. E. and myself, on this topic, it will not be necessary to enlarge. That Mr. Wesley had a right to ordain, is unequivocally asserted in his letter of Sep. 10, 1784, amply supported by proof in the "History and Mystery," p. 61.—allowed in the "Defence of our Fathers' *passim*, and acknowledged by the Methodist episcopal church.

Third. The causes which induced Mr. Wesley, to exercise this right. 1. The distressed situation of the societies. mentioned above. 2. The persuasion and entreaty of Mr. Asbury and others. Mr. Wesley refers to these two topics, in his letter of Sep. 10, 1784. He says "In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice; and in *compliance with their desire*, I have drawn up a little sketch." Again, "For many years I have been *importuned* from time to time to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers." A similar account is given in "Drew's life of Dr. Coke." Eng. Ed. p. 62. And Mr. Moore in his life of Wesley, inserts a letter written by Dr. Coke to Mr. Wesley, in which he solicits Mr. Wesley to exercise his right of ordaining. "The more maturely I consider the subject, the more expedient it appears to me, that the power of ordaining others should be received by me from you, by the imposition of your hands. As the journey is long, and you cannot spare me often, and it is well to provide against *all events*, and an authority *formally received* from you, will (I am conscious of it) be fully *admitted by the people*; and my exercising the office of ordination,* without that formal authority, may be disputed, if there be any opposition on any other account; I could, therefore earnestly wish you would exercise that power, in this instance, which I have not the shadow of a donbt,† but God hath invested you with for the good of our connexion." Moore's life of Wesley. Vol. 2. p. 276.

The Rev James Creighton, in a letter addressed to Mr. Samuel Bradburn, London printed 1793, says, "You take notice of a meeting which Mr. Wesley had, with some clergymen, at Leeds, in August 1784, at which he consulted them, concerning the ordination of preachers for America. Mr. Fletcher was present, and I believe Mr. Sellon, and two or three others. *They did not approve of the scheme*, because it seemed inconsist-

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* 'I am of our late venerable father Mr. Wesley's opinion, that the order of bishops and presbyters is *one* and the *same*: nor do I think that the repetition of the imposition of hands for the *same office*, when important circumstances require it, is at all improper.' Dr. Coke.

† Mr E. considers the words, "I have not the shadow of a doubt," to be of so much importance, as to be entitled to be put in capital letters. Def. p. 28. He remarks, also, at the bottom of that page "Yet in the face of this broad declaration, Mr. M'Caine repeatedly endeavours to make out, that Dr.

ent with Mr. Wesley's former professions respecting the church. Upon this the meeting was abruptly broken up, by Mr. Wesley's going out." p. 10.

Fourth. Of the persons who assisted Mr. Wesley. From the testimony of the Rev. Mr Creighton it will be seen, that the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Sellon and two or three other clergymen had been consulted, concerning the ordination of preachers for America; but they did not approve of the scheme. The only clergymen present at the ordination of Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey were the Rev. James Creighton and Dr. Coke. Whether Mr. Wesley ordained Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey deacons first, and immediately afterwards ordained them elders, I cannot tell. But Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey being ordained elders, immediately turned round, and with Mr. Creighton, assisted at the setting apart Dr. Coke a superintendent: and these three gentlemen (Coke, Whatcoat and Vasey,) are the "*three regularly ordained clergy*" as they are called in the book of discipline, who were sent over by Mr. Wesley *!!

Fifth. The time and place. Mr Wesley says in his Journal. Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1784 "Being now clear in my own mind, I took a step which I had long weighed in my mind, and appointed Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey to go and serve the desolate sheep in America." And Dr. Coke's letter of appointment is dated Sep. 2, 1784. The place where the ceremony was performed was Bristol, and from an expression in Dr. Coke's letter, it may be inferred, that it was done in Mr. Wesley's private chamber. And yet Mr. E. says, "Dr. Coke's ordination was performed as ordinations *usually* are."

Sixth. To what rank or order was Dr. Coke raised; or with what authority or "powers" was he invested, by the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands and prayer? It will, no doubt, be no-

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Coke was doubtful of the validity of his own ordination." Yes; and I say so still; nor will this "broad declaration," notwithstand ng it is put in capital letters, prove to the contrary. I would remark however, that Mr. E's language is ambiguous Of what does Dr. Coke speak so confidently? Not of ordination The subject to which he refers, and of which he says, he has "not the shadow of a doubt" is not his *own* episcopal ordination; although Mr. E. would make his readers believe it was; but the *power* which Mr. Wesley possessed as a presbyter of the church of England, to ordain ministers for America. The doctor had "not the shadow of a doubt," but Mr. Wesley was invested with *this power*. But surely he could not say, he had "not the shadow of a doubt" of his own ordination as a bishop, when at the time he penned these words, he had not even been set apart as a superintendent.

*I believe this is the only place, in all the writings of the Methodists, where Methodist preachers are called "clergy." Mr Wesley never applied the term to any of his preachers, unless they were ministers of the Church of England. The writer of the first section in the book of discipline was not satisfied with Mr Wesley's calling them "ordained ministers," but must improve them into "three regula ly ordained clergy." A little paint will set off an ugly face, and give a freshness and bloom to a sickly countenance.

ticed, that I do not use the phrase, "by his ordination;" for, notwithstanding Mr. E's cynical remarks, I contend, the imposition of hands was not an ordination, nor was it considered by Mr. Wesley in that point of light. In my "History and Mystery," I stated, that the letter, which Dr. Coke received from Mr. Wesley on that occasion, was "a letter of appointment, not of ordination." Upon which Mr. E. remarks, "on Mr. M'Caine's principles of verbality, this document should be called a letter of *set apart*, for these are the *words* used by Mr. Wesley. This is a specimen of M'Caine's logic in the management of documents." Def. p. 23. Perhaps I ought to thank Mr E. for this compliment to my logical accuracy, though he may not thank me for exposing what is involved in his criticism. He censures me for adhering to what he calls the "principles of verbality;" clearly implying that he does not. Well, then, let him reject them. But, as words are only the representatives of ideas or things, I shall use the words that stand for those things; and shall call things by their proper names. Contemptuously as he may treat my "principles of verbality," he ought to know, that an infinitely more important thing than Methodist episcopacy, has been critically, and ably defended, by a "principle" of seemingly far less importance. Mr E. professes to be a Greek scholar; if he is, he cannot be ignorant of the force of the Greek article. If he will look into Dr. Middleton on the Greek article, he will see how that article is used to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ. Or if he will read Dr. Clarke's remarks at the end of his Commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians, he will learn "that the principal design of these writers" (Mr. Grenville Sharp, Rev. Mr. Wordsworth, and Dr. Middeleton) "was to exhibit a new and substantial mode of proving the divinity of our Lord and Saviour."

Was I not correct in calling this letter, a letter of appointment, not of ordination? I think I was. For, 1. If the imposition of hands had been considered by Mr. Wesley an *ordination*, no doubt he would have used that term in the written document. 2. He used the word "ordained," with reference to the other ministers, who assisted him in that ceremony, two of whom were Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey. "I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by other *ordained* ministers) Thomas Coke, &c." Why this studied difference in the choice of words, if the transactions were of the same character? Why does he use the phrase "set apart as a superintendent," when speaking of Dr. Coke; and then use the term "ordained," when speaking of the ordination of Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey, if the one was an ordination as well as the other? 3. He makes no difference in their *order*, but expresses himself in the same language, when speaking of the work, which they were ap-

pointed to perform. In the minutes of conference for 1786, he says ; " I *appointed* three of our labourers to go and help them, by not only preaching the word of God, but likewise administering the Lord's supper and baptizing their children." 4. Mr. Wesley himself used the term " *appointed*" in the letter which Dr. Coke brought over with him, dated Bristol, Sep. 10th, 1784. " I have accordingly *appointed* Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint-superintendents &c." As Mr. Wesley did not *ordain* Mr. Asbury, but merely *appointed* him a superintendent ; neither did he *ordain* Dr. Coke a superintendent, but appointed him. Their names were coupled together in the same sentence, and both, alike, are said to be *appointed*. The authority with which they were invested was the same ; and the source whence that authority emanated, was the same also. 5 And even, Mr. E notwithstanding his hypercritical remarks, forgets himself, or does not scruple to call it an " *appointment*," and an " *appointing*" when speaking of Dr. Coke's being commissioned to superintend the American societies.

Although I thought it necessary to put down this puerile criticism, it is of greater moment to ascertain, to what rank the doctor was raised, in virtue of his appointment to the office of a superintendent. The reader, no doubt, will bestow all his attention on this part of the subject ; because it is upon this point, the whole of the controversy turns ; and indeed, it may be truly said, upon it, the whole of the episcopal edifice rests. I shall therefore, in the first place, collect some of Mr. E's authorities, and present his views upon the subject, as far as I am able to ascertain them : and then " I, also, will shew my opinion."

Upon a cursory perusal of the " Defence of our Fathers," the reader might take up the idea, that Mr. E. had somewhere stated, what he meant by an episcopal form of church government, and what, by the term bishop ; for he talks about " our acceptation of the term." Def. p. 27. If he has any where defined the episcopal form of government, I have not been able to find it : nor to learn, by any thing which he has written, what is his acceptation of " a Methodist bishop." Some times he represents a bishop, as of the *same order* as a presbyter. Def. p. 10 and 34. At other times, he says, " In whatever sense distinct ordination constitutes *distinct orders*, in the same sense, Mr. Wesley certainly intended that we should have *three orders*."*

*The following anecdote will illustrate the manner by which Mr. E. makes three orders " out of two." A certain gentleman had a son whom he sent to a distant school. The boy, instead of applying himself to his studies, spent his time in idleness. At the time of vacation, he returned to his father, who inquired of him how he had spent his time at school. The boy, with a great deal of smartness replied, I have been learning chop-logic, sir. Chop-logic ! said the old man in surprise, what is that ? Why father don't you know what chop-logic is ? No indeed my son, I do not. Well then, said the boy, I can explain it to you. At that moment, the servant happen-

Def. p. 38. In some places in his book, he attempts to draw a distinction between an "episcopacy in fact," and an episcopacy under the name of superintendency; between the "title" of bishop and the "episcopal *office.*" As if such a distinction is reconcilable with common honesty or common sense; and by attributing these things to Mr. Wesley, he makes him out a fool or a knave.

I ask the reader, in the name of the God of truth, of him who "requireth truth in the inward parts," if he can believe, that the Rev. John Wesley, this holy and good man, who was without guile, and who was accustomed to speak with unparalleled perspicuity and precision, intended to impose the present form of episcopal government on the American Methodists; and if his opposition and objection were merely to the "title" of *bishop?* I ask him if he can believe, what Mr. E. has asserted of this aged minister of Christ? If he can believe this of a man, who, for sixty five years, withstood undismayed, the united stratagems of men and fiends: a man whom some of the dignitaries of the church, and of the right honorable of the land, had vilified, called a fool, a knave, a fellow not fit to live? Can he believe that such a man would appear before the world as recommending the episcopal form of government "in fact," but objecting in the strongest manner possible to the title of bishop? Can he really believe this of a man who would say "I dispute not about words?" I think it is not possible that any candid person can believe this of him, who could, *ex animo*, express himself in the following manner. "And is not truth as well as justice fallen in our streets? For who speaketh *the Truth as it is?* Who is there that makes a conscience of speaking the thing as it is? Who scruples telling officious lies? The varying from Truth in order to do good?" And it is this man that Mr. E. represents as guilty of the most pitiful quibbling "about words." I would entreat all who would honour God; promote his cause; respect the truth; recommend religion; exemplify in their conduct the principles of the New Testament; or venerate the name and memory of the Rev. John Wesley, to banish from their minds forever, the unfounded and injurious distinctions on the above

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ed to bring in a dish, upon which were two fowls. Father, said the boy, how many fowls are there upon that dish? Two, my son. Now, father, I can demonstrate to you that there are *three*. The son, taking up a knife, and pointing to one of them, asked, how many is that father? *One*, said the old man. Then placing his knife upon the other fowl, he asked the same question; to which the father answered *two*. Now father, said the son, do not *one* and *two* make *three?* I have, thus, *demonstrated* to you, by the rules of chop-logic, that there are *three* fowls upon that dish. However, conclusive such an argument might be to the son, the father thought he could *demonstrate* the fallacy of it. Accordingly, taking up one fowl, he placed it on his wife's plate, as he said, for her dinner. The second fowl he would take for himself. And the third he would leave the son for his chop-logic.

topics, laid down in the "Defence of our Fathers." If such double dealing; such prevarication; such mental reservation; such deception, would vitiate and nullify a policy of insurance, or any civil contract (and I am confident they would) how, in the name of Heaven, can they promote the cause of righteousness and truth? Such doctrines may make deists, or confirm infidels in their opposition to the New Testament; but they can never secure the approbation of the intelligent and pious, or obtain their esteem for the men who broach them.

I shall now "show my opinion," and in doing this, I shall first examine the account given by Mr. Wesley. He says, "I have this day set apart as a superintendent, &c." The first thing to be ascertained is, the meaning of the word superintendent. And what is a superintendent? "A superintendent," says Dr. Johnson, "is one who overlooks others authoritatively." This is the plain meaning of the word, and in its common application, it is used to denote the person who oversees others with authority. Hence, we frequently read of superintendents of public works; superintendents of roads; superintendents of cotton factories and such like establishments; superintendents of public schools; superintendents of female charitable institutions, &c. &c. But, says one, Mr. Wesley used the word in an ecclesiastical sense by applying it to a church officer. And suppose he did, what other meaning did he, or could he convey by it, than what is given in the above definition? It was because this was the very work for which he made choice of Dr. Coke, that he designated him by this title. There were several societies and preachers in America, when Mr. Wesley appointed Dr. Coke to superintend them. When he invested him with authority to overlook those societies and preachers; and in his name, and as his delegate, to exercise the "powers" which he deputed to him. There was, therefore, no reason to suppose, that Mr. Wesley, by setting apart Dr. Coke as a superintendent, ordained him a bishop. There was not then, nor is there now, any just ground to depart from the common acceptation of the term. For whether we use it in reference to civil transactions, or ecclesiastical affairs, the meaning is the same: a superintendent being one who over-looks others authoritatively This being the meaning of the term, it follows, that every presiding elder of a district is, from the very nature of his office and the work he is appointed to do, a superintendent. For, in the book of discipline, in answer to the second question in the section which treats of his office, it is stated to be his duty, "in the absence of the bishop, to take charge of all the elders and deacons, travelling and local preachers, and exhorters in his district." And what is all this, but overlooking others authoritatively? Does he not do it by the *appointment* of the bishop? Does he not do it in his name? Is he not responsible to him alone? And does he not overlook

those preachers with authority? Now, although this is the duty of a presiding elder, no advocate for episcopacy ever said, that a presiding elder and a bishop, in the Methodist episcopal church, are one and the same in rank and authority. O! no. Methodist bishops, although nothing more in the commencement than presiding elders or superintendents, as Mr. E has observed above, will not let presiding elders encroach on their prerogatives; yet they feel no repugnance to drop their original name, superintendents, and assume the more dignified and honorable one of bishops!!!

But was not Dr. Coke ordained a bishop, when Mr. Wesley set him apart as a superintendent? Before I answer this question, I must understand what is the meaning of the word "bishop." Mr E. has displayed what little smattering he has of the Hebrew. Greek and Latin, in giving us the etymology of the word; and closes his short account, by telling us "that bishop is any man that hath charge and office for any business, *civil* or ecclesiastical." "And hence *superintendent*, from the Latin, is of precise y the same import as *bishop* from the Greek." Def. p. 66 That the words "bishop" and "superintendent" are both derived from the same root, I admit; but that they are both "of *precisely the same import*," I deny. The term "superintendent" is used with reference to "*civil* business" only, or such subjects as have been enumerated above, and never applied by ecclesiatical writers, to a church officer, unless it be in an accommodated, restricted, or qualified sense. Whereas, the term "bishop" is never applied by ecclesiastical writers to "a man having charge of *civil*" matters, but is universally used in an ecclesiastical sense, and applied to an officer of the church.

The difference between a superintendent and bishop, being fixed, the next thing to be considered is, to what rank, or *order* does a *bishop* belong? Upon this subject, it is well known, that there is a difference of opinion among ecclesiastical writers. Some affirm that there are *three orders* of ministers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Whilst others contend that there are but two viz: presbyters and deacons. Those, who espouse this latter opinion say, that bishops and presbyters are convertible terms, and that they were originally used indifferently of persons in the same order. Whilst the other class insist that bishops are a distinct order from presbyters and superior to them. It would not be proper to swell this work, by examining this matter *pro* and *con*. The proper question to be considered is, what was Mr. Wesley's opinion upon the subject? Because, if his opinion can be clearly ascertained, and fully established, it must be proved that he changed that opinion, or we, as Methodists, must admit it, whatever it be.

The question, is now, in what light did Mr. Wesley consider a bishop, at the time he "set apart" Dr. Coke as a superintendent? And to this question, the most clear and unequivocal answer can be given, in Mr. Wesley's own words. He says, in the very letter which he gave Dr. Coke to be circulated among the American societies, dated Bristol Sep. 10, 1784, eight days *after* the appointment of the doctor as a superintendent, "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that *bishops* and *presbyters* are the same order." Can any thing be more explicit than this statement? What opinion, then, must we form of Mr. Wesley if what Mr. E. says of him be true? Could he possibly, without being guilty of the greatest duplicity and falsehood, declare that there were but *two orders*, if he intended by setting Dr. Coke apart as a superintendent, that the American societies should have *three?* If Mr. E. cannot defend "our fathers" without fixing on them such a foul and indelible stain, he ought never undertake their defence again.*

As Mr. Wesley was convinced by "Lord King's account of the primitive church" that "bishops and presbyters are the *same order*;" it may be acceptable to the reader to present him with an extract or two from the work of this celebrated writer. "It is expressly said by the ancients, that there were but two distinct ecclesiastical orders, viz: bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons; and if there were but these two, presbyters cannot be distinct from bishops, for then there would be three. Now, that there were but *two orders*, viz: bishops and deacons is plain." p. 68. Again he says, "there were only the two orders of bishops and deacons instituted by the apostles. And if they ordained but these two, I think no one had ever a commission to add a third, or split one into two, as must be done, if we separate the order of presbyters from the order of bishops." p. 69.

I said, above, that bishops and presbyters are convertible terms. Lest, however, my meaning should be misunderstood; or lest it should be supposed I had conceded too much by this acknowledgment, I shall make one or two remarks upon it. Those ecclesiastical writers, who say there are but two orders

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*Of one of his opponents Mr. Wesley said, "But what does this *smooth candid* writer endeavour to prove, with all the softness and good humour imaginable? Only this point (to express it in plain English that I am a double-tongued knave, an old crafty hypocrite saying one thing and meaning another." Wesley's works. Vol. X p. 452. In another place he says, "Neither do I conceal my sentiments. Few men less." p 238 And yet Mr. E says, "Mr. Wesley certainly intended that we should have *three* orders;" notwithstanding Mr Wesley declared that there are but *two* He says also that he recommended an "episcopacy in fact," although he was opposed to the "title" of bishop! In this way does the "*smooth candid*" Mr. E. make out the Rev. John Wesley, "a double-tongued knave," or "an old crafty hypocrite."

of ministers in the church of Christ, presbyters and deacons, frequently use the terms presbyter and bishop indifferently, as Mr. Wesley did, meaning that bishops and presbyters are the same order. Of this class, there are some, who sometimes use the term superintendent synonymously with bishop. But it ought to be noticed, that of those who maintain that there are three orders, bishops, presbyters and deacons, bishops and presbyters are never used synonymously, nor do they apply the term superindents to their bishops. The former class admit the distinction which is laid down by Leigh in his Critica Sacra, "Between a bishop and presbyter there is, nevertheless, this difference. Presbyter is the name of an *order*, bishop is the name of an *office* in that order." And with this, agrees the statement of Lord King. "So that there were only the two orders of deacons and presbyters; the former whereof, being the inferior order, never sat at their ecclesiastical conventions, but like servants, *stood* and waited on the latter, who sat down on *thronoi* or seats in the form of a semicircle, whence they are frequently called *concessus presbyterii*, or the session of the presbytery: in which session he that was more peculiarly the bishop or minister of the parish, sat at the head of the semicircle, on a seat somewhat elevated above those of his *colleagues*, as Cyprian calls them; and so was distinguished from them, by his priority in the same order, but not by his being of another order." p. 74. "It was then judged necessary, that one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should *preside* in the council of presbyters, in order to distribute among his colleagues their several tasks and to be a centre of union to the whole society." Mosheim. Vol. 1. p. 103.

"The idea that equals," says Mr. E. "cannot, from among themselves, constitute an officer, who as *an officer* shall be superior to any of those, by whom he was constituted, is contradicted by all experience and history, both civil and ecclesiastical; and equally so by common sense. The contrary is too plain to require illustration" Def. p. 39. A little "illustration," however, may point out the fallacy of Mr. E's doctrine, and show its inapplicability to Methodist episcopacy. Let us suppose that a number of officers of the army, all *equal* in point of rank or *order*, agree to dine together upon a certain occasion; and when they are assembled, they appoint one of their body to *preside* at the dinner. This gentleman accepts the appointment, and accordingly takes his seat at the head of the table. Will any man, possessed of one grain of common sense, say, that this gentleman, by acting as president of the meeting, has been promoted to a superior rank or *order* than that to which he belonged when he sat down to table. Supposing, for instance, all were captains, did the president, who himself was a captain when he sat down, rise up a major? Or, if all were lieutenants, was the presiding lieutenant promoted, in consequence of his sitting at

the head of the table, to be a captain? "Illustration" shows the absurdity of Mr. E's doctrine, and its inapplicability to Methodist episcopacy; and proves there is not the least similarity, between the case of "equals" constituting, "from among themselves, an officer greater than themselves," and the case of a Methodist bishop. The appointment of the one was for that particular time only. He required no new commission to discharge the duties of president, he exercised no authority over his brother officers, nor was he raised to higher military rank in consequence of presiding at the festive board. Not so with a Methodist bishop, whom Mr. E. would pass off on us "*as an officer*" constituted such by his "*equals.*" The moment he is "constituted" a bishop, he is a bishop for life; he obtains a new commission to enable him to discharge the duties of his new station; he exercises an authority over his brethren in the ministry that he never exercised before, and he is raised to a higher ecclesiastical rank or *order* in consequence of his being constituted a bishop.

It is well known, that there are many ministers and members of the Methodist episcopal church, who lay great stress upon the convertibility of the terms superintendent and bishop; and seem to consider, this circumstance alone, an argument sufficiently cogent to prove the validity of Methodist episcopacy. Mr. Wesley, say they, ordained Dr. Coke a superintendent, therefore he ordained him a bishop; for a bishop and a superintendent are synonymous terms. As this is a favourite topic with the friends of the episcopacy, I shall offer a few remarks, in addition to those already advanced upon the signification of these terms; and their distinct and peculiar application by ecclesiastical writers, to prove, that Mr. Wesley did not consider the terms as synonymous,* and surely Mr. Wesley must be allowed to know his own mind best.

Mr. Moore, in his life of Mr. Wesley, says, "with respect to the title of bishop, I *know* that Mr. Wesley enjoined the doctor and his associates, and in *the most solemn manner*, that it should not be taken. In a letter to Mrs. Gilbert, the widow of the excellent Nathaniel Gilbert Esq. of Antigua, a copy of which now lies before me, he states this in the strongest manner† In this,

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*In the British Minutes, Mr. William Black is entered a "general superintendent for the British dominions in America," from the year 1791, to the year 1808 inclusive: and yet, no one ever thought that Mr. Black was a bishop. From the year 1810 to the year 1812 inclusive, Dr. Coke stands on the British Minutes as 'general superintendent of the Irish, Welsh, West India Nova-Scotia, and Newfoundland missions:" and yet nobody ever said that Dr. Coke by virtue of that appointment, was a bishop. The Rev. William Fosse is entered a "general superintendent for the Guernsey District for 1820:" yet Mr. Fosse is no bishop.

†I have written to Rev. Henry Moore, Mr. Wesley's biographer, for a copy of this letter, and for information upon other matters: but, as yet I have received no answer.

and in *every similar deviation*, I cannot be the apologist of Dr. Coke; and I can state, in contradiction to all that Dr. Whitehead and Mr Hampson have said, that Mr. Wesley *never gave his sanction* to any of these things; nor was he the author of one line of all that Dr. Coke published in America, on this subject. His *views* on *these points*, were *very different* from those of his zealous son in the gospel." Moore's Life of Wesley. Vol. 2. p. 279 Now, admitting the truth of Mr Moore's testimony, and Mr E himself, however much he may dislike it, does not dare to impugn it, will it not fairly and conclusively follow, that Mr. Wesley explained "his views," of this transaction, to Dr. Coke at the time he "*set*" him "*apart*" as a superintendent? That he pointed out to him the nature of the office he was to fill, and the particular work he was to perform? That he enlarged on these topics, so as to be perfectly understood by the doctor? That he enjoined him "and his associates in the most solemn manner that the title of bishop should not be taken;" and yet, in the face of all this explanation, in despite of all this entreaty, in defiance of all this sacred and most "solemn" injunction, Dr. Coke assumed the title of bishop, formed the societies into an independent church, with the episcopal form of government, republished the Prayer Book, in which were the minutes of conference of this *episcopal* church, at his own expense, all of which were contrary to Mr. Wesley's "views" and wishes. It matters not with me, nor will it weigh a feather with any impartial man, what were Mr. Wesley's reasons for the abhorrence he felt to the title of bishop; (whether it was "because of the associations ordinarily connected with it in the public mind in England," Def. p. 47: as if the sphere of the doctor's ministrations, was to be England and not America where there were no bishops at the time,) it was enough, that the doctor knew Mr. Wesley was opposed to it. I contend, therefore, let the reasons be what they may, that Dr. Coke was under the most solemn and sacred obligations to regard Mr. Wesley's advice. That he was bound by every principle of honor and honesty in all good faith rigidly to adhere to the instructions he had received. That in departing from them, he violated a most solemn injunction. That in doing this he rendered himself extremely culpable and that his conduct therein cannot be defended by Mr. E. or a thousand such apologists.

If Mr. Wesley intended to impose the present episcopal form of government on the American Methodists; and if his opposition was merely to the title of "bishop," I ask, would a trifling objection to a mere *title* have been consistent with his life and published opinions? If he considered the terms superintendent and bishop synonymous, let the term "superintendent" be substituted for "bishop," and let his letter to Mr. Asbury be read with this change, "Do not seek to be something. One instance of

this your *greatness* has given *me* great concern. How *can* you, how *dare* you suffer yourself to be called a *superintendent ?* I *start*, I *shudder* at the very thought of your being called *superintendent !* Men may call me a *knave* or a *fool*, a *rascal* a *scoundrel*, and I am content ; but they shall never, with my consent, call me a *superintendent* !" In what light would such a letter be considered, if addressed to the person who had been ordained a bishop by the writer, on the supposition that the writer considered the terms "superintendent" and "bishop" synonymous ? It would have been, not only an insult to common sense, but it would have been downright wickedness.

But "the letter contains expressions *too severe*." Def. p. 47. So says a would-be-bishop. As I intend to take up these severe expressions again; I shall, in the mean time, only remark, that the severity of the expressions is a clear proof that Mr. Wesley knew the offence to be great. He knew what explanations he had given to Dr. Coke. He knew what objections he had to the episcopal form of government, and the title bishop. He knew the injunctions which had been solemnly imposed. On the supposition, that one term had only been substituted for another, of precisely the same import, the severity of the expressions are perfectly unjustifiable. Not so, however, if Mr Wesley attributed the change to *ambition*, a desire to be "*great*;" "to a deviation from the simplicity which was in Christ;" to a disposition to "strut;" to a departure from his explicit instructions, to a violation of his "*most solemn* injunctions" and commands Had such instructions been delivered by a sovereign to his minister plenipotentiary at a foreign court, and had such instructions been violated, would not the violation of them have subjected such minister plenipotentiary, to something more than "severe expressions," in reproof ? Or if such commands had been delivered, by the commander in chief of an army, to any of his generals, or to any inferior officer, what would have been the sentence of a court martial, upon proof of the violation of those orders, I leave to military men to say.

That Mr. Wesley considered the offence to be great, may be argued from his using similar entreaties on another important occasion. At a certain time, some of the English Methodists were greatly harassed by persecutors. The benefits intended by the act of toleration were denied them. Mr. Wesley saw this with a degree of pain he seldom experienced. Considering it to be his duty to expostulate with those who were most zealous in this work, he wrote a letter to a prelate, in whose diocess this persecution most abounded ; in which he says, "O my Lord, for *God's sake*, for *Christ's sake*, for pity's sake, suffer the poor people to enjoy their religious, as well as civil liberty." Mr. Moore says, Mr. Wesley's letter to Mr. Asbury, "clearly shows *how much he felt* that deviation from the simplicity which

is in Christ," in the assumption of the title of bishop vol. 2 p. 285. The occasion in both instances was alarming; and he used nearly the very terms in the case of the persecution that he did respecting the title of bishop. Was the language to the persecuting bishop too strong? Was he opposed to persecution only in name? If this can be believed, then it may be believed, that all the objection he had to episcopacy, was to the title of bishop!!

The last thing to be noticed is the performance of the ceremony of "setting apart" Dr. Coke to the office of a superintendent, which Mr. E. says was an ordination. "If this was not an ordination, we should be glad to be informed what constitutes one? It was performed as ordinations usually are; with the usual solemnities; by imposition of hands and prayer; with the assistance of other ordained ministers; and under the sanction of Almighty God. If it was not intended as an ordination, it was certainly a very solemn mockery; a trifling with sacred things, to charge Mr. Wesley with which, would be loading his memory with obloquy indeed." Def. p. 24. To this I answer, (1) that the precise meaning of ordination, according to Mr. Wesley's own declaration, is to be determined by the ordainer, not the ordained. Speaking of "the oath" he took, when he was ordained, he says, "The true sense of the words of an oath, and the mode and extent of its obligation, are not to be determined by him who takes it, but by him who requires it" Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. 1 p. 193. (2) Dr. Coke says, "nor do I think that the *repetition of the imposition of hands* for the same office, when important circumstances require it, is at all improper." Def. p. 90. He says farther, on the same page, "I am of our late venerable father Mr. Wesley's opinion, that the order of bishops and presbyters *are one and the same.*" If Mr. Wesley had placed his hands upon the head of Dr. Coke five thousand times, he could not have raised him, by that ceremony, to any higher order than a presbyter; for according to Dr. Coke and Mr. Wesley's doctrine, a bishop and presbyter is "one and the same" (3) It was *not* "performed as ordinations usually are" Because, if Dr. Coke was ordained at all, he was ordained a bishop; a bishop and a superintendent, in the judgment of the advocates of Methodist episcopacy, being the same order. Not to repeat, what has been advanced already, upon the signification of these terms, and their respective use and application by ecclesiastical writers, I think Mr. E. cannot produce an instance of any *bishop* among episcopalians being ordained in the same manner that Dr. Coke was. The ceremony was performed in a private "chamber," by Mr. Wesley and another presbyter of the church of England, and by Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey, who, I believe, had been ordained elders, a few minutes previously, in the same "chamber." And yet Mr. E. has the te-

merity to say, Dr. Coke's ordination "was performed, as ordinations *usually* are." Mr. E. ought to know, that according to the usage of the church of England, when a bishop is ordained, his ordination is not performed in a private "chamber;" nor are there *usually* less than three bishops engaged in the performance of the ceremony. Nor was this ordination "performed as ordinations usually" were among the ancients. For, no bishop, taking the word as synonymous with presbyter as it respects *order*, but superior as it respects *office*, was inducted into that office, unless it were, by the suffrages of the clergy and *laity*, of that particular church, of which he was to have the immediate and pastoral care. Besides, it was necessary to have "the concurrent assent of the neighbouring bishops, and the imposition of the hands of at least three bishops." See Lord King, p. 46. 7. So that Dr. Coke's ordination was not performed according to either ancient or modern usage.

Mr. E. says farther, "it was performed by the imposition of hands and prayer." And suppose it was; will that constitute it an ordination? The reader will recollect that his attention was called to this subject in a former part of this work. He was told, from Mr E's own authorities, that "imposition of hands does not confer any power on the person upon whom they are laid;" or in other words, that imposition of hands does not constitute ordination. If the imposition of hands does not constitute ordination, how could the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands upon Dr. Coke constitute ordination, or create the doctor a bishop? And if Mr. Wesley's hands, who was the ordainer, in this ceremony, if any one was, did not constitute it an ordination, how could the hands of Mr. Creighton, Mr. Whatcoat, or Mr. Vasey make it an ordination? The thing is absurd; for a thousand noughts will not make an unit.

Nor is there the least reason for considering the "setting apart" of Dr. Coke, an ordination: no, not even the "exigence of necessity," which Mr. E. says, "Mr. Wesley assigned as one of the grounds of his proceeding." Def. p. 25. Surely Mr. E. does not understand the subject upon which he writes, or he confounds things which ought to be kept separate. Let the reader only distinguish between these two things. The supplying the American societies with ministers, to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper; and the supposed creation of Dr. Coke a bishop. If the reader will distinguish between these two things, all that Mr. E. has said, or can say on the subject of the ordination of the doctor, is perfectly nugatory. Surely it was not *necessary* for Mr. Wesley to ordain Dr. Coke a bishop to authorise him to preach the gospel in America. It was not *necessary* to ordain him a bishop, in order to enable him to administer the ordinances to the Methodist societies in this country. It was not *necessary* to ordain him a bishop to authorise him to ordain ministers to administer baptism and the Lord's supper in the

United States. The two former the doctor had done in England; and the latter he had as good a clerical right to do, as Mr. Wesley himself. For Mr. Wesley declared that bishops and presbyters are equal, and consequently have the *same right* to ordain. The validity of the ordination of Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey being allowed, on the ground set up by Mr. Wesley as a justification of his own conduct, namely that *presbyters* have a right to ordain; these three gentlemen could certainly ordain others, without supposing one of them to be a third order, distinct from and superior to presbyters; and thus they could have supplied the societies with ministers. The only difficulty which presented itself in the case, grew out of the great affection which the American societies cherished for Mr. Wesley; and the objections they had to receive any person, whose appointment did not come from him, as "the father of the whole Methodist family." To overcome this difficulty, and to induce them to receive Dr. Coke, Mr. Wesley thought proper to "set apart" Dr. Coke as a superintendent, by the imposition of his hands and prayer, and this is what Mr. E. has magnified into an "ordination" of a bishop.

To put this matter to rest, I shall offer Mr. Wesley's opinion of a transaction exactly similar in all its parts. I allude to that which is recorded in Acts XIII. ch. 2, 3 verses. "As they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed and *laid their hands* on them, they sent them away." Now, the transaction in Acts so much resembles the one under consideration, that neither Mr, E. nor any one else can point out any material difference. The one was intended for a *special purpose*; so was the other. The one was performed "*by the imposition of hands and prayer*;" so was the other. The one was performed by "*ordained ministers*;" so was the other. The one "*was done under the protection of Almighty God*;" so was the other.

Before I offer Mr. Wesley's opinion, I shall repeat what I said in my History and Mystery in reply to Rev. Mr. Bangs's sentiments on this passage. This Rev. gentleman in his "Vindication of Methodist episcopacy"* p. 42. has these words: "But

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* In the Methodist Magazine for September, 1827, p, 396; Mr. Bangs says "how changed is the author of the History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy, from what he was when he heard read, approved and recommended for publication, at the Methodist book room, the "Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy." He need not attempt to deny this fact, because it stands attested by his own signature, as secretary of the book committee." Mr. E makes pretty much, the same statement, in the preface to his book Knowing these statements to be untrue, I wrote to a friend in New York, to procure me a copy of the records of the book committee in the case. The following is certified to be a true copy

"September 8, 1820.

"Brother Bangs, this day closed reading before the committee, an essay entitled A Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy.

says the objector, have presbyters authority to constitute a minister superior to themselves? Undoubtedly. It will be admitted that the apostles were a grade of ministers superior to the elders; and yet St. Paul was *ordained* by a body of elders." From this answer we are justified in supposing that the author of the Vindication of Methodist episcopacy thought St. Paul was *not* an apostle before this transaction; and that he was rais-

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1. On motion, it was resolved, that the committee approve of its publication
2. Resolved that the above work be recommended to the book agents for publication.

ALEXANDER M'CAINE."

I will now give a brief history of this affair, according to the best of my recollection. When Mr. Bangs first mentioned his contemplated work to the brethren who composed the book committee, I understood him to mention it to them, not in their official capacity as the book committee; but as individuals, of whose presence he said he would avail himself, and upon whose judgement he could rely. Having mentioned it just as they were about to disperse; I had no knowledge, that Mr. Bangs had previously submitted his views upon this subject, to Mr. Soule, his predecessor in the book room, for publication; nor was the slightest intimation given of the fact, that his former piece had been rejected As Mr. Bangs produced only a few sheets of his manuscript, (say three or four,) I thought that this was the first time he had written any thing on the subject. One of the brethren upon hearing him read what he had produced, observed, he could form no opinion of the merits of the work from a few sheets He told Mr. Bangs, he had better go on with it, and when he had finished it, he could then tell him what he thought of it. The next time any portion of it was read, I considered the matter in the same point of light; and consequently, as I did not suppose that it was submitted to the committee, *in their official capacity*, or that they would be responsible for its doctrines I did not make a stern opposition to many things, of which I did not approve. How many times Mr. Bangs read portions of his manuscript, I cannot say I have no recollection of being present more than twice or thrice. Having finished reading his paper, the above resolutions were then submitted *to the committee*, which it became my duty, as secretary, to record. But surely it will not follow, because I entered them on the book, that I approved of, or recommended the work. As well might Mr. Bangs say, that I "recommended" the resolutions he offered at the general conference of 1820, because I was *secretary* to that body. Or that Mr Emory "approved' of every thing done at the general conference of 1824. because he was *secretary* to that conference. The fact is; Mr Bangs *deceived* me in the way he introduced his work to the brethren. He *deceived* me in holding back the information, that this work had been rejected by Mr. Soule, his predecessor: a circumstance which I did not know for years afterw rds. He *deceived* me in the manner in which he obtained a vote for its publication, and now he says I "approved and recommended it." He must allow me to tell him this is not true. He also says, "this is not mentioned to criminate him." For what other purpose is it mentioned? Notwithstanding what he says, I must believe that Mr. Bangs did mention it to criminate me. and for no other purpose. Really, I once thought Mr. Bangs was above such dirty little tricks as these; but I find I have been *mistaken* in the man Perhaps he will next say, I voted that he should have the HUNDRED DOLLARS which he received from his colleague, Thomas Mason, for the copy right of "a Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy.'!!! In my conscience, I think, he ought to return that sum to the book room, for the work, for which he obtained it, for it is not worth a dollar. Help, brethren, help. The *profits* of the book room go to the.....spread of the Gospel.

ed to be an apostle by the imposition of the hands of those *prophets* and *teachers*, whom he calls *elders*. All this however, is in flat contradiction to what St. Paul himself tells us. He says, he was an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father. Gal. 1 ch. 1 ver. Dr. McNight in his comment on the text says, "St. Paul was first made an apostle by Christ, when he appeared to him in the way to Damascus, Acts IX. 15. And three years after that his apostolic commission was renewed. Acts XXII 20. So that he was first sent forth, neither by the church at Jerusalem, nor by that at Antioch. The Holy Ghost, indeed, ordered the phrophets at Antioch (Acts XIII. 2) to separate Paul and Barnabas; but it was to the work whereunto he had called them formerly. This separation was simply a recommending them to the grace of God by prayer. And in fact it is so termed. Acts XIV. 26." So that in Dr. McNight's opinion, the "setting apart" by the imposition of hands and prayer is no ordination, but simply a recommending of those, on whom they were placed to the grace of God by prayer. Now for Mr. Wesley's opinion.

"I believe several who are not *episcopally ordained*. are called of God to preach the gospel. Yet I have no objection to the twenty third article, though I judge there are exempt cases."

"That the seven deacons were outwardly ordained, even to that low office cannot be denied. But when St. Paul and Barnabas were separated for the work to which they were called, this was *not ordaining* them. St. Paul was ordained long before, and that not of man nor by man. It was only *inducting* him to the province for which our Lord had appointed him from the beginning. For this end, the prophets and teachers fasted, prayed and laid their hands upon them: a rite which was used *not in ordination only*, but in blessing, and on *many other occasions*." Wesley's works, vol. X. p. 237. See also his Notes on the New Testament *in loc.* and on the Acts XIV. 26. If Mr. E. should exclaim respecting this transaction, as he has done respecting the "imposition" of Mr. Wesley's "*hands*" upon Dr. Coke, "if it was not an ordination, it was certainly a very solemn mockery." Def. p. 24. Mr. Wesley will be allowed to be as competent to decide upon the subject as Mr. E. is. Had Mr. E's knowledge been greater, or his pretensions less, he "certainly" would not have declared, that "if the imposition of hands, upon Dr. Coke, was not an ordination, it was a very solemn mockery."

Section VI.—*Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White.*

Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White is a document of too much importance, and too closely connected with the subject under

discussion, not to have a place in this work. It develops the principles, by which some of the chief actors in the organization of the Methodist episcopal church were influenced :—it contains concessions and acknowledgments, which no minister of Jesus Christ, who was unconscious of having done wrong, ought to make : it offers proposals which no bishop, having a proper respect for the dignity of his episcopal character, and a conviction of the validity of his ordination, ought to offer : and it stands, and will for ever stand, as a proof of the jealousy and rivalry of the two superintendents, or bishops, and of the artifice and intrigue used by the one, to gain an ascendency over the other.

The following is a copy of his letter attested by bishop White.

" *Right Reverend Sir* :—

Permit me to intrude a little on your time, upon a subject of great importance.

You, I believe, are conscious that I was brought up in the church of England, and have been ordained a presbyter of that church. For many years I was prejudiced, even I think, to bigotry, in favor of it : but through a variety of causes and incidents, to mention which would be tedious and useless, my mind was exceedingly biassed on the other side of the question. In consequence of this, I am not sure but I went further *in the separation* of our church in America, than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that our entire separation should take place. He being pressed by our friends on this side the water, for ministers to administer the sacraments to them (there being very few clergy of the church of England then in the States) *he went farther, I am sure, than he would have gone if he had foreseen some events which followed.* And this I am certain of—*that he is now sorry for the separation.*

But what can be done for a re-union which I wish for; and to accomplish which, Mr Wesley, I have no doubt, would use his influence to the utmost ? The affection of a very considerable number of the preachers and most of the people, is very strong towards him; notwithstanding *the excessive ill usage he received from a few.* My interest also is not small ; and both his and mine would readily and to the utmost, be used to accomplish that (to us) very desirable object : if a readiness were shown by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church to re-unite.

It is even to your church an object of great importance. We have now above 60,000 adults in our society in these States; and about 250 travelling ministers and preachers ; besides a great number of local preachers, very far exceeding the number of travelling preachers ; and some of these local preachers are men of very considerable abilities ; but if we number the Methodists

as most people number the members of their church, viz.—by the families which constantly attend the divine ordinances in their places of worship, they will make a larger body than you possibly conceive. The society, I believe, may be safely multiplied by five on an average, to give us our stated congregations; which will then amount to 300,000. And if, the calculation, which, I think some eminent writers have made, be just, that three-fifths of mankind are un-adult (if I may use the expression) at any given period, it will follow that all the families, the adults of which form our congregations in these states, amount to 750,000. About one-fifth of these are blacks.

The work now extends in length from Boston to the South of Georgia; and in breadth, from the Atlantic to lake Champlain, Vermont, Albany, Redstone, Holstein, Kentucky, Cumberland, &c.

But there are many hindrances in the way. Can they be removed?

1. Our ordained ministers will not, ought not, to give up their right of administering the sacraments. I don't think that the generality of them, perhaps none of them, would refuse to submit to a re ordination, if other hindrances were removed out of the way. I must here observe, that between 60 and 70 only, out of the two hundred and fifty have been ordained presbyters, and about 60 deacons (only.) The presbyters are the choicest of the whole.

2. The other preachers would hardly submit to re-union, if the possibility of their rising up to ordination depended on the present bishops in America. Because, though they are all, I think I may say, zealous, pious and very useful men, yet they are not acquainted with the learned languages. Besides, they would argue, if the present bishops would waive the article of the learned languages, yet their successors might not.

My desire of a re-union is so sincere and earnest, that these difficulties make me tremble: and *yet something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley, otherwise I shall despair of success:* for though my influence among the Methodists in these states as well as in Europe, is, I doubt not, increasing, yet *Mr. Asbury whose influence is very capital, will not easily comply, nay, I know he will be exceedingly averse to it.*

In Europe where some steps had been taken, tending to a separation, all is at an end. Mr. Wesley is a determined enemy of it, and I have lately borne an open and successful testimony against it.

Shall I be favoured with a private interview with you in Philadelphia? I shall be there, God willing, on Tuesday the 17th of May. If this be agreeable, I'll beg of you just to signify it in a note directed to me at Mr. Jacob Baker's, merchant, Market street, Philadelphia: or if you please by a few lines

sent me by the return of the post, at Philip Rogers's Esq. in Baltimore, from yourself or Dr. Magaw: and I will wait upon you with my friend Dr. Magaw. We can then enlarge on the subjects.

I am conscious of it that secrecy is of great importance in the present state of the business, till the minds of you, your brother bishops and Mr. Wesley be circumstantially known. I must therefore beg that these things be confined to yourself and Dr. Magaw, till I have the honor of seeing you.

Thus you see that I have made a bold venture on your honor and candour, and have opened my whole heart to you on the subject as far as the extent of a small letter will allow me. If you put equal confidence in me, you will find me candid and faithful.

I have, notwithstanding, been guilty of inadvertencies. Very lately I found myself obliged (for the pacifying of my conscience) to write a penitential letter to the Rev. Mr. Jarrat, which gave him great satisfaction: and for the same reason I must write another to the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew.

When I was last in America, I prepared and corrected a great variety of things for our magazine, indeed almost every thing that was printed, except some loose hints which I had taken of one of my journeys, and which I left in my hurry with Mr. Asbury, without any correction, entreating him that no part of them might be printed which could be improper or offensive. But through great inadvertency (I suppose) he suffered some reflections on the characters of the two above mentioned gentlemen to be inserted in the magazine, for which I am very sorry: and probably shall not rest till I have made my acknowledgments more public; though Mr. Jarrat does not desire it.

I am not sure, whether I have not also offended you, sir, by accepting one of the offers made me by you and Dr. Magaw of the use of your churches, about six years ago, on my first visit to Philadelphia, without informing you of *our plan of separation from the Church of England.* If I did offend, [as I doubt I did, especially from what you said to Mr. Richard Dallam of Abingdon] I sincerely beg yours and Dr. Magaw's pardon. I'll endeavor to amend. But alas! I am a frail, weak creature.

I will intrude no longer at present. One thing only I will claim from your candour—that if you have no thought of improving this proposal, you will burn this letter, and take no more notice of it, (for it would be a pity to have us entirely alienated from each other, if we cannot unite in the manner my ardent wishes desire) but if you will further negociate the business, I will explain my mind still more fully to you on the probabilities of success.

In the mean time, permit me, with great respect, to subscribe myself, Right Reverend Sir,

Your very humble servant in Christ,

[Signed] THOMAS COKE.

The Right Reverend Father in God,

Bishop White.

Richmond, April 24th, 1791.

P. S. You must excuse interlineations, &c. I am just going into the country and have no time to transcribe."

Upon this letter, I shall now make a few remarks. 1. Dr. Coke informs bishop White, "that he had been brought up in the church of England; had been ordained a presbyter in that church; and, for many years, had been prejudiced, even to bigotry, in favor of it." 2. He acknowledges that a great change had taken place in his views, and says, "that through a variety of causes and incidents, which it would be useless to mention, my mind was exceedingly biassed on the other side of the question." 3. Whilst in this state, he adds, "*I went further in the separation of our church in America, than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend.* 4. Having mentioned his "*commission*," he enlarges on that topic and adds, "Mr. Wesley did indeed solemnly invest me with episcopal authority, as far as he had a right so to do."

Respecting this most extraordinary investiture with episcopal authority, I shall remark, (1.) That the reader can find nothing like this account, in any ecclesiastical writer. No man claiming episcopal authority, ever, before, expressed himself in this manner. (2) Notwithstanding all Mr. E's confident assertions respecting Dr. Coke's "having no doubt, not the shadow of a doubt," of the validity of his ordination as a bishop, it is worthy of remark, that the doctor does not say one word, about his being ordained a bishop. Is it not a matter of just surprise, that he should carefully avoid mentioning his being ordained a bishop, provided he knew, that he had been ordained one. His backwardness to use the term "ordained," and his substituting the novel, and periphrastical mode of expression, "he did indeed solemnly invest me with episcopal authority," is proof to my mind, that the doctor could not say he was *ordained a bishop;* nor use the same unequivocal language that he did, when speaking of his being "ordained a presbyter" in the church of England. (3) As he had been called a bishop so long; as he had been accessary to the organization of the societies into an episcopal church; as he had with Mr. Asbury his colleague, assumed the title of bishop, he seems to have wished, if possible, to retain the title, and yet he declines saying he was ordained a bishop. For, when writing to one, who was himself a bishop, in the common acceptation of that term; who had been constituted a bishop, according to ecclesiastical usage; who was ac-

quainted with the duties of the office, the meaning of the term, and the manner in which a bishop is ordained, Dr. Coke expresses himself in a manner that is truly surprising Truth will not allow him to say he was ordained a bishop, and yet he says, he was "invested with episcopal authority." Never was any man placed in a more awkward position, by the pen of his adversary, than Dr. Coke is placed in by his own pen. Nor is this all. For (4) the latter part of the sentence is not a whit behind the former in absurdity; and this absurdity is attempted to be placed to Mr. Wesley's account, by "his zealous son in the gospel" Hear the doctor again. "Mr. Wesley did indeed solemnly invest me with episcopal authority, *as far as he had a right so to do.*" Much might be said on the phrase, "as far as he had a right so to do;" but I shall only make one or two remarks. 1. Mr. Wesley had a *right* to ordain Dr. Coke a bishop, or he had not. If he had this right, why does the doctor express himself in such a way as to make this right questionable? If he had this right; there was no need of the restrictive phrase," as far as he had a right so to do." 2. But, if Mr. Wesley had not this right, why, in the name of common sense does the doctor say, "he did invest me with episcopal authority." To common readers the whole matter must be glaringly absurd; in what light then, must the affair have appeared to the gentleman to whom this letter was addressed? Bishop White knew what was the voice of ecclesiastical history, respecting the office of a bishop, the meaning of the term, the equality of the order, in "office and power," and the established manner of ordaining one. Dr. Coke knew, or ought to have known these things as well as bishop White. Ecclesiastical writers had asserted, "that wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria, or at Thanis; he is of the same worth and of the same priesthood: the force of wealth or lowness of poverty doth not render a bishop more high or more low. That one bishop might exceed another in splendor, in wealth, in reputation, in extent of jurisdiction, as one king may surpass another in amplitude of territory; but as all kings, so all bishops are equal in office and essentials of power" And yet with a knowledge of these facts, he uses the restrictive phrase "*as far as he had a right so to do.*"!!

The doctor, who candidly states that *he* "went farther in the separation than Mr. Wesley intended," thereby confessing that he had not conformed to the instructions he had received, but had violated injunctions most solemnly imposed, now attempts to throw a little of the blame upon Mr. Wesley himself. "Mr. Wesley did not intend that our *entire* separation (from the church) should take place; he went farther, than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed." It now remains to be ascertained what those steps were, which Mr.

Wesley had taken, calculated to produce a separation, and which he would not have taken, if he had foreseen the events which followed. And what could these steps have been, but the ordaining of ministers for the American Methodists. This circumstance made them independent of the clergy of other denominations, for ordination and the ordinances. In consequence of this, the Methodist preachers felt their independence, and as a proof of it, their first act was to form themselves into an independent church. Mr. Wesley, too, was soon made to *feel*, that they were perfectly independent of him also, and that they cared for him, no more, than they did for any other person. The first time he interfered in their business, by merely advising, that Mr. Whatcoat might be appointed joint superintendent with Mr. Asbury, they were offended at his interference, and discarded him and his authority at a stroke, by leaving his name off their minutes. Well might Dr. Coke say, this was "excessive ill usage;" but for the honor of the conference, only "a few" had any thing to do in it. Still, it is highly probable, that Mr. Wesley would not have ordained ministers for the American societies, if he had thought, that almost one of their first acts would have been to treat himself in this manner. Notwithstanding all the palliating glosses of Mr. E. their treatment of Mr. Wesley will find no apologists or admirers, in men of honorable minds. The doctor farther tells bishop White, that he is "certain Mr. Wesley is sorry for the separation." If Mr. Wesley was sorry for the separation, was he not also sorry for having taken the steps that led to it? Was he not sorry for having ordained ministers for America? That he was sorry for having ordained some of his preachers for Great Britain, we have Rev. Mr. Creighton's testimony: and if he was sorry for having ordained a few of them, for Great Britain, how much greater reason had he to be sorry for having ordained preachers for America? In reply to Mr. Bradburn, Mr. Creighton says, "I must take the liberty positively to contradict you.—He did repent of it" (ordaining them) "and with *tears* in his eyes expressed his sorrow both in public and private." Again he says, "He likewise expressed his sorrow respecting this matter at Leeds conference, in 1789, and occasionally afterwards in London until his death." p. 13.

Having made these statements and concessions, the doctor next expresses his wish for a re-union with the Protestant Episcopal church; and says, "both Mr. Wesley's interest and mine would readily, and to the utmost, be used to accomplish that (to us) very desirable object." He, moreover, presses the subject upon the bishop, from the consideration that Mr. Wesley could not be expected to live much longer. "Something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley, otherwise I shall despair of success." But where is Mr. Asbury all this time? Has he

nothing to do with the Methodist societies, or is he not considered worthy to be consulted in such important matters? The doctor, it is true, does mention his name in the letter, but not with approbation, or as being likely to concur in the measure. For although, the doctor says, "that he doubted not but his influence among the Methodists in these states is increasing; yet *Mr. Asbury whose influence is very capital, will not easily comply, nay, I know he will be exceedingly averse to it.*" Well might the doctor say so; for Mr Asbury would have no rival, much less a superior. He acted out the sentiments expressed to Mr. Shadford, "Mr. Wesley and I are like Cæsar and Pompey. He will bear no equal, and I will bear no superior." However, take it on the whole, and it exhibits a pretty specimen of brotherly affection! A delightful example of mutual confidence and co-operation between the two Methodist bishops! "Interest" opposed to "interest." "Influence" working against "influence;" the one striving to counteract and undermine the other. Well may some in the Methodist episcopal church be ashamed of such conduct. Well may they say, that "such things are calculated to disgrace and bring reproach upon its ministers and members." But in the name of Heaven am I answerable for this? Am I the author of this letter? Did I forge it? Did not Dr. Coke write it? Why then expel me the church for republishing it? It was surely worse to write it, than to publish it; and yet, the very men, who preferred the charges against me, for which I have been ex-communicated, pretend to defend the doctor's conduct in applauding the "Defence of our Fathers," and heartily approve of my expulsion!!

The doctor, in the exposition of his plan, adds, "I am conscious of it, that secrecy is of great importance in the present state of the business, till the minds of you, your brother bishops, and Mr. Wesley be circumstantially known: I must therefore beg that these things be confined to yourself and Dr. Magaw till I have the honor of seeing you. One thing only I will claim from your candor, that if you have no thoughts of improving this proposal, you will burn this letter." Now what would any man, who was associated with another in mercantile pursuits, think of his partner, if that partner were to conduct himself towards him, as Dr. Coke did towards Mr. Asbury? "*Burn this letter*" would be sufficient to excite indignation in the breast of any man. But instead of contemplating these gentlemen as men of the world, bound to each other, only by the ties of interest and honor, they must be contemplated in a much higher point of view, as joint superintendents in the Methodist episcopal church. They are to be regarded as bishops or overseers of a part of the flock of Christ, and ostensibly labouring, mutually and affectionately, to promote its welfare. Standing in this relation to one another, they travel together for several days, after the letter

was written: they converse together, pray together, preach together, eat and sleep together, and the one has not confidence in his colleague to say one word to him about the re-union!! Is there any thing to surpass this in the history of the Popes? How must Mr. Asbury have felt when he received, opened, and read bishop White's answer to the doctor's letter, which fell into his hands? Is it not reasonable to suppose that he was thunderstruck with surprise; and indignant at such conduct? That he was ready to cry out treachery, deception, intrigue and a thousand things besides? Nor is it strange, that in a letter written subsequently, and now lying before me, he should say "I cannot confide in ecclesiasticks passing through the degrees, and *intrigues* of a university, as I can trust a ploughman."

A personal interview had been proposed with bishop White, upon Dr. Coke's arrival in Philadelphia. This interview, accordingly took place; at which the parties, Dr. Coke, bishop White and Dr. Magaw enlarged on the subjects mentioned in the letter. "The general outlines of Dr. Coke's plan" says bishop White, "were a re-ordination of the methodist ministers, their continuing under the superintendence, then existing, and the consecration of himself and the gentleman connected with him." But says Mr E. "bishop White mistook the import of Dr. Coke's letter," Def. p. 30. Although bishop White could not understand it, it will be recollected, that Mr. E. can!! This assertion if taken in connexion with another, on the same page, in the Defence of our Fathers, is only a *genteel* way of setting aside bishop White's testimony as utterly unworthy of credit. "This suggestion" (respecting consecration) "as far as we can discover, is not to be found in Dr. Coke's letter" *ib.* And will Mr. E. say, that because this "suggestion" is not found in Dr. Coke's letter, *therefore* it was not made in the conversations which took place at the personal interview. Mr. E. ought to be ashamed of such insinuations, against such a man as bishop White. And is it possible, that Mr. E. could have the vanity to think, that his assertion would be believed, namely, that a man of bishop White's acknowledged acuteness of perception, talents, age, standing in the literary world, and high station in the church, could not understand Dr. Coke's letter? The fact is, any man can understand it; for it is so plain, it can not be misunderstood. But this is not the first time bishop White has received rude treatment from this pragmatical writer, who inflated with his own little acquirements, seems to think, that nobody can understand the most simple proposition, or tell how many two and two make, but himself.

Notwithstanding Mr. E's dexterity in the management of documents, this letter sadly perplexes him. He can neither bend it, nor break it; he must therefore dispose of it in the best manner he can. He affects to represent the doctor's application for

consecration, as a mere trifle, by comparing his offer, with the conduct of "some Methodist presbyters, who have joined other churches." "It is well known", says he, "that some methodist presbyters, who have joined other churches, have submitted to a second ordination, not for their own satisfaction, but for the satisfaction of others, and *because it was required of them in order to the union*" Def. p. 29. *First.* Is not this declaration contrary to the universal sense of mankind? According to Mr. E's doctrine, when a beggar asks an alms, it is not "for his own satisfaction," but for the satisfaction of the giver, that he asks it! When an applicant solicits a favor, it is not "for his own satisfaction," he solicits it, but for the satisfaction of his benefactor! When a man wishes to become a member of a religious society, it is not "for his own satisfaction," that he wishes to join it, but for the satisfaction of the church! According to this position, it is the party *applying*, who confers the favor, and not the party *bestowing* it. And yet the book containing such nonsense is pronounced "a masterly and unanswerable production." *Second.* Did not the churches which these "Methodist presbyters" joined, deny the validity of their ordination, as "Methodist presbyters," by requiring them to submit to a second ordination? They did. And if Dr. Coke's offer had been accepted, and if he had been "consecrated" by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church, this circumstance would have been considered, by every church in the United States, a renunciation of what has been called, his episcopal ordination. But Mr. E. says, "It is well known" &c. To whom? I have known the Methodist episcopal church for 37 years; and I know it as well, and better, than Mr. E. does, and I never knew it to allow such a plea as he states. So far from it, that I have known some "Methodist presbyters, who left the Methodist episcopal church and joined other churches," and I have always heard one of two things assigned as a reason for their submitting to a second ordination, namely the invalidity of their ordination, or the prospect of *improving their temporal circumstances.* Now, although some *one* of these "Methodist presbyters" may say, it "was not for his own satisfaction" that he submitted to a "second ordination," his apology has not been admitted by the ministers or members of the Methodist episcopal church. This would be to acknowledge the invalidity of Methodist ordination, which would be a kind of ecclesiastical suicide or *felo de-se.* The Methodists, therefore, have, in every instance, that I have known or heard of, attributed submitting to a second ordination to a love of *gain.* And has Mr. E. in his "masterly defence" placed Dr. Coke in this predicament? Does he really think, that the doctor was that *venal, sordid* soul that his readers are left to infer he was, by representing his application to bishop White, as "a case analagous" to the above? Does Mr. E. attribute his proposals to the love of *pelf*, rather

than admit that the doctor did not believe he was a bishop? Mr. E. may choose either horn of the dilemma. In the meantime, I shall close this paragraph with a sentence from his own book. "The propensity of the human mind to conjecture what is most accordant with *its own habits of thinking*, or what is best calculated to support *its own views* is too well known, to require discussion here." Def. p. 30.

Were Mr. E. a fair and honourable controvertist; and were his sole object, truth, he never would allow himself to practise what he condemns in others. With the rules of controversy, he is presumed to be too well acquainted, not to know, that conjecture is not argument; and that specious phantasies are very different from logical deductions. But keeping these deductions out of sight, he abounds in "conjectures" upon the subject of this letter; thereby "demonstrating" how hard run he is for argument, and how difficult it is for him to dispose of it, with any degree of plausibility, to please himself. A *few* instances shall serve as a specimen of his logical precision. "Dr. Coke *might* not have considered it wrong." "Bishop White *might have misapprehended* a hint." "It must be admitted to be *possible*, that he *might, at least, equally*." "Bishop White was *conjecturing*." "Dr. Coke had *probably* contemplated." "It was *conjectural*. As *such* we leave it." "Bishop White *may have been correct*." "*It may* easily be accounted for without *supposing*" "Dr. Coke *might have thought it*." "We *conjecture, if* Dr. Coke did." "Bishop White *mistook*." And, if I do not mistake, the reader will acknowledge, he never saw such a sample of conjectures, in the same space, in any book before. No wonder it has been pronounced by the seven wise men as "unanswerable;" for it is so full of nonsense, conjecture, and contradiction that no man can tell what to answer.

I shall not attempt to follow Mr. E. through those airy regions of conjecture, whither he allowed himself to be carried by his fancy, or his cunning: but shall turn to an other subject—the subject of Mr. Wesley's death, which is closely connected with the writing of this letter. Mr. E says, "the fact is, that Mr. Wesley at the time" (of writing this letter) "was dead." Def. p. 32. For what purpose does Mr. E. aver this fact? To refute a statement made by Dr. Wyatt of Baltimore in a sermon which he published, that Dr. Coke's proposal to bishop White, "was made with the approbation, if not direction of Mr. Wesley." Not so, says Mr. E. that could not be, for "Mr Wesley at the time was dead." Dr. Coke, at the time he wrote his letter to bishop White, knew, that Mr. Wesley was dead, or he did not. If he did know it, Mr. E's assertion is a pitiful equivocation, and does not disprove, what Dr. Wyatt said: for surely Mr. Wesley might have given his approbation to these proposals before he died; though I am very far from supposing he did.

But if Mr. Wesley's death was known to Dr. Coke, before he wrote this letter, as Mr. E s phraseology would lead a person to suppose it was, then Mr. E. has fixed a stain of the deepest die, on the character of Dr. Coke, wh.ch neither he, nor all he can call to his assistance, can ever wipe away. For, although the doctor, according to Mr. E's statement, is supposed to know of the death of Mr. Wesley, yet he says, "to accomplish which, Mr. Wesley, I have no doubt, would use his influence to the utmost." Again, "something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley."

To clear up this matter, and to do justice to Dr. Coke, I turned to Drew's life of Coke, and found the following account. "Dr Coke," says Mr. Drew, "had been preaching on the evening of the 20th of April, at a place, called Port Royal, in Virginia, and had engaged to preach, about twelve miles distant, at ten o'clock on the ensuing morning. But on returning after the evening preaching, to the house of a merchant where he was to lodge, he was informed by him, that the Philadelphian papers had just announced to the public, the death of Mr. Wesley Astonished at this intelligence, and unwilling to credit what he hoped might be false, he requested the gentleman to procure for him, a sight of the paper. This was soon done: and on perusing the paragraph, he was convinced, from the manner of its being written, that the unexpected tidings were mournfully true.... The next morning he set off for New-York... On his arrival at Alexandria, he received a letter from home, confirming the truth of what the papers had circulated... He reached Baltimore by Sunday the 1st of May, and preached, in the evening, to a crowded audience, on the mournful occasion.' Drew's Life of Coke, p. 231.

Here every thing is plain, clear, and circumstantial. But what bearing, it may be asked, has this account upon Dr. Coke's letter to bishop White? It has this: allowing Mr. Drew to be correct in his date, it will prove, that Dr. Coke knew of Mr. Wesley's death, before he wrote his letter to bishop White. According to the above account, the news of Mr. Wesley's death reached the doctor on the 20th, and he wrote his letter on the 24th of the same month.

But Mr. Drew is not correct. And in proof of it I offer the following testimony. Mr. Asbury says: "Thursday 28 (April.) We hasted to Port Royal, where a number of fine people were waiting, to whom the doctor preached on "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God"

"Friday 29. The solemn news reached our ears that the public papers had announced the death of that dear man of God, John Wesley... Dr. Coke, accompanied by brother C—— and Dr. G—— set out for Baltimore, in order to get the most speedy passage to England, leaving me to fill the appointments.

Next day I overtook Dr. Coke and his company at Colchester. At Alexandria Dr Coke had certain information of Mr. Wesley's death. On Sabbath day he reached Baltimore, and preached on the occasion of Mr. Wesley's death; and mentioned some things which gave offence." * Asbury's Journal, Vol. 2. pp. 99. 100.

I have searched the newspapers of that year, preserved in the Baltimore Library, and find the account of Mr. Wesley's death, taken from a Liverpool paper of March 3d. 1791, and copied into the "Gazette of the United States, of Saturday, April 23. 1791 published by John Fenno, No. 69. High-Street, Philadelphia," in the following words. JOHN WESLEY. On Tuesday evening, died of a gradual decay, the Rev. John Wesley, in the 88th year of his age" &c. The same account may be found in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, under date of April 26th 1791.

Having ascertained Mr Drew's account to be incorrect, there were a few things concerning the death of Mr. Wesley, connected with this letter, on which I was anxious to obtain information; and which I was certain I could obtain from no other quarter, but from bishop White himself. I, accordingly, waited on this gentleman, last May, when I was in Philadelphia, and stated to him the object of my visit. The bishop received me with the greatest politeness, and answered my questions with the greatest promptness. The points respecting which I made inquiry were these. *First.* Did he believe, that Dr. Coke knew of the death of Mr. Wesley, when he wrote his letter of April 24th. *Second.* Was there any mention made, of the death of Mr. Wesley, at the interview which took place between Dr. Coke, bishop White, and Dr. Magaw ? *Third.* Bishop White having stated, that mention was made of Mr. Wesley's death, I then asked, did Dr. Coke withdraw, or propose to withdraw the proposals for a re-union with the Protestant Episcopal church, which he had made in his letter; and to effect which, he "had no doubt," he said, "Mr. Wesley would use his influence to the utmost" ? On these points the bishop was explicit and full. But on my return to Baltimore, it occurred to me, that it would be best, for several reasons, to have the bishop's answers to my questions, in writing. I therefore addressed him a letter, dated the 1st of August, and received the following answer on the 5th of the same month. How unlike the conduct of the Methodist bishops, to whom I addressed my circular, dated "Baltimore July 1st, 1826," and from whom, I have not received a single line, or word in answer to the present time.

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* When Dr. Coke published this sermon, he omitted every thing that had given offence when it was delivered.

Revd. Sir. Philad. August 4th, 1828.

I have received your letter of the 1st inst. In answer to which I have to inform you that you do not seem to have misunderstood my answers to the questions proposed by you to me personally in our interview.

When Dr. Coke addressed to me the letter to which you refer, he could not have known of the death of Mr. Wesley, which was an event of too signal a character, not to be discoursed of, immediately on the arrival of the tidings of it. I am persuaded, there was no knowledge of it in Philadelphia, when I wrote my answer to the aforesaid letter. Dr. Coke was informed of it, between the date of his letter and the arrival of mine. All the circumstances of the case, induce on my mind the persuasion, that on the receipt of the information, he hastened to Philadelphia with the view of a return to England. This caused delay of his receipt of my letter; which had not come to hand, when he left Baltimore.

In the conversations—for there were two—with Dr. Coke, in the presence of Dr. Magaw, there was certainly reference to the decease of Mr. Wesley, to what effect, I do not recollect, altho' I am persuaded it had no bearing on the purpose of the visits of Dr. Coke. That gentleman did not intimate any intention of withdrawing the proposals, contained in his letter; and I was left at full liberty to communicate to our convention.

I am respectfully, Revd. sir, your very humble servant

WM WHITE.

From Dr. Coke's letter to bishop White, I draw the following inferences.

1. That the doctor did not consult, either the travelling or local preachers of the church, or even Mr. Asbury, his colleague, before he proposed to be reunited with the Protestant Episcopal church; but of his own accord, offered to dispose of the Methodist episcopal church, with as little ceremony, as a Russian nobleman would offer to dispose of the peasantry upon his estate, as lord of the soil.

2. That as he made these proposals, without the knowledge of either ministers or members of the Methodist episcopal church, he may have disregarded the instructions he received from Mr. Wesley, by organizing the societies in America, into an independent Methodist episcopal church. If he thought it best to do the one, he may have thought it best to do the other. And if he acted secretly in the former instance, he may have acted so in the latter.

3. That Dr. Coke was not satisfied with what has been called his episcopal ordination; and that he did not believe he had been constituted a bishop, in the common acceptation of that term, when he was "set apart" by Mr. Wesley to the office of a superintendent.

4. That, with intention to be constituted a bishop, he applied to bishop White for consecration; and to induce the bishop the more readily to comply with his wishes, he proposed a re-union with the Protestant Episcopal church, which union, he thought, ought to be an object with that church.

5. That there was not a good understanding between Dr Coke and Mr. Asbury, such as ought to exist between two Christian superintendents belonging to the same church. That the former was jealous of the popularity or power of the latter; and with a view of lessening the one, or weakening the other, he proposed to be re-united to the Protestant Episcopal church. Could he effect this union, and obtain consecration in it as a bishop he knew with all bishop-admiring people, he would gain such an ascendency over his rival, as he cou d not hope to obtain in any other way.

6. That Mr. Wesley had been made acquainted with every thing that had taken place in America; and that so far from expressing his approbation of the measures which had been adopted, he was "*sorry for the separation*," and for the steps he had taken, by which that "separation" had been facilitated.

Section VII.—*The Prayer Book of* 1784.

Whoever has read my "History and Mystery," will recollect, that in that work, I inserted a copy of the letter, which I addressed to each of the five bishops of the Methodist episcopal church, soliciting information from them, whether they had "ever seen any document or letter written by Mr. Wesley, in which he *explicitly recommended* to the Methodist societies in America, the adoption of the episcopal mode of church government, according to the statements made in the minutes of conference for 1785." The same inquiry was made in the letter which I addressed to each of six of the oldest preachers in the connexion. In the same work, page 68, I say, "there exists not in the range of our research, any paper, letter, or document to prove, that Mr. Wesley ever intended to constitute Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury a bishop: or that he ever "recommended," or gave "counsel," that the societies should adopt the episcopal mode of church government, "in preference to any other." I say farther, on the same page, "It may now be reasonably expected, that every member of the church will look for the establishment of the assertion, by clear and indubitable evidences, that Mr. Wesley "recommended" the episcopal mode of church government to the American Methodists.

Having made this demand for proof that Mr. Wesley did recommend the episcopal form of church government, it surely

might have been expected, that such proof would have been produced; or that a candid and honest acknowledgment, of the non-existence of such a document, would have been avowed To any other man than Mr. E. there was no other course left; but his fertile imagination, hit upon an expedient, never, I presume, thought of, by any one before: such an expedient, that if *morals* were not too deeply involved, would produce a smile. In the preface to the prayer book, Mr. Wesley said, "this *edition* of it I recommend to the societies in America." Mr. E. finding the word *recommend* in it, seizes upon that term, as being likely to help his cause, and offers this, as Mr. Wesley's recommendation of the episcopal mode of church government. Hear what he says, "now does it comport with good sense to say, Mr Wesley recommended the *form* and not the *thing* which that form imports? And will any intelligent man pronounce, that that thing is not an *episcopal order* of ministers, and an *episcopacy* in *fact*, by whatever names they may have been called? This point is so plain, that we are really ashamed to dwell on it." Def. p 40.

On this sentence, I shall remark. 1. I admire *modesty* in whomsoever it may be found; but feel no greater predilection for *mock modesty*, than I do for "voluntary humility." They are both equally repugnant to the genius of the Gospel, and are never assumed but for some secret, improper purpose or design. I regret, therefore, that in this instance, Mr. E's *bashfulness* became so excessive, as to have prevented him from dwelling a little longer on this point. The abrupt manner in which he dropped a subject so plain, is proof, that there was a more cogent reason than bashfulness, for not saying more on it than he has done; the reader, therefore, will consider what he says, as only a flourish, or an effort to get rid of a knotty and difficult matter. 2. I called for "clear and indubitable evidence," to support the assertion, that Mr Wesley recommended the episcopal form of church government, and lo! Mr. Wesley's recommendation of a prayer book is produced. 3. This has a strong resemblance of the confusion of tongues, which prevailed at the building of the tower of Babel. When one called for brick, another brought him mortar: "So did God confound their language, that they did not understand one another's speech." 4. It may, now, be taken for granted, that there never was any document, paper or letter in which Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of church government. Had there been such a document, Mr. E. would have produced it; and not have rested the assertion under consideration, on a kind of proof, which, if it were true, is only inferential. 5. Mr. E. has blended an "episcopal order of ministers," and "an episcopacy in fact," in the same sentence with what he calls Mr. Wesley's recommendation of an episcopal form of

government; it will be proper, therefore, in this section, to review the former as well as the latter. 6. He asserts that the "episcopal order of ministers" in the Methodist episcopal church, "is the same as exists in the church of England:" because the prayer book was abridged by Mr. Wesley, and because "our bishops are ordained with the same solemnities, and for the same purpose, viz. to preside over the flock of Christ, including the *presbyters* and *deacons*, and to ordain others." Def. p. 40. It is to be hoped, that after this, we shall hear no more of the futile distinction between "office" and "order;" and that we shall never be told again, the term "bishop," as used in the Methodist episcopal church, is only the name of an "office;" unless it can be made appear, that the term "bishop," in the church of England, is only the name of an "office," and does not, in that church, signify a distinct "*order*" from presbyters; a thing which Mr. E. cannot prove.

Having made these remarks, I return to the very pith of the controversy, namely, whether bishops in the Methodist episcopal church, are a third order of ministers, distinct from presbyters and superior to them, or whether they are of the same order. And here I think it proper to state explicitly, that "divine right" has nothing to do with the settling of this question; it enters not into the discussion at all. I make this declaration, that Mr. E. may not again attempt to evade the question, and slip off under the cover of "divine right." The inquiry regards the *parity* of bishops and presbyters; are they equal in order, or are they not? Upon this point, I am sorry to be obliged to say it, there is a great deal of shuffling prevarication, palpable contradiction, and gross deception among those who would uphold Methodist episcopacy. Some say that they believe there are but *two orders* of ministers in the church of Christ, presbyters and deacons: and yet they represent Methodist bishops, as bishops in the "common acceptation" of that term. Others say, that when Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke, he ordained him to an "office." but this ordination did not constitute him of a different and distinct "order" from what he was before his ordination; that the "office," to which he was ordained, was that of a superintendent, and that superintendent and bishop are synonimous terms. Others say, that "bishops, elders, or presbyters in the apostolical writings, were one and the same order of men," and yet there was "a *third order* in the church, called evangelists," and that our bishops "*very much resemble*" those "evangelists." Others say, "our bishops" are "bishops in *fact*;" although passing originally under the less imposing name of superintendents; and "our episcopacy" is an "episcopacy in *fact*," by whatever name it may be called. And lest any mistake should occur, in apprehending their meaning they tell us, Methodist bishops are such bishops as are in the

church of England; "they have been ordained in the same manner, with the same solemnities, and for the same purposes."

In proof, that bishops in the Methodist episcopal church, are the *same order* that bishops in the church of England are, the abridged prayer book is adduced; which, Mr. E. says, contains "the forms for ordaining of superintendents, elders, and deacons, which forms are precisely similar to those used by the church of England, and by the Protestant Episcopal church in this country." Def. p. 38. That the argument, intended to be founded on the insertion of these "forms," in the abridged prayer book, may have all the force desired, the ministers of the Methodist episcopal church, ordained under these forms, must be respectively and precisely of the same order, as those in "the church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal church in this country," with which they are collated. Deacons in the Methodist episcopal church, must be contemplated of the same order as deacons in the "church of England," and in "the Protestant Episcopal church in this country." Methodist elders of the same order as Protestant presbyters. And Methodist superintendents of the same order as Protestant bishops. But is this the case? Does the church of England or any of her bishops, consider a Methodist superintendent of the same order as a bishop in that church? Does the "Protestant Episcopal church in this country," or any of its bishops, consider a Methodist superintendent of the same order as a bishop in that church? No: they do not. Why? Because bishops in these churches, are considered as a *third order* of ministers, distinct from and superior to presbyters. Did Mr. Wesley, by inserting the "form" for the ordination of a superintendent, intend thereby to make such superintendent, a minister of the *third order?* He did not. Why? Because he believed there are but *two orders;* "bishops and presbyters being of the *same order.*" The argument intended to be drawn, in favor of Methodist episcopacy, from the "forms" being inserted in the prayer book, abridged by Mr. Wesley, is according to the judgment of "the church of England, the Protestant Episcopal church in this country," and Mr. Wesley himself, good for nothing, the assertion of Mr. E. to the contrary notwithstanding.

In order farther, to prove, that Mr Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of government, Mr. E. labours much to shew that by recommending the "liturgy," Mr. Wesley recommended the "forms and manner of ordaining superintendents, elders and deacons." But unfortunately for Mr. E. Mr. Wesley keeps apart, what Mr. E. would join together. In recommending the liturgy, he is very particular; whilst he is totally silent respecting these "forms." Mr. E tells us, he takes the meaning of the terms "liturgy" and "common prayer," in a "comprehensive sense," as embracing the forms for ordaining superin-

tendents, &c. as well as the sunday service and psalms." But does Mr. Wesley tell us so, or does he take it in that sense? There is no evidence that he does. For, although he advises the use of the "liturgy on the Lord's day in all the congregations," he does not say one word about those "forms," nor about an episcopal form of government. That Mr. E is "mistaken" in representing Mr. Wesley's recommendation of the "liturgy," as a recommendation of the episcopal mode of church government is very evident. And in proof of his mistake, I argue, that if the conference of 1784 had considered it in that light, they certainly would not have expunged from Mr. Wesley's letter of Sep. 10, 1784, that part of it, which according to Mr. E's argument, was the only plausible pretext for adopting the episcopal mode of government. But they did mutilate that letter, by expunging from the original, that part which relates to the "liturgy." I find a perfect copy of this letter, in the British minutes of conference for 1785; and the words which have been expunged, ought to follow the words "Lord's supper," in the 4th paragraph of the letter printed in the American minutes. The expunged words are these: "And I have prepared a *liturgy*, little differing from that of the church of England (I think the best constituted national church in the world) which I *advise* all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days."

Now, will Mr. E. Dr. Bond, or any one else, have the hardihood to say, that Mr. Wesley did not write this sentence? That it is not published in the British minutes for 1785, as a part of the original letter? Why then was it omitted in the American minutes? Why was this letter mutilated? Was it because it was supposed, that if published entire, it would militate against Methodist episcopacy? According to Mr. E's shewing, it would have operated wonderfully in its favor. What a pity that the whole conference was "*mistaken*." As for my part, I know not what they supposed, what they said, or what reason they assigned for leaving it out of their minutes; nor do I even know, when, or by whom it was done. But this one thing I know; that the suppression of the letter given to Dr. Coke, when he was "set apart as a superintendent," which letter, Mr. E. says, was a constituent part of the "sketch" prepared for the societies, by Mr. Wesley.—The mutilation of this letter, and the alteration of the minutes of conference; which alteration shall be abundantly established in the sequel, prove to my mind, that there has been great unfairness practiced, in the organization of the church; and that Methodist episcopacy was "surreptitiously" introduced. I want no stronger evidence of this fact, than these things furnish.

The recommendation of the prayer book, being the only evidence that Mr. E. has attempted to produce, in proof of the assertion, that Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of government, it will be sufficient to show, that when Mr. Wesley recommended the use of the "liturgy" or "commom prayer," he did not recommend the episcopal form of church government. Mr. E. says he did, I assert he did not; and assign the following reasons.

1. Because such a recommendation would have been *deceptious*. There are now 400,000 members in the Methodist episcopal church, very few of whom ever heard of Mr. Wesley's prayer book until lately. Now, let any one, who never heard of such a prayer book, read what is said respecting Mr. Wesley's recommending the episcopal form of government, and what opinion would he form, from that statement? He certainly would conclude, that Mr. Wesley did recommend it to some person or other; that he did write some letter, or document, in which he praised such a form of government, and advised its adoption. This, I am confident, is the way in which the term "*recommend*" would be understood; and no man would think of looking for such a recommendation, in a prayer book of which he never heard, no more than he would think of looking for it, in an old Almanack.

2. Because such a recommendation would have been *novel*. If Mr Wesly intended to recommend the episcopal form of government, when he only recommended the use of the "liturgy," or "common prayer," then he has departed from his usual way of expressing himself. A similar instance cannot be found, in all his voluminous writings, of his recommending one thing by *name*, when he intended to recommend another thing *not named*. Why then, should he be made to depart, in this single instance, from his usual method, and not from his only, but from the method of every correct writer, and every honest man? I challenge Mr. E. to produce from the British classics, such another instance of absurd recommendation, as he attributes to Mr. Wesley: nor can he find any writer on "ethics" or moral philosophy, who will justify such a procedure.

3. If Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government, then, according to Mr. E's. statement, he did it only *indirectly*; for he only recommended the "*form*" not the "*thing*;" the *shadow*; not the *substance*. With as much truth might Mr. E. say, Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government, when he recommended doctor Coke, as say, he recommended that form of government, when he recommended the use of the "liturgy."

4. Because no document, paper, or letter can be produced in proof that Mr. Wesley ever wrote the words, "episcopal form of government," with reference to the American Methodists.

There never was a document in which he recommended it; no, nor one in which, he ever expressed his approbation of it, after it had been adopted. Let the reader mark Mr. E's disingenuousness on this point. He says Mr. Wesley wrote a certain letter, "and it does not contain one syllable of censure or disapprobation." Def. p. 72. In another place, he says, "Dr. Coke dedicated his Journals to Mr. Wesley, and where is the evidence, that he ever remonstrated against this, or expressed the slightest displeasure of it" Def. p. 59. And where, I say, "is the slightest evidence" that Mr. Wesley ever recommended this form of government, or expressed his approbation of it? There is not the slightest particle whatever. The proof of the recommendation lies on Mr. E. as the title to an estate is to be produced by the party claiming it.

5. If, by recommending the use of the "liturgy", Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government, then, according to Mr. E's reasoning, he recommended such a form of episcopal government as exists in the church of England; in which there are three separate and distinct orders of ministers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Had Mr. Wesley done this, he would have flatly contradicted what he himself said in his letter, drawn up the day *after* the date of his preface to the prayer book. "Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the *same order*." If Mr. Wesley could have been so inconsistent, if he could thus have contradicted himself, one day asserting there were but *two orders*, and the next day affirming there were *three*, his authority, instead of being received, ought to have been totally rejected.

6 According to Mr. E's shewing, if Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government, he recommended such an episcopacy as exists in the church of England. In that case, he recommended diocesan episcopacy; for bishops in the church of England are diocesan bishops. This he substantially denies in a note inserted in the British minutes of conference for 1785. "If any one is minded to dispute concerning diocesan episcopacy, he may dispute. I have better work." A very appropriate answer to all that Mr. E. has said, or can say, respecting Mr. Wesley's silence, in not expressing his displeasure more fully, at the formation of the Methodist societies, into an independent episcopal church, and all their subsequent proceedings; he had "better work" to do, than be "disputing" with men who had violated his instructions; assumed a title, which, in the most solemn manner, he had forbidden them to assume; and had acted towards him in such a way, by leaving his name off their minutes, "that from the time he was informed of it, he began to hang down his head, and to think he had lived long enough."

7. If Methodist bishops are of the same order as bishops in the church of England, it was unnecessary for Dr. Coke to ap-

ply to the bishop of London in 1799, to ordain, only "a few" of the preachers, in the British connexion. What necessity was there to apply to his lordship to ordain only a few, if he himself was a bishop. The application stands as a clear proof, that notwithstanding all Mr. E. has said respecting Dr. Coke having "no doubt," "not the shadow of a doubt" of his being a bishop, the doctor himself knew better; he knew he was no bishop.

8. On the supposition, that by recommending the use of the "liturgy," Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government, to those societies to whom he sent the prayer book, then, he recommended the episcopal form of government to his societies in Scotland, for he sent the prayer book to them. In the British minutes of conference for 1786, Mr. Wesley says, "I at length consented to take the *same steps* with regard to Scotland, which I had done with regard to America." And Mr. Myles, in his History of the Methodists, tells us, "Mr. Wesley at the conference of 1785, set apart three of our well tried preachers, John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, and Joseph Taylor, to minister in Scotland. He also *recommended* to the Scotch Methodists the use of the *abridged common prayer*. This latter they declined; the former they were thankful for." p. 168. It may be asked, why was not the episcopal form of government adopted by the Scotch Methodists, as well as by the American Methodists? For, according to Mr. E's statement, it was recommended to both. Can it be resolved into their different views of church government, the former being presbyterians; the latter inclined to be episcopalians? Not so: for Dr. Coke tells the bishop of London in his letter to that nobleman, that "our numerous societies in America would have been a regular *presbyterian* church" if it had not been for himself and Mr. Wesley. The American Methodists therefore, were in favor of a presbyterian government, as well as the Scotch. Was it because the Scotch Methodists were more obstinate, and less disposed to comply with Mr. Wesley's *recommendation*, than the American Methodists? No. To what then can the difference between the Scotch and American societies be attributed? To the different views and dispositions of Mr. Wesley's delegates. The one class of delegates faithfully and punctiliously obeyed Mr. Wesley's directions. The other class violated his instructions, which were given in the most solemn and sacred manner. The Scotch Methodists, although they "declined the use of the prayer book, were thankful for the ordinances," and continued in connexion with Mr. Wesley, until the day of his death. The American Methodists used the prayer book for a little while, and then laid it aside. Moreover, they rejected Mr. Wesley's authority, struck his name off their minutes, and now pretend to offer his recommendation of this prayer book, which they

have long since thrown away, as a recommendation of their episcopal form of church government!!!

9. According to Mr. E's showing, Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government to his societies in England, as well as to those in Scotland and America. For the same recommendation, and the same forms of ordination, on which Mr. E. so confidently relies, to support the cause of Methodist episcopacy, are in the abridged prayer book which is used by the English Methodists to this day. And not only so, but Mr. Wesley, at the conference of 1787, "set apart Messrs. Alexander Mather, Thomas Rankin, and Henry Moore, without sending them out of England, strongly advising them at the same time, that according to his example, they should continue united to the established church, so far as the blessed work, in which they were engaged, would permit. The former of these brethren, Mr. Mather, he ordained a superintendent." Myles's His. of the Methodists, p. 175. If the Scotch Methodists refused to follow Mr. Wesley's "counsel" and adopt the episcopal form of government, because of their strong predilections in favor of presbyterianism, were the English Methodists influenced to the same amount, by those predilections also? Or, of all the societies to whom the prayer book was sent, did the American Methodists alone, understand the import of Mr. Wesley's recommendation, and cheerfully "follow his counsel," by adopting this mode of government? This, surely is incredible; for if his intentions had been misunderstood elsewhere, he was alive several years after he recommended the use of the "liturgy" to his societies in England, and could have corrected that mistake, if it had been one.

10. If Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of church government, "an episcopacy in *fact*," though under the name of a superintendent; and if he thought that the term *bishop* was innocently, and through inadvertence or mistake, adopted, instead of the original title *superintendent*, he would not, he could not have written his letter of severe reproof to Mr. Asbury for assuming the title *bishop*, without noticing the difference between the terms, and pointing out the impropriety of such a substitution. But Mr. Wesley was well convinced there was no mistake, or inadvertence in the assumption of the title of bishop. He knew it was taken in pointed opposition to his authority; and in direct violation of his solemn commands. He therefore wrote in a manner, and used such language, as he never did before or afterwards. His letter of reproof to Mr. Asbury, for assuming the title of bishop, must, therefore, remain for ever, an irrefragable proof, that he did not design an "episcopacy in fact," nor recommend the episcopal form of government.

11. The American preachers, in the conference of 1784, did not consider the recommendation of the use of the liturgy or common prayer, a recommendation of the episcopal form of government. If they had, they surely would have said so, and have set forth this recommendation as the reason for their adopting this form. But instead thereof, they assign other reasons for their conduct, and never as much as glance at Mr. Wesley's recommendation of the liturgy. This is an omission which they would not have committed, had they considered his recommendation of the use of the liturgy, a recommendation of the episcopal form of government. Having assigned their reasons, they say "For *these reasons* we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an independent church. And as the most excellent mode of church government, *according to our maturest judgment* is that of a *moderate episcopacy*; we therefore have constituted ourselves into an episcopal church." Not a word about Mr. Wesley's recommendation here.

12. The statement which is published in the book of discipline, ch. 1, sect. 1, was not published until *after* the death of Mr. Wesley, which event took place, nearly seven years *after* the organization of the church. Prior to his death, this section had not been written. If Mr. Wesley recommended this form of government, how came his recommendation to be overlooked or forgotten so long? Or how did it happen, that it was not published at an earlier period? Was it for fear that if published in his life time, he would contradict it? Whatever may have been the reason, we are certain of this fact, that this account was not written, until *after the death of Mr Wesley*, as is evident from the manner in which it speaks of him as "the *late* Rev. John Wesley." Ah! this little monosyllable "*late*" has blown up the whole affair and has proven, not only, that this first section, in the discipline, was by some one or other foisted into it, but that it was done with a view to impose the episcopal form of government, on the societies, under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name. It is in this way, by little and little, and by setting up one prop after another, that Methodist episcopacy has been established: and in the certain admeasurement of retributive justice, it is by publishing one document after another, and by developing one fact after another, that Methodist episcopacy is destined to come down.

These are some of the reasons, which have induced me to believe, that Mr. Wesley never intended, by recommending the use of the liturgy, to recommend the episcopal form of government; and when Mr. E. has answered these, I promise him I will furnish him with a few others. However, to confirm what I have said, respecting the preachers who composed the conference of 1784, not understanding or believing, that the recommendation of the prayer book was a recommendation of the episcopal

form of church government, I shall subjoin the testimony of a few of those, who were members of that conference and who have survived their fellow labourers of that day.

Extract of a letter from Rev. Edward Dromgoole, dated "Brunswick 26 Septr. 1828."

"I do not recollect that there was any proposition for our receiving the prayer book and episcopacy connected. And it is certain, the preachers never considered themselves obliged to conform to the prayer book, for they did not make use of it on Wednesdays and Fridays *as recommended*."

Yours very sincerely

EDWARD DROMGOOLE, sen.

Extract of a letter from Rev. Thomas Ware, dated "Salem 1 Dec. 1828."

"Mr. Emory's Defence of our Fathers, I have seen, and once read; but I have it not; and but an imperfect recollection of his argument founded on Mr. Wesley's recommendation of the liturgy. I am fully persuaded the preachers in 1784 believed they were acting in accordance with the will of Mr Wesley, when they adopted the episcopal form or *the plan of general superintendency*. This plan we know Mr. Wesley approved, and we called it episcopal. I did not believe Mr. Wesley wished us to give it that appellation. Dr. Coke was in favour of taking the name of Methodist episcopal church: argued the plan of general superintendency was in fact a species of episcopacy, but did not, I think, bring the prayer book into view.

THOMAS WARE."

The following is from Rev. Jonathan Forrest.

"As for what Mr. Emory has said in the Defence of our Fathers respecting the recommendation of the prayer book abridged by Mr. Wesley, being a recommendation of the episcopal form of church government for the American Methodist societies, I did not consider it in that light at the conference of 1784. Nor have I considered it in that light, at any time since. Nor do I consider it in that light now. Nor do I believe it was so considered by any person in the conference of 1784.

JONATHAN FORREST."

SECTION VIII.—*The Prayer Book of* 1786.

WHEN I was informed that Mr. E. was about to reply to my "History and Mystery," I fully expected he would attempt, in some way, to avoid an admission of Dr. Coke's agency in the publication of this prayer book. But, as he has admitted this fact, I think it unnecessary to swell this section by arguments or documents to prove it. I shall, therefore, proceed to offer

what I have to say respecting this prayer book, under three heads: The doctor's agency in having it printed—the probability that Mr. Wesley saw the minutes of conference of 1784, which are re-printed with it—and Mr. Wesley's silence with respect to any expression of his disapprobation of the title the "Methodist episcopal church."

First. As to Dr. Coke's agency in the publication of the prayer book. The attention of the reader is solicited to the following facts. 1. In the year 1784 Mr. Wesley abridged the prayer book of the church of England, and recommended the use of it to the American Methodists: but in all the book, there is not one word about bishops, or episcopacy, or about an episcopal form of government. 2. He had this abridged prayer book printed at his own printing press, just before Dr. Coke sailed for America. 3. This prayer book was not even bound in England; for, as Mr. E. says, "the prayer book of 1784 was brought to America *in sheets*." 4. The minutes of the general conference of 1784, "were first printed in Philadelphia by Charles Cist, and were bound up with the prayer book which was brought from England in 1784." 5. Dr. Coke sailed from America to England in June 1785, less than six months after the church was organized, leaving a supply of the prayer book, in which the minutes were bound up, behind him, for the American societies. Now, putting all these facts together, every one will inquire, why had Dr. Coke this prayer book re-printed so soon after his arrival in England? And why had he it done at the press of "Frys and Couchman," and not at Mr. Wesley's? It is reasonable to suppose, 1. that when Mr. Wesley had the prayer book printed, he had a sufficient number struck off, to serve his societies. 2. The short time which had elapsed, between the doctor's leaving the United States, and commencing printing it in England, was not sufficient for distributing among the societies, the prayer book which he had left behind in this country; or for ascertaining whether there was a sufficient supply for the societies or not. 3. Even if it had been ascertained that there was not a sufficient supply, the prayer book and minutes were both in this country, and could have been re-printed as well, and as cheap here, as they could have been done in England. This may be inferred from the prayer book being brought over "in sheets," to be bound in America. Had the prayer book and minutes been re-printed here, there would then have been a saving of freight, risk &c.: besides having them ready for distribution at a much earlier period, than they could have been, if obtained from England. If a farther supply was really necessary, every thing was in favor of having them re-printed in this country; and to men of common sense, the matter will appear mysterious, and unaccountable, if there were no particular and private ends to answer, why they were re-printed in London,

a few months after the doctor's return to England, and not in the United States.

Second But why was the prayer book and minutes re-printed at the press of Frys and Couchman, and not at Mr. Wesley's? I answer, because the proceedings of the American conference, in the assumption of the title "Methodist episcopal church" &c. were displeasing to Mr. Wesley. I have "candidly considered" what Mr E. says respecting the *probability* that Mr. Wesley saw the minutes of conference, and cannot conceive any other reason why the work was done at the press of Frys and Couchman. Out of the *nine questions* which Mr. E. has proposed to the consideration of his readers, six of them are ushered in with a "probable," or a "presumable;" two are accompanied with an "if;" and one is set down as being "certain." I admit it to be a "certain" fact, that "Mr. Wesley felt a sufficient interest in this matter to have required from Dr. Coke a particular account of what had been done in America" Def. p. 43. It is therefore certain, that Mr. Wesley saw those minutes or he did not. If he did not see them, it is evident that the doctor was conscious of having exceeded Mr. Wesley's instructions, and having done that, which he was sensible would be displeasing to Mr. Wesley, when known. The only way then, of keeping those minutes from failing under Mr. Wesley's notice, and yet to have the book printed, was to have it done at some other press. If, upon the other hand, Mr. Wesley did see them, it is very evident that he disapproved of the doctor's conduct, and would not allow the prayer book and minutes to be printed at his press. But "where is the evidence," says Mr. E. that Mr. Wesley "ever objected to the title, or to the terms episcopal, or episcopacy?" Where! Why, in the very circumstance of this prayer book, and these minutes being re-printed, not at his own press, but at the press of Frys and Couchman. Had the doctor informed Mr. Wesley that he had received advices from America, that there was not a sufficient supply of the prayer book, for the wants of the societies; and had he intimated that it would be necessary, to have another edition printed, can any one suppose that Mr. Wesley would not have had it done? that he would have objected against the printing of it at his own press? or allow, nay compel the doctor to go to Frys and Couchman to have the work executed there? And moreover, make the doctor pay for the edition out of his own private fortune? Incredible! Mr. Wesley would never have acted in this manner, had he approved of the doctor's doings; he had very different ideas of generosity and justice.

Considering this transanction then, in all its parts, it is impossible to reconcile the printing of the prayer book and minutes at the press of Frys and Couchman with Mr. Wesley's approbation of the doctor's proceedings. Indeed to suppose that he gave his consent, to have them printed at any other press than

his own, would be incompatible with the interest he had heretofore manifested towards the American societies. It would have been in direct opposition to his usual custom. For, as the profits of all the books printed at his press, were applied according to his views, to the carrying on of the blessed work in which he was engaged, it is not reasonable, that in this solitary instance, he would have relinquished his right of disposing of the proceeds of this edition of his prayer book, any more than he would of those of any other of his works. Or if he intended, gratuitously to tender the edition to the American societies, he would not have thrown the payment of printing it upon Dr. Coke. He must have been aware also, that by refusing to have the prayer book and minutes printed at his own press, he would afford ground to impugn Dr. Coke's motives and conduct, in the organization of the Methodist episcopal church, as contravening his own wishes and instructions, and yet, that consideration could not prevail on him to do a thing, that might be construed to imply an approval of the proceedings of the doctor and the American conference. In fine; for Dr Coke to have this prayer book and these minutes re-printed in London—in a few months after his return from the United States—before it could have been ascertained that a second edition was necessary—at the press of Frys and Couchman—and not at Mr. Wesley's—and all out of his own private "fortune," must be proof positive and irresistible, to every impartial mind, that there was an object of a peculiar character to be obtained; that the obtainment of it could only be effected, by the prayer book and minutes coming from England, and that that object was the apparent sanction of Mr Wesley, to the whole of the proceedings of the conference of 1784.

Third. "Assuming as a fact," says Mr E. "that Mr. Wesley did become acquainted with the acts and proceedings of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, and the conference of 1784, in the organization of the Methodist episcopal church, we ask, where is the evidence that he ever disavowed them?" Def. p. 45. And is this the proper question to ask? Mr. E. knows it is not; and if he attempt to deny it, his own pen shall contradict him. Although he knows it is not a proper question; such a one as a lawyer, a doctor of divinity, a Christian, a man of common sense, or a candid deist, would ask if he wished to arrive at the *truth*, yet Mr. E. artfully and shamelessly fills half a page of his book in asking such questions; until at last, having warmed himself at a fire of his own kindling, he concludes in a sort of triumph, by saying, "We deny that one syllable of such evidence has ever yet been produced." And suppose no such evidence has ever been "produced," will it follow that no such evidence is in existence, or that Mr. Wesley never "disavowed" those proceedings? Mr. E. ought to have recollected, that six years ago, he might have said, with as much exultation,

respecting the term "bishop," what he now says respecting "episcopacy," and the title "Methodist episcopal church." But the publication of Mr Wesley's letter to Mr. Asbury, in which he says, "Men may call me a *knave*, or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel* and I am content; but they shall never by my consent, call me a bishop," has robbed Mr. E. of this boasting, and stands as evidence, that Mr. Wesley strongly disapproved of the title of "bishop." This letter was kept secret for nearly forty years; notwithstanding Coke and Moore wrote a life of Mr Wesley, shortly after his decease. Additional evidence therefore, of Mr. Wesley's disavowal of "episcopacy," of the episcopal form of church government, and of the proceedings of the conference of 1784, may be in existence, although not "produced." For, how could it be expected, that the very men who were censured by Mr. Wesley, would publish the documents condemning themselves and their proceedings? But if all the papers are yet in existence which relate to the organization of the Methodist episcopal church, &c. and if these papers were accessible to other people, besides the men into whose hands they have fallen, I strongly suspect, and I have reasons for thinking so which Mr. E. knows nothing of, that the boasting of the author of the "Defence of our Fathers" would be temporary and vain.

To the most superficial reader it is plain, that it is not by the *absence* of evidence, of the disavowal "of the proceedings of Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury and the conference of 1784," that Mr. Wesley's approbation of those proceedings, and his recognition of the title "Methodist episcopal church," are to be proved. As well might A say that his title to an estate was valid, because B could not produce a title to the same estate. And yet it is in this way—a way which shocks common sense, and it might be added common honesty, that Mr. E. strives to support the claims of Methodist episcopacy. If these claims are just and well founded, let it be shown by *positive* proof. If Mr. Wesley did, indeed, approve of "the proceedings of Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the conference of 1784," let the evidence of it be produced. If Methodist episcopacy had Mr. Wesley's approbation, it will be strange, if nothing of this approbation can be found, among all Mr. Wesley's, Dr. Coke's, or Mr. Asbury's papers. To produce *documentary* and *explicit* evidence of this fact I challenge the world. If such evidence is among Mr. Wesley's papers, Mr. Moore can produce it. If such evidence is among Dr. Coke's papers, Mr. Drew can produce it. And if such evidence is among Mr. Asbury's papers, Mr. McKendree can produce it. Mr. E. has called for help from brethren in Europe as well as in America, let us see if the above gentlemen, who are all alive, will be able to furnish the documents now called for. "The burden of proof in this matter is not proper-

ly incumbent on us," Def. p. 36, but on Mr. E. If he does not produce it, his shuffling attempts to defend Methodist episcopacy in this negative sort of way. will stand in proof. that neither this "episcopacy nor this episcopal form of government" had Mr. Wesley's approbation.

The strong manner in which I have expressed myself in the call for "*documentary* and *explicit* evidence" that Mr. Wesley approved of the proceedings of Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury and the conference of 1784, may, perhaps to some, be exceptionable: but I consider the subject, and the circumstances under which I write, not only justify, but imperiously demand it. Nor would I venture to express myself in this manner. were it not, that I am very confident no such evidence can be produced. There is now lying before me a letter from a preacher who was a member of the conference of '84, which contains the following sentence: "Dr. Coke, in 1787, made us a second visit, and brought instructions with him from Mr. Wesley, which instructions I never saw, or heard but in part. I received a letter from a preacher who had seen them, and quoted from them the following words: Put as few things as possible to vote. If you (Dr. Coke) brother Asbury and brother Whatcoat are agreed, it is sufficient." Mr. Wesley gave these directions, because he disapproved of the proceedings of the conference of 1784. Will Mr. E. say, he objects to "this third hand report?" He can receive the same information from Rev. Nelson Reed who related to myself, Mr. Wesley's objection to putting things to vote.

There are two or three other things, which I shall briefly notice, before I proceed to the next section. "Mr. M'Caine has represented, that Mr. Wesley did punish Dr. Coke for his proceedings at this period, by leaving his name off the minutes for one year. *But this is an entire mistake.*" Def. 43. My words are, "Under these circumstances. as some decisive steps were necessary to be taken in this critical affair, it was finally determined, that the name of Dr Coke should be omitted in the minutes for the *succeeding year:* it was accordingly omitted." His. and Mys. p. 46. I gave this as a quotation from Drew's life of Dr. Coke. Let us now see, how Mr. E. proves this to be a "*mistake.*" "Under these circumstances, as some decisive steps were necessary to be taken in this critical affair, it was finally determined, that the name of Dr. Coke should be omitted in the minutes for the succeeding year." Def. p. 61. The very words I had quoted and which, he says, was an entire *mistake!* And is this the way Mr. E. proves my mistake? But this is only one of Mr. E's little tricks; there is another skulking in the next two lines. "At this very conference of 1785, Dr. Coke's name appears in the British Minutes, after John and Charles Wesley themselves." And what if it does? Does that prove

the "*mistake?*" Really I always thought, that the "succeeding year" after 1785 was 1786. The very year I said Dr. Coke's name was left off the British minutes. And if Mr. E. can find the doctor's name in the minutes of 1786, I will acknowledge I have made a mistake indeed.

Mr. E. says, "in 1787 and 1788 he (Dr. Coke) was again stationed in London with John and Charles Wesley." And he intimates in the same paragraph that I asserted that the doctor's name was left off in 1789. Now in this short paragraph consisting of seven lines only, there are three capital blunders, or misrepresentations. For Charles Wesley died March 29th, 1788, and yet Mr. E. stations Dr Coke with him in London after he was *dead!!* And, as if that was not enough, he stations the doctor with him again in London in 1790, two years and four months after Mr. Wesley's decease. Nor is this all. Mr. E. might have seen, if he had looked carefully into the matter, that Dr. Coke sailed for America in October 1790, and did not return to England until after the death of Mr. John Wesley. So that while Dr. Coke was in America, and Charles Wesley was upwards of two years in heaven, Mr. E will have them both stationed together in London. But the worst of all is, that in the "Christian Advocate and Journal for June 3, 1828," Mr. E. strives to make his readers believe that these "errors" were not in the "original manuscript" "How the name of Charles Wesley, says he, came to be inserted in this place, I am not able to say. I think it could not have been so in the original manuscript; because, in writing this passage, the minutes of the British conference were open before me." I believe it is susceptible of proof, that Mr. E. knew nothing of these "errors" until they were mentioned to him by the Hon. Judge—That when informed of them, he expressed surprise, and said, "it cannot be, for I had the British minutes before me, when I wrote the account. It must be a typographical error;" and so confident was he that the "original manuscript" was correct, that he would not believe to the contrary, until he went to the house of a gentleman in Baltimore and examined those minutes. And now, forsooth, he wants to throw the blame upon the poor printer, and to metamorphose him into a scape-goat. No, no, the printer is innocent of the charge. It serves, however, as another proof of Mr. E's disingenuousness, and of his willingness to throw the blame upon any one, rather than admit that *he* can be "mistaken."

Section IX.—*Bishop Asbury.*

Although the name of Bishop Asbury stands at the head of this section, very little is said respecting him, on the two or three first pages of Mr. E's book: Mr. Wesley being brought

forward as the principal personage. Nor, is the manner in which Mr. Wesley's name is mentioned, free from all exception; for it would seem as if Mr. E. intended, by inserting the name of Mr. Wesley, connected with all his implied frailties and imperfections, to set off, by contrast, the splendid virtues of Mr. Asbury. This surely, is not right. We ought to do them both justice, for they are both entitled to our "reverence unfeigned and profound." "We have never felt free, however, (says Mr. E.) to claim for him (Mr. Wesley) absolute infallibility." And who ever did? Mr. Wesley never claimed it for himself; nor would he allow any to claim it for him, or attribute it to him, if they were inclined to do so. Indeed, were it necessary to institute a comparison between Mr. Asbury and Mr. Wesley on this point, there certainly would be much stronger evidence in proof that Mr. Asbury was nearer claiming "infallibility" for himself, by asserting "*divine authority*" for his episcopal power, than ever Mr. Wesley was. But waiving all this, from the insidious manner in which Mr. E. expresses himself, it must be evident, that his profession of "reverence for the name and character of Mr. Wesley" is hollow and insincere, and that his remark, respecting his "absolute infallibility," is not only uncalled for, but invidious.*

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* In the "Christian Advocate and Journal," of February 8th, 1828, there is a letter from Mr E. to the editors, in which he states "some facts" which he says "may be worth preserving." They are these: "When Dr. White was in England in 1787, he was desirous of seeing Mr. Wesley, to state to him some circumstances, of which he supposed he might be uninformed, in reference to the organization of the Methodist societies in America as a distinct church." With this view he called at Mr. Wesley's house, and left a letter which he had obtained from Mr. Pilmore. Sometime after this, Dr. White addressed a note to Mr. Wesley, informing him "that he would stop at his house on a certain day, if convenient to him." Mr. Wesley answered that he was then engaged in a periodical duty "which would prevent him from receiving the visit at the time mentioned;" "but that in case of Dr White's stay of a week or two, he would derive pleasure from the interview proposed." These are the "facts;" now for the inferences.

Mr E. "*thinks*" that Dr. White's "*conjecture*," is "*highly probable*," that Mr. Wesley *supposed*, that Dr. White *wished* "to *impugn* the measure which Mr. Wesley had adopted with respect to the Methodists in America, *and which he did not intend to relinquish*." Mr E. farther thinks, "that a man of Mr. Wesley's distinction and politeness should have evinced so little disposition to have an interview with Dr. White, is one of the strongest facts which we can well imagine, in proof of the fixedness of his views, in relation to the measures which he had adopted, for the distinct organization of the Methodist episcopal church in America;" and of his being perfectly satisfied with the title, "the Methodist Episcopal Church." Mr. E. also thinks it remarkable, that so *polite* a man as Mr Wesley was, should *decline* an interview with Dr White, and can in no way account for it, but on the supposition above stated. If his supposition or conjecture "furnish one of the *strongest facts* that can be well imagined in proof," of Mr. Wesley's approbation of the proceedings of the conference, in adopting the episcopal form of government, that proof is weak indeed, and "unentitled to one particle of credit." The reader has Mr. E's explanation of Dr. White's proposed interview with Mr. Wesley, and the reasons which influenced Mr. Wesley

That I may not be the mere copyist of Mr. E's omissions or mistakes, I shall take a brief view of Mr. Asbury's early, ministerial life—his sentiments with regard to ecclesiastical government—and the probable influence these sentiments had upon the introduction, and establishment of the government of the Methodist episcopal church.

In his "Journals," Mr. Asbury tells us that his "parents were people in common life," his father "being employed as a farmer and gardener by the two richest families in the parish"—that he "was sent to school early, and began to read the Bible between six and seven years of age"—that in consequence of the ill usage he received from his schoolmaster, he did not remain long at school—that "when he was about thirteen years and a half old, he made choice of a branch of business, at which he wrought about six years and a half" That he was "awakened before he was fourteen years of age,"—that when he "was between twenty-one and twenty-two, he gave himself up to God and his work, after acting as a local preacher near the space of five years." Journals, vol. 2, p. 133 et seq. "In the month of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, he tells us, he embarked in England for America" He was then 26 years old; and from his arrival in this country, until the church was organized, was 13 years.

When Mr. Asbury arrived in America, there were but few preachers, or members in society; for it appears by the book of minutes, that when the first conference was held in 1773, two years after his arrival, there were only 10 preachers, and 1160 members. From the commencement of his labours, his influence must have been great; and no circumstance was better calculated to increase it and fix it permanently, than his remaining in this country, through the whole of the revolutionary war, after his colleagues and countrymen had returned to England.

I am next to consider his sentiments with respect to church government. And these were decidedly and invariably in favor of episcopacy. Nor do I mean by that term such a non-descript "thing," as Mr. E. calls episcopacy; but really and truly such an episcopacy, and such an episcopal form of government as

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to decline accepting the visit. Now let us have Mr. Wesley's account. He says, the reason of his not receiving Dr. White's visit at the time proposed, was, "that he was then engaged in a periodical duty of an examination of his society" Mr. E. says, the reason was, "that Mr. Wesley had not the smallest disposition, in any way, to depart from what he had done, *to hear it impugned.*" Mr. Wesley says "in case of Dr White's stay of a week or two, he would derive *pleasure* from the interview proposed" Mr. E. intimates that Mr. Wesley did not wish to receive the visit at all, and purposely avoided it, lest he should have the *pain* of hearing "the measures which he had adopted *impugned!!*" I always knew, that Mr. Wesley was a *polite* man, but I never knew that he was a *liar*.

there is in the church of England. in which are *three orders* of ministers, bishops, priests, and deacons. Any thing short of this, fell short of his views of episcopacy, and of an episcopal form of government.

In proof of this statement, it must be noticed, 1. That Mr. Asbury was educated and brought up in the church of England; and it is very reasonable to suppose, that, unless like Mr. Wesley, he had been convinced to the contrary, he would retain the doctrines of the church in which he had been brought up, and which admitted the *three orders.*

2. Mr. Drew, in his account of the schism which took place among the preachers in 1778 respecting the ordinances, and the part Mr. Asbury acted on that occasion, says, "Mr. Asbury on hearing their statement and request, found himself in an unpleasant situation. *From principle* he was strongly attached to the episcopacy which had been abolished." Drew's life of Dr. Coke, p. 60. And on the next page he says, "Mr. Asbury, in the meanwhile, who had not yet shaken off the rusty fetters of *Apostolical succession*, found himself comparatively deserted by those whose respect for him still remained undiminished."

3. Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore, in their life of Mr. Wesley, express themselves pretty much in the same language. "Mr Asbury's attachment to the *church of England*, was at that time (the time of the schism) *exceedingly strong*." p 350.

4. Mr. Asbury himself, has expressly stated his preference for episcopacy. It is not necessary to transcribe all the parts, which can be found in his Journals, where there is any allusion to this preference. The following extract is in point; and the work to which he alludes, is the work of one, whom Mr. E. has denounced as being a *high churchman.* "I read, and *transcribed* some of Potter's church government; and must *prefer* the episcopal mode of church government to the Presbyterian" Vol. I. p. 285 And on the next page he says, "I read and *transcribed* some of Potter's church government till ten o'clock." From the circumstance of his transcribing parts of this work, I would infer that archbishop Potter was a favourite author with Mr. Asbury; and yet no writer more strenuously defends "apostolical succession," the "divine right" of the priesthood, and the *third order* of ministers than archbishop Potter does.

5. The following extract is from a letter written by Mr. Asbury, dated Dec 26th, 1806.

"If our title had not been the Methodist *episcopal church*, and if the English translation had not rendered the *episcopoi*, bishops in the epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus, well contented am I to be called superintendent, not bishop! I was elected and ordained a superintendent, as my parchments will prove. Does the scripture say the elder shall be the husband of one wife; by some men's rule of reasoning, we might prove, because it is not

expressly said of an elder, as a deacon and bishop in scripture, he shall be a husband of one wife, elders shall not marry, because we have no express scripture; but they say, *we* are the *same order*, then why not the same name in Greek and English? Why not deacons and bishops of the same order? This all churches agree in, *they are not.* It is an easy matter for our brethren, members and ministers that move in narrow circles to talk to little purpose"*

My third inquiry is, had these sentiments any influence, in introducing and establishing the episcopal form of government, when the church was organized? It is very probable they had. 1. Because Mr. Asbury was fond of power; and it is reasonable to suppose that he wished the adoption of that form of government, which was most likely to secure to himself, the power, he at that time, possessed. Mr. E. does not claim for Mr. Wesley "absolute infallibility;" and it is presumable, he will not claim for Mr. Asbury absolute "*perfection*" or an entire exemption from the lot of the whole human family. As a man, therefore, he must have been under the influence of some ruling passion, of some predominant principle; and who that ever *knew* Mr. As-

* "As to the charge of our having at any time considered our bishops as a distinct ministerial order, contradistinguished from and superior to presbyters, it has no foundation in fact. The very circumstance of our having acknowledged the right of elders to ordain, is a sufficient refutation of the allegation. We consider the episcopacy a superior office in the church, not a distinct ministerial order; and this is the light in which it has been considered ever since the institution." Narrative and Defence, p 66. Will Mr. George Earnest & Co. persist in their assertion, after they have read the above extract from Mr. Asbury's letter? Will they still insist on the correctness of their position, notwithstanding Mr. Morrell, Mr. Bangs and Mr. Emory have said there are "three orders?" Mr. Earnest & Co ought to have had more *prudence* than to have published their opinion; and more caution than to set their names to a book, they did not write, and which some of them, perhaps, could not even read. Daniel ch V. 8. v. They make a fine figure, to be sure, with their little scraps of French, and Latin, and Greek; and having ornamented their pages with these pretty little things, they thought they might tell the world, that I "*had been raised to distinction by the connexion.*" If, by the phrase "raised to distinction," Mr. Earnest means that I was awakened and converted by the instrumentality of the preachers of the Methodist episcopal church, he must allow me to tell him, he is mistaken. If, by that phrase, he means, I was a semi-mendicant, before I became a travelling preacher, and that the "connexion" took me off the dunghill; he must permit me to tell him, that when I entered into the travelling connexion, I relinquished a salary of seven hundred dollars a year, although I knew at the time I did it, I could only receive sixty-four dollars a year as a travelling preacher. Or, if, by being "raised to distinction" Mr Earnest means *literary* "distinction," and that I am indebted to the "connexion" for what little learning I have, he compels me to tell him, I was receiving a classical education when he was hammering his heel-taps upon a lapstone. The fact is, I have done more for the connexion than the connexion has done for me. And now, before we part, I will take the liberty to give Mr Earnest a word of advice Let book making and book *signing* alone hereafter; for you may depend upon it, you know nothing of church history, or about "ministerial orders."

bury, does not know, that that passion was the love of power. He had been the principal personage, in the connexion so long; he had exercised the authority of "general assistant" for so many years, that when the church was about to be organized, he could not think of adopting any form of government, which would have any tendency to abridge his prerogatives, or distribute his power among his brethren. As he had been chief, he must be chief still. It was this love of power that led him to *prefer* episcopacy to presbyterianism. It was this principle which made him oppose Mr. Wesley's authority and violate Mr. Wesley's instructions. This principle dictated the letter mentioned by Mr. Brackenbury to Dr. Coke at Leeds, in which he declared "he would not receive any person deputed by Mr. Wesley to take any part of the superintendency invested in him." To the same principle may be ascribed his language to Mr. George Shadford, respecting Mr. Wesley: "Mr. Wesley and I are like Cæsar and Pompey, he will bear no equal and I will bear no superior." It was this principle which opposed the call of a general conference of the travelling preachers, and preferred a "council" composed of only nine presiding elders, who were all appointed by himself: wisely judging, the narrower the circle, the easier it would be to cover it; and the smaller the numerical resistance, the easier it would be to overcome it. It was this principle which led him to exercise a *negative* upon the proceedings of even this small number which composed the "council," and when urged to give it up, resisted and said, "*my negative is my own.*" It was this principle that opposed the appeal of Mr. O'Kelly, at the general conference of 1792; by the rejection of which he retained in his own hands, the sole power of stationing the preachers without an appeal. It was this principle which gave birth and growth to the contentions between Dr. Coke and himself.* It was this principle which planned a delegated general conference; and this principle ceased not to influence him as long as he lived. Taking into view, then, the whole of Mr. Asbury's conduct, both before and after the general conference of 1784, it cannot be supposed, that this "master passion," this predominant principle would be mute or inoperative at the organization of the church; especially considering the ascendency he had obtained over both preachers and people, and his exceedingly strong attachment to the church of England, and to the episcopal form of government. 2. It has already been shewn, that, "*from principle*" Mr. Asbury "was strongly attached to

* Notwithstanding all Mr. E. has said respecting the good understanding, the harmony, the union, the affection &c subsisting between Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury; the contrary *I know* to be the fact. Several letters, from these gentlemen, in proof of this statement, are now in my possession. These letters I decline publishing at present, but shall do it hereafter, if I am compelled to it.

episcopacy". That "his attachment to the church of England was *exceedingly strong*." That he "preferred the episcopal mode of church government to the presbyterian." And that he maintained the doctrine of *three orders*, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. To be consistent with himself, he must have wished, when the church was about to be organized, to have such a form of government as corresponded with his views. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that he exerted all his influence with the preachers, to obtain for her the episcopal form, which he thought was the best, and which he *preferred* to all others. As he acted "*from principle*" and according to the best of his knowledge, the *honest* reader will readily understand, "what ideas I attach to the terms *wise* and *good*." I will not deny however, that men who are of a different character, or who do not act "from principle" may be utterly at a loss to comprehend me; nor would I be able to make the blind see, although I might spend hours, in the fruitless attempt.

How far Mr Wesley's conduct may have served, as a justification to Mr. Asbury, to strive to have the episcopal form of government adopted, I will not undertake to say. I readily admit, that the bare circumstance of the "setting apart Dr. Coke" to the office of "a superintendent," by the imposition of hands, simply and abstractedly considered, might have led Mr. Asbury to suppose, that Mr. Wesley did intend the episcopal form of government; especially, when we consider, how strongly Mr. Asbury was prejudiced in favor of that kind of government, where the *three orders* are recognized. Upon the other hand, I do not see how it was possible for him to understand Mr. Wesley to have recommended such a form of government, because Mr. Wesley's *circular* letter was before his eyes. In that letter Mr. Wesley expressly declares his conviction, that there are but *two orders*, presbyters and deacons; bishops and presbyters being the same. The probability of Mr. Asbury's understanding Mr. Wesley to have recommended the episcopal form of government, is farther diminished by another fact, namely, that Mr. Wesley severely reproved him for assuming the title of bishop, which title was exceedingly offensive to Mr. Wesley. Had Mr. Asbury really misunderstood Mr. Wesley's intentions, and had not the title of bishop been an object of primary consideration with him, an object upon which his very heart and soul were fixed, it cannot be conceived how he could have pursued it with so much perseverance, and clung to it with so much tenacity; that he would rather forfeit the esteem of "*one of his greatest friends*" than part with it. But the following facts put this matter beyond all doubt, and incontestibly prove, that *Mr. Wesley was not misunderstood*. Dr. Coke's letter of appointment, which "was part of the *sketch*," was *suppressed*. The circular letter of Sept. 10. 1784, was *mutilated*. Mr. Wesley's name was *struck off the minutes* in two

years after the church was organized, and the title "bishop" was assumed. The minutes of conference were *subsequently altered*, so that Mr. Wesley's name, which stood on the original minutes for '85 and' 86, does not appear on the *printed* minutes from 1784 till 1789. No notice is taken of Mr. Wesley's death, altho' obituary notices are taken of all who died the same year, one of whom had not been more than "*two years and a half*" in the field of labour. Mr. Asbury makes no mention of Mr. Wesley's name, when enumerating the sources whence he derived his "episcopal authority." And lastly, the different and contradictory reasons assigned for the adoption of the episcopal mode of church government ALL THESE ARE FACTS, the knowledge of which may be obtained by recurring to the various editions of the book of discipline, and to the minutes of conference. Whether those who were concerned in these matters were "good" or bad, "wise" or foolish for the part they took in them, and for publishing the accounts as they stand, alters not the case. It will surely be more to the credit of the writers, who may hereafter undertake the "Defence of our Fathers," and it will serve as a more substantial "defence" to the "fathers" themselves, to *disprove* those *facts*, and demonstrate by documentary evidence that the statements I here make, are *untrue*, than to be wasting time, misleading the reader, or venting their malignity, by commenting upon *my opinion* respecting Mr. Asbury. If ever Mr. E. should write again, he is requested to confine himself to the *facts* in the case, and not to pass over in silence some of the most material parts of my present work, as he has done many things which are inserted and remain unanswered, in my History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy.

Having taken this view of Mr. Asbury's sentiments respecting church government, his principles, and the probable influence which they had in the adoption of the episcopal form of government, it will be necessary to notice those letters to which I made reference above; as Mr. E. with a dexterity peculiar to himself, has attempted to lessen the force of the testimony of some; and to set others entirely aside, "as unentitled to one particle of credit."

The first is a letter addressed to Mr. Asbury, and is dated

"London, Sept. 20th, 1788.

"There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the American Methodists, and the relation wherein I stand to *all* the Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists; I am, under God, the father of the whole family. Therefore, I, naturally, care for you all, in a manner no other person can do. Therefore, I, in a measure, provide for you all; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you, he could not provide, were it not for me: were it not that I not only permit him to collect, but support him in so doing.

But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid both the doctor and you differ from me. I study to be little, you study to be great; I creep, you strut along. I found a school, you a college. Nay, and call it after your own names! O beware! Do not seek to be something! Let me be nothing, and Christ be all in all.

"One instance, of this your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called a *bishop?* I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call *me* a knave, or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent call me a bishop! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this. Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.

"Thus, my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart, and let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness, how sincerely I am your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY.'

Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. 2, p 285.

Respecting this letter, which Mr. E. has been careful to keep out of sight, he says, "Mr. M'Caine, indeed, rejoices over it, as one who has found great spoil. He seems delighted with it." Def. p. 47. To this I reply, it is a fact, that I am "delighted with it," and I will tell Mr. E. why I am so. *First.* Because it has afforded my mind relief, by removing doubts and difficulties, respecting the organization of the Methodist episcopal church, under which I had laboured for several years. I had often read in the records of the church, that Mr. Wesley *recommended the episcopal form of government;* but where that recommendation was to be found, I could not tell. It is affirmed, also, in the book of minutes, that Mr. Wesley's circular letter "will afford as good an explanation as can be given of this subject." This letter never was, to me, any explanation at all; nor did it contain one single reason, why the episcopal form should be adopted, in preference to any other. I, therefore, wished to obtain information upon the subject, and this letter has fully satisfied my mind that there never was any "recommendation" or "counsel" given to adopt the episcopal form of church government. On account of the satisfaction I have derived from it, I "rejoice over it as one who has found great spoil;" and have made my acknowledgments, by letter, to the Rev. Mr. Moore for publishing it, and have thanked God, that in the order of his providence, a document of so much importance, which had been kept secret so long, has at last been brought to light.

I "rejoice over it," because it is the Truth; and Mr. E. knows, that it is affirmed of goodness, "it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but it rejoiceth in the Truth." From his censure, it is evident that he does not rejoice over it. That he is sorry it

was published; and, if it were in his power, that he would hide it from public view. And wherefore? What has the "Defence of our Fathers" to dread from the publication of Truth? We know who has said, "every one, that doeth evil *hateth the light* neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."

I do "rejoice over it," because by exposing the truth, it is likely to break the power of despotism in the church, and restore to the injured members, their liberties and their rights. Wherever this letter shall be read and duly considered I think it will be impossible for any disinterested man to believe, that Methodist episcopacy is of Mr. Wesley's creating. The people will see by it, that they have been deceived by the statements which have been published. They will see that Mr. Wesley never recommended never approved of episcopacy, or the episcopal form of government for the Methodist societies in America. They will have confirmation of what the Rev. Mr. Moore, Mr. Wesley's biographer has said, "that Mr. Wesley *never gave his sanction* to any of these things" Finding, that Dr. Coke "*went farther than Mr. Wesley intended*" and that they have been imposed upon, they will one day rise in the majesty of their strength, and demand *representation*: nor will they rest until like freemen they have a voice personally, or by their representatives, in making those laws by which they are to be governed. Believing that this change would be for the happiness of the present and future generations, I "rejoice over this letter as one who has found great spoil."

"This letter to Mr. Asbury contains expressions too severe." Mr. Asbury very fitly denominated it, "*a bitter pill*:" such he found it, and such Mr. E. finds it; the very sight of it produces nausea. But why are the expressions "too severe?" They are not too severe for the occasion, as the event showed. For the man who could resist the entreaties of Mr. Wesley, his "father," his benefactor, his "friend," and these entreaties urged too with such appeals as the following, "for my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake," gave proof that he was willing to sacrifice every thing for the title of *bishop*. They are not "too severe," in the apprehension of the dangers the parties were in, who from vanity or pride, assumed the title of *bishop* Not "too severe," for having departed from the instructions which had been given "*in the most solemn manner*," not to assume the title of *bishop*. But on the supposition that Mr. Wesley "recommended" the episcopal form of government, they are not only "too severe," but they cannot be defended at all. On such a supposition, a letter containing such expressions as are to be found in this, would be a proof of madness, rather than of a sound mind.

Mr. E. says, I have "wholly misrepresented its import." Wonderful man! Prodigy of nature! where shall we find his fellow: for it seems no man can understand the most plain and simple statement but himself. Surely the Methodist episcopal church ought to pray for his long life, for when *he* dies wisdom will die with him! And what is the import of this letter according to Mr. E's showing? Why, that "Mr. Wesley's *sole objection* to the term *bishop* was *from the associations ordinarily connected with it in the public mind in England*" *!!!* Any man who reads Mr. Wesley's letter, and *can believe* Mr. E's assertion is not to be reasoned with. But I have no idea that there will be many found who will believe it: it is so repugnant to common sense that it defies belief.

The next to be noticed is Dr. Coke's letter to Mr. Wesley, which contains this sentence: "Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds, that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which he observed, that he would not receive any person deputed by you, to take any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him, or words evidently implying so much." And upon this Mr. E. remarks: "Mr. Brackenbury might have been *mistaken*"—again. "how easily might he have *mistaken* their meaning," the meaning of the expressions in the letter. And again, "Had we before us also the letter of Mr. Asbury, to which Mr. Brackenbury alluded, we might perhaps, be able to show some equal *mistake*. We object, therefore, to this parol, third handed report; and unless the document itself be produced, we protest against the statement." Def. p. 53.

Mr. E. must, certainly, be a pupil of the celebrated Italian, Theodore Majocchi, who was a principal witness against the late queen of England, when on her trial. This man, so long as he was allowed to go on, and tell his own story, would go on very glibly: but whenever he was pinched by the questions of the queen's counsel, he always had one answer to make, "*Non mi recordi.*" Just so with Mr. E. As long as he is permitted to tell his own tale, he seems to do pretty well. But whenever he is pinched by some unmanageable document, that intercepts his way, like a cross question from an examining counsel, then he has one uniform way of disposing of it, the writer was "*mistaken.*" As it respects the case before us, it was not only Mr. Brackenbury who was "*mistaken*," but Dr. Coke must have been "mistaken" also. Otherwise, Dr. Coke urged Mr. Asbury's opposition to receive a person deputed by Mr. Wesley, as a reason why Mr. Wesley should ordain preachers for America, when at the same time, he knew that the statement made by Mr. Brackenbury was not correct, and that he "was *mistaken*," in the meaning he attached to the words in the letter. How far this differs from using *deceit*, or uttering a *falsehood*, I will leave the reader to judge.

"In another letter," says Mr. E. "dated October 31, 1789, Mr. M'Caine represents Mr. Wesley as saying of Mr. Asbury, 'He flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him.' Now this could not have been." Def. p. 53. This is not *my representation*, the words are Mr. Wesley's own. And as for the phrase, "Now this could not have been," it is only another way of expressing the old answer, "he was *mistaken*." So then Mr. Wesley was "mistaken." Dr. Coke was "mistaken." Mr. Brackenbury was "mistaken." Bishop White was "mistaken." Every body is "mistaken" except Mr. Emory! What excessive *modesty*, or rather, what presumptive arrogance. I shall now present the reader with this letter, and he may judge for himself, who is mistaken.

"London, October 31, 1789.

"My dear Brother,—The point you desire my thoughts upon, is doubtless of no common importance. And I will give you my settled thoughts concerning it without the least disguise or reserve. Indeed, this has been always my manner of speaking when I speak of the things of God. It should be so now in particular, as these may probably be the last words that you will receive from *me*.

It pleased God sixty years ago, by me, to awaken and join together, a little company in London, whence they spread throughout the land. Some time after, I was much importuned to send some of my children to America, to which I cheerfully consented. God prospered their labours: but they and their children still esteemed themselves one family; no otherwise divided, than as Methodists on one side of the Thames are divided from the other. I was therefore, a little surprized when *I received some letters from Mr. Asbury, affirming that no person in Europe knew how to direct those in America.* Soon after, he flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him.

He told George Shadford, 'Mr. Wesley and I are like Caesar and Pompey—he will bear no equal, and I will bear no superior.' And accordingly he quietly sat by, until his friends, by common consent, voted my name out of the American minutes. This completed the matter, and shewed he had no connexion with me."

"But how happens it" says Mr. E. "that Mr. M'Caine has told us nothing more about this letter? Why did he not state to whom it was written, and from what authority he received it?" Strange questions, indeed, coming from a man who would wish to be understood as not intending to *deceive*. And who in the course of two sentences adds, "The documents in proof of all this *are in our possession*." Def. p. 54. Did not Mr. E. know, then, where I obtained it? Did he not know, from what authority I received it? The documents in his "possession" told him all this, and they told him *much more* which he was very willing to keep back. It was not, therefore, to obtain informa-

tion upon those points that Mr. E. proposed his questions; for the "documents," giving all the information he called for, he tells us, he had "in his possession." But it was for the purpose of conveying an *inuendo*, that I forged or fabricated this "noted letter," a charge of which, he had too much *cunning* openly to make? Perhaps he thought a few intervening lines between the name of "Mr. M'Caine," and the terms "corruption and fabrication," would not present an obstacle of such magnitude, as that the sharp sighted reader would not perceive the intended connexion between the name and the thing. "The aforesaid noted letter bears on the face of it marks of *corruption* or of *fabrication*. And until better authority is produced for it, or the document itself, we hold it unentitled to one particle of credit."

As Mr. E. pronounces this letter to be a forgery "bearing on the face of it marks of corruption or of fabrication," and "holds it unentitled to one particle of credit," I should like very much, to have an opportunity to ask him a few questions respecting this letter *under oath*, in a court of justice. I am very much mistaken, if I would not extort from him, a very different verdict, from that which he has recorded above. But as I shall never have that opportunity, I shall go on, and produce "better authority" for its authenticity, than he can for its "corruption or fabrication."

First. This "noted letter" was published by Rev. Wm Hammett, in his controversy with Rev. Thomas Morrell, in Charleston, South-Carolina, in 1792. And I never heard that Mr. Morrell doubted its authenticity. If Mr. E. believed that it was forged, it was a very easy matter for him to write to Mr. Morrell in Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey; and if Mr. Morrell pronounced it a forgery, Mr. E. could publish that certificate, as he did the certificate of the same gentleman, respecting the address to general Washington. *Secondly.* From a *manuscript-note* in Mr. Hammett's pamphlet, now lying before me, I find that this "noted letter" was addressed to Rev. Beverly Allen, formerly a very distinguished Methodist preacher in the southern States. Whether this was the case or not; or by whom that note was *written*, I do not know. *Thirdly.* In a printed note in said pamphlet, page 23, Mr. Hammett says, "When the first edition of this pamphlet came from the press, the Rev. Mr. Cooper, (resident minister in the M. E. church) called on me to see the original; and was *fully convinced*, it was Mr. Wesley's own hand writing and sentiments, as he corresponded with him, before his death, some time." If this was the Rev. Ezk. Cooper, he was at Mr. E's elbow when he was writing his "Defence of our Fathers:" It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that he would inquire of Mr. Cooper, if Mr. Hammett's statement was true? If he ever saw this "noted letter"? and if the "handwriting was Mr. Wesley's"? If Mr. Cooper was at a distance, Mr. E. could

obtain information upon these points by letter. If he neglected to take this step, he is extremely culpable. But if he did in any way, come at the knowledge of the authenticity of the above letter—if he did know, when he wrote his "Defence of our Fathers," (and I believe he did) that what Mr. Hammett said respecting it, was true, then the community is left to judge of Mr. E's truth and integrity for having said that this "noted letter bears on its face the marks of corruption or of fabrication." *Fourthly.* Mr. Asbury says, respecting this letter, "Saturday 24th I attended quarterly meeting at the widow Flint's. Here I had the first sight of Mr. Hammett's and brother Morrell's attacks on each other; or rather Mr. Hammett's against the Methodists, and brother Morrell's reply. Had brother M. known more, he would have replied better. Mr. H's quotation of a clause in my confidential letter to brother S——d (Shadford) is not altogether just." Journals, Vol. 2. p. 131. Now what is there here to prove "corruption or fabrication?" Does not Mr. Asbury acknowledge that he had seen Mr. Hammett's pamphlet in which this letter was published? Does he not acknowledge that he had read this letter? Does he not admit its authenticity by referring to it without any expression of doubt or denial? Does he not admit it to be from Mr. Wesley, by acknowledging the truth of the "quotation of a clause in his *confidential letter*," with only a small qualification "it was not *altogether just.*" And yet Mr. E. says "this noted letter bears on the face of it the marks of corruption or of fabrication"!! *Fifthly.* In one of Mr. Asbury's letters dated August 6th 1806, now before me. he says, "On the momentous matter you write, I must be prudent. I have suffered by a change of things with Mr. Wesley. When it was thought some persons should come from England to preside, George Shadford was in contemplation. I wrote to him, and it was applied to Mr. Wesley; what a mistake"? Here is farther testimony from Mr. Asbury; and does he deny the authenticity of Mr. Wesley's letter which contains the expressions he wrote to George Shadford? He does not. Does he deny having written these words? He does not. He admits he wrote them, but says, they were "applied to Mr. Wesley" by "mistake." And yet Mr. E. would pronouce this "noted letter" a forgery, "unentitled to one particle of credit." It may agree with the principles and suit the interests of some little petty fogging village lawyer, who regards neither truth nor justice, so that he gets his fee, to attempt to set aside some important document, as unentitled to one particle of credit: but for a minister of Jesus Christ to resort to such stratagems, is enough, to make, if possible, an angel weep.

Having disposed of these letters, I must detain the reader, a few moments, to notice a short paragraph which reads thus. "Alas! what a friend have the venerated dead found in Mr. M'Caine! He has a *great veneration* for their memory! Yet

while he salutes, he stabs them. He kisses, and straightway leads them to be crucified." Def. p. 50. As Mr. E. has compared me to two of the worst characters in sacred or profane history, and has imputed to me crimes the most base and infamous, I must be allowed to say a few words in reply.

1. Mr E. in his preface informed his readers, that "in preparing this defence, the Divine assistance has been asked—in sending it abroad, the Divine blessing is now implored." Can the pious reader believe one word of what is here stated? Can he believe that Mr. E. asked and obtained the Divine assistance to write a book containing such a passage? Can he conceive what kind of a prayer he put up when he implored the Divine blessing upon this sentence? If he prayed at all, there is no instance in history with which his conduct can be compared with more justness than with that of lord Verulam, who placing his infidel book in the window of his chamber, kneeled down and asked God to grant his blessing to a work, written expressly to prove Revelation to be a lie.

2. Those who are acquainted with the Scriptures, need not be told, that the persons whom Mr. E. had in his eye, when he wrote the above paragraph, were Joab and Judas: and that their crimes involve treachery, hypocrisy, perfidy, venality, and in short, every thing that is mean and wicked. Alas! for Mr. E. that he should have alluded to either Joab or Judas. He is the last man in the world that ought to have mentioned their names, or glanced at their conduct. As long as some men are alive, he ought to have observed silence about "saluting and stabbing—kissing and crucifying." I shall not, however, at this time, offer either specification or proof that these charges are applicable to Mr. E. himself. This I shall do whenever he demands it. All I shall say at present is, that not a syllable of what he has said will apply to me.

3. As the case of the *apostate* Judas has been introduced, it may not be amiss to notice, first his crime,—next his punishment. His crime consisted of covetousness; and this may have had its origin and consummation, in his carrying the bag. In perfidy; he betrayed his friend. In hypocrisy; he saluted that friend with a kiss. In venality; he sold him for thirty pieces of silver. If the opinion of some men be correct, Judas thought that Jesus would have delivered himself, by a miracle, from the hands of his enemies, and that he would, in that case, not only have retained his office, but would have had the purchase money, clear gains. If this was his cool, calculating cunning, the event shows how much he was mistaken. His punishment consisted in the loss of the friendship of the Saviour, and of the Saviour's friends. In the loss of his bishoprick—in the loss of his character—in the loss of his peace of mind—in the loss of a good conscience—in the loss of his life—in the loss of his soul—in the loss of heaven.

Would it be amiss, therefore, for some men to think of the crime and punishment of Judas? I think not. For, to confine my remarks to the subject which has agitated the Methodist episcopal church, some have been known, and others have been reported, to have declared themselves in favor of reform. Some of these have composed verses lampooning the government of the church, and have sung or repeated those verses in different parts of their circuits. Some have fearlessly advocated reform in the general conference. Some have written and published their sentiments on the same subject. Some have boldly contended for the rights of the people in the presence of, and even against the bishops. Whilst others have declared themselves on the same side of the question in conversation with the private members. And what then? It is a well known fact, that these very men have changed, or have acted as if they had changed their principles. Now I would explicitly say, that I respect the man who has an opinion of his own, and acts consistently with that opinion; whether he agrees with me, in sentiment, or not. And, that I commend the man who renounces an erroneous opinion, as soon as he discovers that opinion to be erroneous. I do not say a word, therefore, against either of these classes; my remarks are intented *solely* and *exlusively*, for men of a different description. For men who change their *principles* with their *circuits;* as if the *nature of truth* changed with the *quantum of their support.* It is against these *apostates* from principle, I write. Against men who feel as if they were in the very precincts of pauperism; and although "Divinely authorised" as they say, are at a loss to determine whether to preach the gospel, or follow some other *profession.* Against men who seem to have labelled themselves with the inscription to be seen on *empty* houses, "To Let:" and whose inquiry is, in the language of Judas, "what will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you" Where is the faith of these men that they cannot trust God? Where is their consistency of character as ministers of Jesus Christ? Where is their independence and nobleness of mind as men? Who can respect them? Who will place confidence in them? Such ought to reflect on the cases of those, in the New Testament, who were inclined to traffick in things pertaining to God. Simon Magus offered to purchase the power to impart the Holy Ghost; and Judas Iscariot sold his Saviour for thirty pieces of silver. The fate of these individuals admonish all of the evil and danger of either buying or selling the truth, for the sake of "filthy lucre" From their history, we may learn, that the case of him who *receives*, and of him who *gives* a price for principle is alike hopeless. That although, Peter, who denied his Lord and Master, with oaths and curses, afterwards found acceptance with the Saviour, Judas did not. And that there is no ground to hope for the salvation of

any who would basely make merchandise of grace, or sacrifice truth for gain.

Section X.—*Testimonies of English Methodists.*

What are the "testimonies of the English Methodists"? They allow that "Mr. Wesley established the validity of presbyterian ordination." And Mr. E. adds, "who ever disputed this?" As he admits this point, it may be necessary to ascertain the meaning of the phrase, "presbyterian ordination." 1. It may mean such an ordination as the presbyterians practise; in that case only one order of ministers is recognised. This parity of ministers did not agree with Mr. Wesley's views, for he said there were *two orders*, presbyters and deacons. 2. Or it may mean, ordination by the hands of presbyters alone, as contradistinguished from ordination by a third order of ministers called *bishops*. Among presbyterians no higher order is acknowledged than that of a presbyter; nor can presbyters create a higher order than themselves, for no stream can rise higher than its head, spring, or fountain. In this view of the subject, we have but two orders of ministers, presbyters and deacons, which perfectly harmonizes with Mr. Wesley's views. With this explanation of a presbyterian ordination, with which the practice of the English Methodists, who have no bishops, corresponds, their testimony is adverse to the claims of Methodist episcopacy.

2. Mr. E. has not forgotten to let his readers know, that he was at "the British conference held in Liverpool in 1820,* and that he heard the profoundly learned Dr. Adam Clarke, and that most able and eloquent divine, the Rev. Richard Watson, express themselves publicly before the conference, in relation to our episcopacy, to the same effect, as a *true*, *actual*, *scriptural episcopacy*, of the most *genuine* and *apostolical* character." Def. p. 48. All this the reader is to take upon Mr. E's *ipse dixit*, and take it just as he gives it; because, although Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke, Mr. Brackenbury, bishop White, and a thousand others may "mistake," Mr. E. cannot. "But how happens it" that these "profoundly learned" and "eloquent" gentlemen, did not

* The public were informed of the same fact, by the following notice in a Canada paper "At a meeting of the stewards and leaders of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, held in Kingston this day—It was resolved that a remonstrance be sent to the *British Missionary Committee*, against their late decision, relative to the withdrawing their Missionary from this place, and that the sense of the public be obtained by receiving signatures to a petition for the *continuance of a British Missionary here*. This is on the presumption, that *misrepresentations have been made* to the committee, by the *American delegate* The particulars of which on their arrival, will be laid before the public. As British subjects, we are resolved to support a British Missionary. By order, N. M'LEOD, Sec'ry."
Kingston, Nov. 6th, 1820.

define our "episcopacy!" I suspect they did not use the term "episcopacy" in its popular acceptation, as an episcopacy of the *third order;* such an "episcopacy" as is in the "church of England." If these learned and eloquent gentlemen had used the term in that sense, they would not have found it necessary to qualify the term, by employing all the adjunctive epithets, which Mr. E. says, they connected with it. They must, therefore, have meant, that "our episcopacy" is such an episcopacy as Mr. Wesley explained in his Notes on the New Testament already quoted; and such as Lord King laid down, where presbyters and bishops are the same order. In that case, "the testimonies of the English Methodists" are in favor of my position, and opposed to the claims of "our episcopacy."

3. At the organization of the church, the preachers assumed the title "the Methodist episcopal church:" and down to the present time, it has been asserted, Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government. This assertion I have denied; and among other reasons for my opinion, I offer this as one: "*there exists no document in which the words Methodist episcopal church, were ever written by Mr. Wesley*" Although nothing of the kind can be produced, yet Mr. E. claims the "testimonies of the English Methodists" in favor of the title, and in support of "our episcopacy." Let us see some of the proofs.

In the English Magazine for 1809, there is a likeness of Mr. Asbury, taken by the direction of the British conference, which must be considered as an official act, with this inscription: "Mr. Francis Asbury, General Superintendent of the Methodist societies in the United States of America." Two things may be noticed here. 1. Mr. Asbury is not styled a "bishop," but a "*general superintendent*" 2. The societies are not denominated the "Methodist episcopal church;" but, simply, the "Methodist societies." In the Magazine for 1822 there is a print of Mr. Emory himself, taken by order of the British conference. This print bears this inscription: "Rev. John Emory, Representative from the American conference of the people called Methodists, to the English conference, 1820." What makes the omission of the title the "Methodist episcopal church" the more remarkable in this case is, that "at the request of the conference" Mr. E. furnished a copy of the sermon preached before that body, with the following heading, "The substance of a Sermon preached in Liverpool on the 30th of July, 1820, before the conference of the Ministers late in connexion with Rev. John Wesley. By JOHN EMORY; the Representative of the General conference of the *Methodist episcopal church*, in America." And also, in his note of inscription to the conference, he styles himself "the Representative of the General conference of the *Methodist episcopal church*." But although he was thus particular to give the title, the "Methodist episco-

pal church," twice, and even to place it in capital letters, all would not do. The English conference would not combine with the American representative to acknowledge the title.

4. As it respects the case of the pictures, it may be supposed that the omission, in the inscription, was a blunder of the artist, and that the conference was not answerable for his mistake. But no such excuse can be pleaded or allowed for official documents emanating from the conference, in their official capacity, signed by their president, and countersigned by their secretary. The first of these documents, or addresses, may be found in the British Minutes for 1796, and is headed thus: "To the General Conference of the people called Methodists, in America: signed Thomas Taylor, president; Samuel Bradburn, secretary." Having assumed the title "the Methodist episcopal church," the general conference might have felt themselves justifiable in demanding a recognition of their title. They might have insisted on the fitness of such a recognition, and have found instances to justify its propriety. When "Lord Howe addressed a letter to George Washington, Esquire, the general refused to receive it, as it did not acknowledge the public character with which he was invested by Congress." Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 2, p. 420. But, although the conference received the address, yet they, whose duty it was *to direct* the answer, as if stung by the indignity offered by the omission of the title "Methodist episcopal church," or as gently reminding their British brethren of their mistake, directed their answer in the same manner, "To the *general* conference of the *people called Methodists* in Great Britain." This answer was signed by "Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury." Here I would remark, that the British conference is not styled, by themselves, or by their brethren of the Irish conference, the "*general* conference." The title they assume is simply, the British conference. To have added therefore, the epithet "general," to the term conference, was, to say the least of it, unnecessary.

Whatever may have been the object of those who *directed* the above answer, the British conference were not to be diverted from their purpose: they were neither to be flattered, nor driven to adopt the title the "Methodist episcopal church" in their addresses. For in the next year they sent another official communication, directed "To Mr. Francis Asbury, and all the conferences of the people called Methodists in America." See the British minutes for 1797.

The next communication they sent is to be found in their minutes for 1799, the title of which runs thus: "The Address of the British conference, to the general conference in America." And in 1803, they sent another address entitled, "The address of the British conference, to the general conference of

the Methodists in America." In 1807 there is another, "The address from the British, to the Methodist's general conference in America." Besides these, the British conference occasionally speaking of their brethren on this side the Atlantic, speak of them, on their minutes, not as the "Methodist episcopal church," but as "the Methodist societies in the United States of America"—"The American Methodist connexion, &c." It is, therefore, a singular fact, and perhaps but little known, that this boasted title, the "Methodist episcopal church;" and this no less pompous appellation "bishop," are not to be found in these British *official papers:* nor is there any proof, that I have been able to find, that either of these titles appears in their minutes, any more than they do in Mr. Wesley's writings. Such are the "testimonies of the English Methodists."

Section XI.—*Dr. Coke.*

Reserving the remarks I intend to make upon the *causes* which gave rise to the charges preferred against Dr. Coke, in the British conference, upon his return to England, until I come to the section, which treats of the "Address to general Washington," I shall first notice those charges with their punishment,—next, the defence which Mr. E. has set up.

As to the charges, much need not be said on them; as Mr. E. expressly states, that "an address was drawn up, and signed by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, in behalf of the American Methodists, and presented to Gen. Washington." Def. p. 60. And on the next page he says, "a copy of this address was introduced into the British conference, as a ground of censure against the doctor."—"Dr. Coke heard these charges urged against him in PROFOUND SILENCE." If there be no "mystery" about *this* address, there is, certainly, something connected with it, that I do not yet fully understand. I should like to know, if there were *two* addresses, drawn up and presented, by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, to general Washington? The one in 1785, when the general was a private citizen; the other in 1789, when he was president of the American Congress? As Mr. E. according to his own statement, has "examined this subject minutely," he ought to have told us whether there were two addresses, or whether there was only one. If there were *two*, I would like to know wherein did they differ in their nature, and what were the objects intended to be effected by each? I can find, however, no evidence that there were two: Mr. E. therefore, must clear up this matter.

Secondly. I should like to know what was the *date* of the address, "a copy of which" Mr. E. says, "was introduced into the British conference as a ground of censure against the doctor." This is an important matter, and should be well remem-

bered. But, says Mr. E. "Mr. Drew seems indeed to have been left in peculiar embarrassment, with regard to dates, in consequence of the death of Dr. Coke at sea, before he arranged his papers in chronological order." Def. p. 81. On this I remark, 1. It is not likely, that Dr. Coke, who had made all the previous and necessary arrangements for the publication of his papers, selecting his biographer, and placing the papers in his possession, would neglect the chronological arrangement of those papers; especially, as he was, at that time, an old man, was going a voyage to India, expected to be gone a long time, and was fully sensible of the uncertainty of life. To me, the thing is very improbable. 2 But, for argument sake, admitting it to be a fact, how could I be expected to fix dates to those documents, where dates were wanting, if Mr. Drew was "embarrassed," with all Dr Coke's papers before his eyes? And if he erred on that point, how can I be blamed for copying him, unless I had the means of correcting *his* mistakes, which I had not. But to return to dates, Mr. E. does not gainsay, that this address was presented to general Washington in '85; for he assures us it "was introduced into the British conference upon the doctor's return to England in that year." And yet, in Mr. Sparks's letter, that gentleman says, "It is not likely that any address from any quarter was presented to Washington in 1785. I have never seen any of that year. He was then a private man, wholly employed with his farms."

Thirdly If no address had been presented, no charge could have been predicated upon such an address: consequently, no punishment could have been inflicted. But Mr. E. says "such was the punishment, then, of Dr. Coke. Such the cause that led to it. Such the profound silence with which he heard the charge." Def. p. 61. I ask, now, how came the doctor to be *punished*, if no *charge* was preferred? And how came the *charge* to be preferred, if no *address* was presented? These are questions, which Mr. E. will have to answer in his next, as he has "examined this subject minutely."

The punishment. "It was finally determined that the name of Dr. Coke should be omitted in the minutes for the *succeeding year*." Def. p. 61. Although this statement is as plain as language can express it, yet Mr. E. attempts to set it aside. Hear what he says. "At this very conference of 1785, Dr. Coke's name appears in the British minutes in London &c." Def. p. 43. Let the reader, now, mark Mr. E's disingenuousness. The question is not, does Dr. Coke's name appear on the minutes for 1785: but does it appear on the minutes for the "succeeding year," which is not 1785, but 1786? That is the question. I affirmed it does not appear on the minutes for 1786; and I affirm so still. But Mr. E. says, "at this very conference of 1785 Dr. Coke's name appears on those minutes." Really; this is very cunning. It is just as if I

had said. A. B. died in 1786. O no, says Mr. E., that is a *mistake*, for he was in London, in 1785 ! ! Mr. E. makes another blunder; for in speaking of Dr. Coke's Journals, he expresses himself thus. "In this dedication, Dr. Coke states, that he had found in Mr. Wesley a father and a friend for *thirteen years*. If we compare this with the period at which Dr. Coke became connected with Mr Wesley, which was between Aug. 1776 and Aug. 1777, it will just bring us down to the date of the preface; and this date, too, is in that very year (conference year) *in which Dr. Coke's name was left off the British minutes.*" Def. p. 59. Now let us go to work and see what we can make out of this statement. "Thirteen years" added to 1777 will give 1790. So far Mr. E. is correct; for Dr. Coke's preface to his Journals is dated "Jan. 25, 1790." Secondly. Mr. E. says, "this date (1790) is the very year in which Dr. Coke's name was left off the British minutes." This is wrong. For his name stands on the British minutes in 1790. It was left off in the year 1786. Thirdly. Although in this place Mr. E. says, "Dr. Coke's name was left off the British minutes in 1790," yet he contradicts it and says on page 43 "in 1790, he (Dr. Coke) was again stationed in London with John and Charles Wesley." Fourthly. Although he stationed the doctor in London with Charles Wesley in 1790, Charles Wesley had been dead, at that time, two years and four months. So much for Mr. E's accuracy. Fifthly. On the supposition that no address was drawn up and presented to general Washington in 1785 by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury; will Mr. E. tell us, what was the nature or character of the charges, which were preferred against Dr. Coke, in the British conference, that year? If the doctor was punished, as Mr. E. acknowledges he was, for charges which were preferred against him at that conference, it will be required of Mr. E. to prove, that those charges, and this punishment had no connexion with the organization of the church, or the assumption of the title "Methodist episcopal church."

The next thing to be considered is the defence set up by Mr. E. He complains that in presenting this affair from Drew's work, I have not presented "the subject fully." To mend what I had spoiled, or supply what I had omitted, he proposes to give "a few fuller extracts from the same pages, from which Mr. M'Caine took his, which will place the subject in the fair and candid light, in which it was regarded by Dr. Coke's more magnanimous biographer." Def. p. 60. The attention of the reader is particularly requested to the following novel, and unprecedented manner of composing this defence; which, if it does not discover a great deal of *fairness* and *truth*, manifests, at least, a great deal of originality and cunning. If the reader will take Mr. E's "Defence of our Fathers," which work has been called by the *seven wise men* "a masterly defence," he will find a quotation,

or that which purports to be a quotation, beginning on the 60th page with these words, "It is well known," and continued to the bottom of the 61st page. Reference is then made to "Drew's Life of Coke pp. 102—145."

Whoever examines this apparent extract, which, in Mr E's book, does not constitute one page and a half, and which, from the face of it, has the appearance of being a fair and unbroken quotation, will feel himself a little at a loss to conceive, how Mr. E could compress the contents of forty-four octavo pages, of Drew's Life of Coke, into less than a page and a half of his own book. This "mystery" I will now explain. Mr. E. has a newly invented *mill*, (I do not know that he has taken out a patent for it, or that he thinks it necessary) far exceeding the "miraculous mill," for grinding old people young; a picture of which I can recollect to have seen, when I was boy. Into his *mill* Mr. E. puts forty-four octavo pages of "Drew's Life of Coke." And after turning the crank a few times, a beautiful fine *dust* is produced, which after he has bolted and sifted it sufficiently, is nicely put up, and stamped by the inspectors, *superfine*. The *doctor* also examines it, and pronounces it to be not only exceedingly palatable, but very wholesome and nutritious. The bolting apparatus is also very nice; and displays a great deal of ingenuity in its construction. In short, taking it altogether, there is nothing like it in the United States: perhaps not in the world. To be a little more particular, and with a view of explaining the process of grinding, Mr. E. begins with page 102 of Drew's book, and selects from that page 38 words. Here, it may not be amiss to inform the reader, that these 38 words do not follow one another in close and consecutive order. The first line, where the quotation begins, furnishes 4 words, then a whole line is omitted and the quotation is continued. It may be proper, also, to add, that the other quotations are made in the same way: a few words from one sentence, and a few from another, nor is there any attention paid to stops—nor to sentences—nor to paragraphs—nor to pages—nor even to chapters. The first part of the quotation, being part of the 6th chapter; the latter part of the quotation being part of the 8th chapter: and that whenever a word comes in his way, which does not suit his purpose, or is likely to injure or retard the *mill*, it is thrown away, and another substituted. Having now explained the process of grinding, I shall go on with the account. There are taken, I say, from the 102nd page, 38 words.—From the 104th page, 136 words.—From the 105th page 55½ words.—From the 106th page 176½ words.—From the 144th page, 237 words—and from the 145th page 27 words. What the reader may say, of Mr. E. and his *magical mill*, I know not. But I will leave him to grind as long as he lives, nor will I envy him the *praise* he may receive for his mechanical genius: nor the applause he may obtain for his *superfine dust*.

One thing more deserves notice. In composing this defence for Dr. Coke, Mr. E. has placed him in a situation, by no means enviable. Perhaps he intended to pay the doctor a compliment, but unfortunately the comparison is an unhappy one. The subject, to which Mr. E. refers, I would suppose to be Ithuriel's search for Satan in the garden of Eden; and the comparison, is the manner in which the doctor bore the touch of Ithuriel's spear, when the charges were preferred against him, in the British conference.

> "So saying, on he led his radiant files
> Dazzling the moon, these to the bower direct
> In search of whom they sought; him there they found
> Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve
> Assaying by his devilish art, to reach
> The organs, of her fancy.....
> Him thus intent, *Ithuriel with his spear*
> *Touched lightly;* for no falsehood can endure
> Touch of celestial temper, but returns
> Of force to its own likeness: up he starts
> Discovered and surprized."
>
> Milton's Paradise Lost. B. IV. l 797 et seq.

Did Mr. E. intend, by reference to the above, to compare doctor Coke in America, to Satan in the garden of Eden? Did he leave it to be inferred, that the doctor had practised his wily arts here, as Satan had practised his "devilish art" there? And that when found out, and charged with these practices, in the British conference, he could no more bear the touch of the Spear *Truth*, than Satan could the touch of Ithuriel's? That as Satan "started up, discovered and surprized" so the doctor heard the charges in "PROFOUND SILENCE?" And Mr. E's work is called a "Defence of our Fathers;" and Dr. Bond pronounces the work to be "an able defence!" Query. Does Dr. Bond know any thing about Ithuriels spear? I doubt it. If it were to touch *him* perhaps he would *feel* as if he was touched with a red-hot poker. Leaving Mr. E. and Dr. Bond to clear up this matter for the satisfaction of the seven wise men, I shall proceed to the consideration of the next section.

SECTION XII.—*Methodist Episcopacy.*

I FIND but little in this section worthy of remark, that has not been reviewed already. It is principally made up of extracts from the "notes on the discipline, prepared by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, at the request of the general conference:" and contains comments by Mr. E. on these extracts. It ought to be known, however, that these "notes" have been long since given to the moles and the bats; and now, it is a rare thing to see a copy of the book. That I may not be thought to pass them over in silence, I shall select a few articles.

1. "The most bigotted devotees to religious establishments (the clergy of the church of Rome excepted) are now ashamed to support the doctrine of the apostolic, uninterrupted succession of bishops." Will Mr. E. answer the following questions. Is not the "apostolic and uninterrupted succession," the very foundation of Jure Divino? If these subjects differ, let him say wherein? Again, what is the difference between Jure Divino, and "Divine Authority?" See Mr. Asbury's Journals, Vol 3. p. 168. Wherein does "Divine Authority" differ from being "Divinely authorised." See "Report of the committee on petitions and memorials. John Emory, chairman," in the Christian Advocate and Journal of June 20. 1828. And how can any of these agree with "the principles of the *law of nature*." Def. p. 7. *Note.*

2. "Nor must we omit to observe" (speaking of primitive episcopacy) "that each diocess had a college of elders or presbyters, in which the bishop presided." Was this bishop of the *same order* as his brethren, of the college of presbyters? If he was, a Methodist bishop differs from a primitive bishop, and Methodist episcopacy is very different from primitive episcopacy. If it be said he was not, I deny the position and demand the proof.

3. "And we verily believe, that if our episcopacy should at any time, through *tyrannical* or immoral conduct, come under the severe censure of the general conference, the members thereof would see it highly for the glory of God, to preserve the present form, and only change the men." "The members of the general conference" might, perhaps, "change the men," if they were not equally *interested* in playing the *tyrant*. Witness the recent persecutions and expulsions in Baltimore and elsewhere; and the approval of these shameful and "*tyrannical*" proceedings by the bishops and the general conference.

4. 'The bishops of the Methodist episcopal church, have *no control whatever* over the decisions of either a general or an annual conference." Def. p. 64. I really wonder Mr. E. was not ashamed to make this assertion, considering the proceedings at the Winchester conference, in which J. Soule and J. Emory took such a "*spirited*" part. The following extract is taken from Mr. E's pamphlet, and flatly contradicts the above assertion. "That a brother but *just elected* to the episcopal office, and *not yet ordained*, or even an existing bishop in fact, whatever regard we might feel for them personally, should thus, by a *strong hand arrest* the operation of resolutions such as the above, *passed* after long and solemn debate upon their subject matter,—*passed* with an express view to conciliation, and concurred in, not only by more than two thirds of the *general conference*, but by *two thirds of the episcopacy itself!! &c.*" When Mr. E. wrote his pamphlet he was opposed to the power of the bishops: when he

wrote his "Defence of our Fathers" he was a *book agent*, and had received a few votes for the office of a bishop. "God forbid that men should not learn while they live, but it is a bad sign when *illumination* and *preferment* come together."

Section XIII.—*Title Bishop.*

If reiteration and confident assertion will do any thing for Methodist episcopacy, it will be under great obligations to Mr. E. For, although so much had been said upon the subject matter of this section, in the preceding part of his book; yet the "title bishop" must be honoured with one whole section for its special use. Its hallowed claims must not be polluted by being mixed or confounded with other topics, nor its honours be lost, or buried in a crowd. And, after thus signalizing it, by such marks of respect, what is there in the whole section worth noticing? Nothing that makes for Methodist episcopacy; but something that justifies the view I have taken of that subject. To begin with the definition of a "bishop."

1. It is a very singular fact, though it cannot be considered as a proof of logical acumen, that the first definition in Mr. E's book is to be found in the first paragraph of this section: and even this is not his own. We are indebted for it to the quotation which he gives from Leigh's Critica Sacra. The reader may remember, that I complained, more than once, that Mr. E. did not define the subjects in dispute; and accounted for his neglect on this principle, "that *definition* would be *destruction* to his cause." That the reader may not think that this extract from "Leigh," clashes with what I said formerly, when complaining of his neglect to define his subjects, it may be necessary to remind him, that I said Mr. E. no where defines, what he calls "our episcopacy," nor tells us to what *order* a *Methodist bishop* belongs. In this section we are told, in general terms, what *a* bishop is, viz. "an overseer:" and farther, that "between bishop and presbyter there is, nevertheless, this difference, presbyter is the name of an *order*,—bishop is the name of an *office* in that *order*." To this definition I subscribe, for it corresponds precisely with my views. Will Mr. E. subscribe to it also? Does it correspond with his views? To these questions let him give a categorical answer, Yes or No. If they are not his sentiments, why quote the definition, unless it be to prove it erroneous? If they are his sentiments, why represent a bishop as of the *third* order, and the Methodist episcopal church as having "*three orders*?" This is another instance of his disingenuousness. Will Mr. E. say, that the "title bishop" in the Methodist episcopal church signifies only "the name of an *office*," and not the name of an "*order*?" Will he say that a

Methodist bishop is of the same "*order*" that all the elders or presbyters in that church, are, whether they be local or travelling elders? He will not. For his book was written to prove the contrary. Such a statement, as the parity of bishops and presbyters, would not accord with the claims he sets up for those bishops. It would not accord with what he has said respecting the abridgement of the prayer book, and the offices for ordination. It would not accord with the views of the bishops themselves, respecting their dignity, prerogative, preeminence, order. It would not accord with Mr. Asbury's sentiments, that a bishop is a distinct order from and superior to a presbyter. Mr. E. knows all this, and yet he quotes an author who says, "Presbyter is the name of *an order*, bishop is the name of an *office* in *that* order" as if he would apply the quotation to a *Methodist* bishop!!

2. To make the distinction respecting bishop and presbyter, or *office* and *order* plain to my Methodist readers, let me suppose that in one of our large towns or cities there are four or five elders or presbyters stationed for one year. The man, whose name stands first on the appointment, is denominated the preacher in charge; because he has the charge of the station. This man is the pastor, overseer, or bishop of the congregations, which he is appointed to serve: and it is in this sense, and in this only, as having oversight of the congregation, that Dr. Miller, a Presbyterian, could say, "In the form of government of the Presbyterian church the *pastors* of churches are expressly styled *bishops*." Def. p. 50. So also said Mr. Wesley. "A *Bishop*—or pastor of a congregation." I. Tim. 3 ch. 2 ver. See also Moore's life of Wesley, vol. 2. p. 283. The *pastor* is called a *bishop*, because he is the *overseer* of the congregation. Mr. E's quotation, from Dr. Miller's letters, to show the connexion between what Mr. Wesley says in his objurgatory letter to Mr. Asbury, respecting the presbyterians, and what Mr. Wesley says respecting putting away the title of bishop, is extremely disingenuous. Surely Dr. Miller could not mean, that a bishop is a minister of the *third order*, a sentiment which Mr. Asbury held when he assumed the title of bishop, and to which Mr. Wesley was strongly opposed. The preacher in charge among the Methodists is of the *same order* as the rest of the elders, in the same station and yet he is by virtue of his *office*, pastor, overseer or bishop of that charge. He is not called a bishop, it is true; that title being applied to another *order* of men. If the title bishop, in the Methodist episcopal church, means either the preacher in charge, or a man in elder's orders, I never knew it before.

3. I hesitated, for some time, whether I would notice Mr. E's remarks respecting Mr Wesley's being elected to the "episcopal office," considering these remarks to be so futile, that every

one would, at a glance, perceive their absurdity. Lest, however, they should be considered by some drowning men, who would catch at a straw, sound and unanswerable, I have concluded to insert them, and bestow on them one or two remarks. "Mr. M'Caine reproaches our fathers with entering Mr. Wesley's name on the minutes of 1789 as a bishop, after it was known, that the very term was so extremely offensive to him. *This is not correct.* They did enter him as exercising the episcopal *office.* But they did not entitle him bishop." Def. p. 68. Now what is this but a poor pitiful quibble, as destitute of honesty as it is of common sense. And if Methodist episcopacy is to be defended and supported by such means, I would say of it, "my soul come not thou into their secret ; unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united." For to say nothing of the "principles of verbality," which are so offensive to Mr. E. any intelligent school-boy of 10 or 12 years of age can tell him, that the "episcopal office" is the office of a bishop ; and that the person discharging the duties of that office, is called a bishop. To deny that Mr Wesley was a bishop, merely because he was only entered "as exercising the episcopal office," is to deny that Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were bishops, for they were entered in the same way, in the same answer. If, therefore, it was necessary to constitute Mr. Wesley a bishop, to enter him by that title, it was equally necessary to enter Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury by that title, to constitute them bishops. And as the term *bishop* does not appear on the minutes for 11 years, namely, from the year 1789 to the year 1800, and as Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were considered, in all that time, "bishops," notwithstanding they were only entered "as exercising the episcopal office," in like manner, must Mr. Wesley be considered a bishop, although he was only entered "as exercising the episcopal office."

Section XIV.—*Organization of the Methodist episcopal church.*

I had occasion to remark, that the two preceding sections of Mr. E's book, contain but little that had not been interspersed in other parts of his work. The same thing may be said of this section also. Perhaps he thought, that as he had undertaken to write a book, it would not look like being a "*Defence* of our Fathers" unless it were respectable for *size.* Or, he may have thought, that it would not be considered an ample refutation of the "History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy," if it did not contain a few pages more than that work. Or, he may have thought, that there are some men in the Methodist episcopal church weak enough to judge of the merits of his book, and the weight of his arguments, by the number of his pages ; and that these would certainly pronounce the "Defence

of our Fathers" a masterly and unanswerable production, if it were only a little larger than my pamphlet. To swell the work, therefore, it became necessary to *repeat*. For notwithstanding all the advantages he possessed, having nearly the whole connexion on his side :—all the assistance he could procure from the bishops :—all the aid he could obtain from Doctors in Divinity and Masters of Arts :—all the information he could collect from records and documents, from the letters of the living and the papers of the dead, it seems that he could not write a pamphlet in a neat, condensed, logical, and methodical manner: but has compounded and confounded, affirmed and repeated, until his book has grown to the number of ninety-two pages. Although, according to my plan of answering his book, I am obliged to follow him through his sections; yet I shall not imitate him, in this species of amplification. I shall confine myself to those parts of this section which have not been previously noticed, or such as are in my opinion deserving of remark.

I have already declared it to be my settled opinion, "that every church has a right, not only to choose for herself a particular form of government, at the commencement of her existence, but to alter, change, or amend it, after it has been adopted." The Methodist societies, which had an existence in 1784, possessed the right to adopt any form of government, the episcopal, the presbyterian, the congregational, or any other, which at that period they might have thought proper to adopt. On this point there is, I suppose, no dispute. The point in dispute is this: Had the travelling preachers *alone*, the right to form themselves into a church, adopt the episcopal form of government for the societies, and assume the title of the Methodist episcopal church; not only without the knowledge, approbation or consent of those societies, but against their views and wishes. For Dr. Coke tells the bishop of London, that "our numerous societies, in America, would have been a regular presbyterian church," were it not that he had taken steps to prevent it. That the travelling preachers had no right to choose a form of government for the societies without their concurrence or approbation, I affirm: much less had they a right to form one, to which the societies were opposed. And here I will adopt Mr. E's own reasoning and language in his "Report" on the petitions and memorials to the late general conference. If the preachers had this right, "it must be either a natural, or acquired right. If a natural right, then, being founded in nature, it must be common to men, as men." According to this reasoning, if the preachers "as men," had "a natural right" to choose for themselves what form of government they pleased; the members "as men" had "a natural right," to choose a form of government for themselves likewise. Nay, the members had as good a right to choose a form of government for the preach-

ers, as the preachers had to choose one for the members. "If it be alleged to be an acquired right, then it must have been acquired either in consequence of becoming Christians, or of becoming Methodists. If the former, it devolves on" those Methodist preachers or their advocates, who may assert that the preachers in 1784, had a right to choose the episcopal form of government for the societies "to prove, that this right is conferred by the Holy Scriptures: and it is also binding on them to prove that the Scriptures impose on" the members, "the corresponding obligation to grant the claim" The Holy Scriptures gave no authority to Methodist preachers, to adopt the episcopal form of government for the Methodist societies, when the church was organized; of course no right can be proved from them. "Or if the latter be alleged, viz. that it has been acquired in consequence of becoming Methodists, then it must have been, either by some conventional compact, or by some obligatory principle, in the economy of Methodism, to which, as *then organized*, the claimants voluntarily attached themselves. "That the preachers derived a right to adopt the episcopal form of government from any "conventional compact," no one will affirm; for no such "compact" was ever made. Indeed, the societies were not even consulted, much less "a conventional compact" entered into. That the preachers did not derive a right from any "obligatory principle in the economy of Methodism," is equally evident. For it was the peculiar glory of Methodism, "*as then organized*," to receive into its societies, "all who had a desire to flee the wrath to come." If any were expelled from the fellowship of the Methodists, they were not thereby excommunicated from their own churches. Expulsion from the one, did not imply expulsion from the other. These were "the principles of Methodism as then organized," and from these principles, the travelling preachers derived no right to organize the church and adopt the episcopal form of government for the societies, without their consent.

Having admitted and maintained the right of the societies to choose any form of government they pleased, I will now offer my objections to the episcopal form being adopted for them. 1. It was adopted by the preachers *alone*, without consulting the societies, or obtaining their concurrence or approbation: a thing having no precedent in the Christian world from the days of the Apostles to the present time. 2. If the societies had been consulted, they would not have chosen the *episcopal*, but the *presbyterian* form, as appears from the testimony of Dr. Coke: "our numerous societies, in America, would have been a regular presbyterian church, if it had not been for myself" &c. 3. To give the episcopal form of government currency with the people, and to reconcile them to the adoption of a form, for which they had no partialities, but to which they were opposed, ad-

vantage was taken of the great respect the societies had for the name and character of Mr. Wesley. It was, therefore, published, that this form of government was "recommended" by him; and that it was adopted in consequence of his "counsel" and advice. These things, will be a sufficient answer to Mr. E's question, "on what ground is the Methodist episcopacy thus instituted *illegitimate*, unlawful?" Def. p. 70 It is unlawful, 1. Because the preachers had no right, no authority "from the Holy Scriptures —from a conventional compact—or from the principles of Methodism, as then organized" to adopt the episcopal form of government. 2. Because, it rendered the people's rights a nullity; or in other words, the people were treated as if they had no right to say one word in the organization of the church, or the adoption of the form of government. 3. Because Mr. Wesley's recommendation was offered as authority for it, which recommendation was never given. And 4. because it was imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name.

Mr. E. seems to think that if Mr. Asbury had been influenced "by motives of ambition and self-aggrandizement," it would have been "easy" for him, "to have organized a church in America, with himself at its head, independently of Mr. Wesley, and of the whole European connexion." Def p. 69. I think not: for in that case, he must have renounced his principles; or, he must have had a church without the ordinances,—a mere faction, not a church: a church being "a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the *sacraments* duly administered according to Christ's ordinance" See XIII. Article of Religion. Mr. Asbury had been brought up in the church of England; and there is no evidence that he ever changed his sentiments respecting the doctrines, or government of that church. It has been shewn already, that instead of changing, he retained them: and that he differed from Mr. Wesley respecting the order of bishops, affirming it was distinct from and superior to the *order* of presbyters. If Mr. Asbury did not hold the doctrine of "apostolical succession," he, all along acted on the principle, that ordination by those, who themselves had been ordained, according to common, ecclesiastical usage, was necessary to the valid administration of the ordinances. On this ground he resisted the proceedings of the preachers in Virginia, who, in 1778, acting under the "exigence of necessity," chose three of their own body, and ordained them. On the same ground, he was unremitting in his exertions to prevail on them to suspend the administration of the ordinances. On the same ground also, he afterwards voted with the Philadelphia conference, that the aforesaid ordinations of the Virginia preachers, and all the proceedings, connected therewith, were "*invalid.*" "To have organized a church, what plausible pretext or occasion did he want," says Mr. E. I reply, he wanted *ordination;* a proper, re-

gular, ecclesiastical ordination, such a one as accorded with his own views. Without such an ordination, he could not move an inch. And where could he have obtained it? The Protestant episcopal church in the United States, was not at that time organized. Her ministers had not ordination for themselves; consequently could not have given it to others. Such an ordination as any other religious denomination could have imparted, admitting they were willing, Mr. Asbury would not have accepted, because inconsistent with his principles. He knew, therefore, it would be vain to expect ordination from any other quarter than from Mr. Wesley; and accordingly, in the hope of obtaining it from him, he waited patiently many years. Now will Mr. E. answer one question: Why did Mr. Asbury remain in connexion with Mr. Wesley for 13 years after he arrived in this country, resisting the importunities of the people for the ordinances—opposing the proceedings and ordinations of the preachers in Virginia, "some of whom, were the ablest and most influential men in connexion, and some of whom were his most intimate, and personal friends;" and yet in two years after he had obtained ordination from Mr. Wesley, he refused to submit to his authority, and struck his name from the American minutes? If there was no "ambition and self-aggrandizement" in this, there was something, which, to me at least, looks very much like it.

Section XV.—*Leaving Mr. Wesley's name off the Minutes.*

"The meaning of this phrase," says Mr. E. "seems not to have been *correctly understood*" (*non mi recordi* again). "In some places Mr. M'Caine asserts, that Mr. Wesley's name was left off in 1785—in other places he represents this event as having taken place in 1787. The confusion was in Mr. M'Caine's own mind, not in the subject. Def. p. 73. In a note on the 49th page, Mr. E. advances the same sentiment. And on page 81, he says "Mr. M'Caine asserts also, that the minutes of conference *were altered*, to make them quadrate with subsequent proceedings." In proof of this, and showing the application to Mr. Asbury, he refers to Lee's History. Now Mr. Lee says, "In the course of this year (1787) Mr. Asbury re-printed the general minutes, but in a *different form*, from what they were before."

I have collected and placed together, in one paragraph, all that Mr. E. has said respecting leaving Mr. Wesley's name off the minutes, that the reader may judge, whether what I have said on this subject, and on the alteration of the minutes, be correct or not. Before I proceed to the proof of these facts, it may be proper to inform him, that "the minutes of conference" of which I speak, and which I have examined, is a bound volume, purporting to contain "Minutes of the Methodist conferences

annually held in America from 1773 to 1813 inclusive, Vol. I. New-York, published by Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware, for the Methodist connexion in the United States. John C. Totten, printer. 1813." This volume is easily obtained, and the reader is requested to examine it, for himself.

Adverting to the leaving of Mr. Wesley's name off the minutes, I said in my pamphlet, "We know it to be a *fact*, that Mr. Wesley's name was left out of the minutes of conference; and many of our old friends are acquainted with this fact, as well as ourselves. But how many are acquainted with all the circumstances of the case? We presume but very few. We are free to acknowledge, *we are not*." His. & Mys. p. 36. First. From this statement it is evident, that I did not fix the date at all. I neither affirmed it was '85, nor '87. When I mentioned the fact, I did not, myself, determine the period when his name was left off. I only mentioned it with reference to the records of the church, or to other authorities. Secondly. In order to come at the knowledge of the date of a fact, of which I professed my ignorance, I examined the above book of minutes, but could not find Mr. Wesley's name on them from 1784 until 1789. Thirdly. Notwithstanding Mr. Wesley's name does not appear in the minutes from 1784 until 1789, I argued it must have been on the minutes for 1785, when those minutes *were taken*. For this opinion I assigned the following reasons, two of which Mr. E. has not noticed. "1. Because, it seems strange, if not unreasonable, that the conference would give Mr. Wesley's name as the *only authority* for the adoption of the episcopal form of government, and at the very same conference determine to reject him. 2. Because, in quoting Mr. Wesley's letter in the above 'account,' that part of it which relates to the liturgy, is omitted. That there was no resolution passed at that conference to suppress that part of his letter, we argue from the fact, that the prayer book, which had been abridged and recommended by Mr. Wesley, was used by the superintendents and many of the preachers subsequently to the conference of 1784: and we cannot believe, that they would do a thing, the authority for doing which, they had previously and formally rejected. 3. Because we have the testimony of the Rev. Jesse Lee to prove, that the minutes of conference *were altered*! In the course of this year 1787, Mr. Asbury re-printed the general minutes, but in a different form from what they were before." History and Mystery, pp. 37. 38. Fourthly. Finding I could not ascertain from the minutes, when his name was left off, I inquired of several old members, if they could tell me. But not obtaining the desired information from them, I wrote to the five bishops: also to six of the oldest preachers in the connexion. See the fourth question in my circular letters. The Rev. Freeborn Garrettson in his answer, to my letter said, "I think it was done at a conference held in May 1787."

This is one of the dates, which, Mr. E. says, *I gave*. I only averred it to be a fact, that Mr. Wesley's name was on the minutes of 1785 and 1786 *when these minutes were taken*. That according to Mr. Garrettson's letter, his name was left off in 1787. That when the minutes of '85 and 86' *were taken* Mr. Wesley's name was on them, but when the same minutes *were printed*, his name was left off. Where now is the confusion? In my "mind," or in the records of the church? I am fully sustained in the statement, "that the minutes of conference were altered to make them quadrate with subsequent proceedings." I therefore reiterate the assertion in the face of the world, and I challenge Mr. E. or any other person to disprove what I say, THE RECORDS OF THE CHURCH HAVE BEEN ALTERED. The omission of Mr. Wesley's name in the printed minutes of conference for 1785 and 1786 is one proof; but it is not the only one.

2. The minutes of conference for 1785, printed in the bound volume referred to above, furnish *prima facie* evidence, that they were not taken at the time the conference was held in that year. In these printed minutes, the *past time* is used instead of the *present*, in every instance, thus: "It *was agreed*"—"circumstances *made*"—"At this conference we *formed*"—"we *thought* it best," &c. In the original minutes it reads thus: "We *will form ourselves* into an episcopal church" &c. Besides, the word "bishop" is inserted in the bound minutes of 1785, and it is now well known, that that term was not used until 1787.

3. Mr. Wesley's circular letter, dated "Bristol Sep. 10. 1784" was not inserted in the minutes of 1785 when these minutes were taken. This statement I make to the best of my recollection, not having it in my power to examine these minutes now. The only copy of these minutes which I ever saw, was bound up in the prayer book of 1786; and if Mr. E. cannot procure a copy of that prayer book, nearer than Baltimore, he can, I believe, obtain one from his friend Dr. Bond. This prayer book is very scarce; for although I have been in 16 states of the Union, and have been in the houses of many old Methodists, I never saw a copy of this prayer book, but one. As soon as I had returned it to the owner, I was informed that Dr. Bond had bought it up. But alas! for him and Methodist episcopacy, he was a day too late. I believe Mr. Wesley's circular letter of the above date is not in the minutes of 1785, which were inserted in the prayer book of '86: and yet that letter will be found in the minutes for '85 printed for the American connexion. Here, then, if my recollection is correct, is another proof, that the records of the church have been altered, by inserting this letter in the book of *printed* minutes, when it was not inserted in the minutes *when taken*. This same letter is said to contain all the "reasons" for becoming a "separate body under the denomination of the Methodist episcopal church;" and yet there is no reference made to those "rea-

sons," in the minutes printed in the prayer book of '86, but other "reasons" are assigned for that measure. Nor is this all. When this letter was printed it was *mutilated*, part of it having been *expunged*.

4. The minutes of conference, which were taken when the church was organized, "were first printed," says Mr. E. "in Philadelphia by Charles Cist in 1785." Def p. 41. They were afterwards re-printed with the prayer book in "London, by Frys and Couchman." These minutes are headed as follows. "The general minutes of the conferences of the Methodist episcopal church in America, forming the constitution of the said church." These minutes contain *seventy-six* questions with their answers, and occupy a space of *thirty-three* pages. Now, any one, who will take the pains to look into the book of minutes, printed for the Methodist episcopal church, cannot find one single question or answer, in them, which was printed in the minutes bound up in the prayer book. No. nor one single line. I had occasion to notice, before, the construction and operation of Mr. E's "*magical mill*," but really here is something worse than *his mill*. He did give us a page and a half, after grinding down 44 pages of Drew's Life of Coke. But in the bound minutes we have not a single page, nor a single question, nor a single answer, nor a single line of the minutes of conference of '85 which were published in the prayer book. Here is a fourth proof that *the records of the church have been altered*. And for what purpose were they altered? I answer again, "to make them quadrate with subsequent proceedings."

To weaken the force of Mr. Lee's testimony produced above, Mr. E. quotes another passage from his (Mr. Lee) book, which, by the unwary reader, might be considered as relating to the same subject. "The form of the annual minutes was changed this year, 1779, in a few points, and the first question stands thus, who are admitted on trial? The first question used to be, who are admitted into connexion? It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Lee had reference simply to the form in which the minutes were methodised and printed." Def. p. 81. *Note*. In this place, he had reference to the *form*. But it is not "evident" to me, that he had, in the quotation, I gave from him formerly. For Mr. Lee had too much good sense, and too much honesty to say, in reply to the assertion that the records of the church were altered, that this alteration consisted, in a mere transposition in the order of the questions. Nor will the quotation in the above note p. 81 invalidate the testimony I adduced from Mr. Lee's History in support of the alteration of the records of the church. For in Mr. E's quotation, Mr. Lee speaks of a change which was made in 1779. In the quotation which I gave above, Mr. Lee speaks of Mr. Asbury's re-printing "the general minutes in a different form from what they were before." The reader will please to

notice that this latter alteration which is the one to which I referred was made in 1787. And the one which Mr. E. gives, was made in 1779. See the dates, and then say was not Mr. E. cunning. It is not of the *folding* of the *paper*, or *form* of the *instrument* of writing, but of the *matter* or *contents*, that an honest man speaks when he says, the record, or document was altered. Neither was it of the *form* or *arrangement* of the questions in the minutes I spoke, when I affirmed "the records of the church have been altered."

I have now incontestibly established the two points with which I commenced, namely, that Mr. Wesley's name was left off the minutes, and that the records of the church have been altered. How the omission of his name was viewed by Mr. Wesley, we learn from Mr. Asbury himself. Alluding to the minutes of '85 in which the conference declared themselves "ready in matters belonging to church government to obey his (Mr. Wesley's) commands," Mr. Asbury says in his Journals, "it is true, *I never approved of that binding minute.* I did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley at three thousand miles distance, in all matters relating to church government; neither did brother Whatcoat, nor several others. At the first general conference I was *mute* and *modest* when it passed, and I was *mute* when it was expunged. For this Mr. Wesley blamed me, and was displeased that I did not rather reject the whole connexion, or leave them if they did not comply."

We shall now see what was Dr. Coke's opinion respecting this transaction, which Mr. E. palliates with a cold, phlegmatic acknowledgment, "that a *gentler*, and *more conciliatory* course, on the part of the conference, in relation to Mr. Wesley, personally, might have been, perhaps, the more excellent way." How this sentence drags!

"The line, too, labours, and the words move slow."

No wonder, when disapprobation is expressed of any part of Mr. Asbury's conduct: for he is the only one in Mr. E's book that has not been censured, and even this is accompanied with a "perhaps" as if it came from a *friend!* But there would be no "perhaps" in the case, if the New York conference were to serve Mr. E. as Mr. Wesley was served. But to return to Dr. Coke. He said, in the sermon he preached in Baltimore on the occasion of Mr. Wesley's death, "that the leaving of Mr. Wesley's name off the minutes was an almost *diabolical* act. No history furnished any parallel to it—that a body of Christian ministers should treat an aged and faithful minister, as Mr. Wesley undoubtedly was, with such disrespect." In his circular, dated Wilmington, Delaware, May 4th, 1791, he says, "I doubt much, whether the cruel usage he received in Baltimore in 1787, when he was excommunicated,

(wonderful and most unparalleled step) did not *hasten his death*. Indeed *I little doubt it*. For from the time he was informed of it, he began to hang down his head, and to think he had lived long enough."

Mr. E. thinks "it was not understood, or intended from the commencement of the organization of our church, that Mr. Wesley should personally appoint our church officers." For this opinion he offers as proof, that Mr. Wesley retained the form of ordination of superintendents in the prayer book, which form prescribes "the imposition of hands upon the head of the *elected* person." That Mr. Wesley did not understand this business in the light in which Mr. E. represents it is undeniable; for he *did appoint* Mr. Whatcoat joint superintendent with Mr. Asbury, as may be seen by his letter to Dr. Coke on that subject. 2. Mr. Wesley never did, and never would give up the appointment of church officers, especially those who held the first rank in the Methodist societies. 3. He was displeased that even *election* was resorted to by the general conference, in the case of Mr. Asbury to the superintendency. And this, by the way, may serve as another proof, in addition to those I have already offered, that in recommending the liturgy, he neither recommended a third order of ministers, nor the episcopal form of church government.

Section XVI.—*Mr. M'Caine's Arithmetical Calculation.*

In my History and Mystery I stated that "Methodist episcopacy, from its commencement, had a tendency to create dissensions and divisions among the bishops and travelling preachers, as well as among the societies." p. 62. In proof of this assertion, I noticed the rupture which took place between Dr. Coke and the conference in 1787.—"The dissatisfaction in our connexion in general, and among the travelling preachers in particular," in consequence of the "proceedings of the council" in 1789. The appeal of Mr. O'Kelly in 1792, besides *other secessions*, which took place in different parts of the United States. As the secession which had its origin in the rejection of "Mr. O'Kelly's appeal" was the most extensive, and most generally known, when treating of it I said "*this* appeal," &c. Not that I intended that the rejection of Mr. O'Kelly's appeal, and that alone, abstract from all other things, was the cause of a decrease of 20,000. I well knew, for I was on the spot at the time, that Mr. Hammett's secession had taken place in 1791, and this secession I intended should be embraced in the account also. It would, therefore, have been more accurate, if in accounting for the decrease, instead of saying "this appeal," I had said, the opposition to *episcopacy*, (and

this was the very thing with which I commenced the section,) and episcopal prerogative was, about that time so violent "that in five years, the minutes of conference exhibit a decrease of 20,000 members"

Mr. E. says. "Now how will he make this out?" I will tell him. At the end of the bound volume of minutes, there is a "general recapitulation" of the number of preachers in the travelling connexion—the number of preachers who died in the work—and the number of members in society each year, from the first conference in 1773 down to the year 1813 inclusive. In this volume, are bound together, all the minutes of the church; and from this table at the end of the volume, I took my account. I now put it to the candor of every man to say, what reason had I to distrust the report of those minutes? Had I any reason to believe that they were less correct than any other document to which I might have recourse? But Mr. E. says, "in the aggregate, as exhibited in the minutes, did Mr. M'Caine discover no mistake?" No, I did not; for I went no farther than this table. I looked at no other account than this "general recapitulation." He says, I ought to have looked into Lee's History. Had I quoted from Lee, Mr. E. perhaps, would have replied, your authority is not *official*. Why do you not go to the minutes of conference? To the minutes I went, and to them I confined myself. And in examining them, was it to be expected, that I would add up every line of figures to ascertain the true number, when that was done already to my hand? And, even if I had done so, and detected an error, as I might suppose, how was I to determine, whether the error existed in the minutes for the respective year, or in the table of "general recapitulation?" The one was as likely to be wrong as the other. And even now, notwithstanding I have added up the lines of figures, in the minutes for 1791, I do not get the same result with that in the minutes. The fact is, that in looking at the "general recapitulation," I found the number for 1791 to be 76,153. Five years afterwards, namely in 1796, the number inserted is 56,664. Confining myself, therefore, to this table, I had as good reason to believe the latter number was incorrect as I had that the former was; but I supposed, as I went to no other account, that both numbers were correct. If Mr. E. can subtract these two numbers 56,664 from 76,153 he will find the difference to be 19,489, which for the sake of round numbers, I set down as 20,000, and said, it was "*about* the one third of the whole number in connexion." If the above numbers are not correct, am I answerable for the mistake? If the book agents publish erroneous accounts, how am I to find means to detect them. I have taken the statements hitherto which have come from the book room as true and correct; but if I am pardoned in this thing, I will promise to receive no account hereafter as *true*, merely

because it comes from that quarter, notwithstanding it may have Mr. E. at its head.

"But we have other cases of arithmetical logic," says Mr. E. to "propose in bar of Mr. M'Caine's." Mr. E's first argument in favour of "our episcopal form of government," is founded on the *increase* of numbers. If this can be called an argument, it is a weak and a stale one. "In bar" of all that can be said on that subject, the reader is requested to turn to the first volume of the "Mutual Rights" and he will find an argument in favour of representation from the laity, and consequently against "our episcopal form of government" as 12½ are to 1½. But suppose Mr. E's "logic" was sound, what right has *he* to use it? He has been in the itinerant connexion for 18 years: how many have been added to the society through *his* instrumentality, in all that time? Although he writes so feelingly in praise of Mr. Asbury's toils, and sufferings, and travels, and labours, yet it may be asked how many *hard circuits* has *he* travelled? What sufferings has *he* endured? His ministerial services are estimated, perhaps, as highly by himself as by others, but how many have been awakened and converted by *his* ministry, is not for me to say;—the great day of eternity will disclose the number.

Section XVII.—*The Address to General Washington.*

"Let no one blame an historian," says an elegant writer, "who does not begin before his records; it is not his fault, it is his virtue." Nor ought the historian to be blamed, who confines himself to his records, unless he has undoubted evidence that his records are not true. In writing my "History and Mystery," I was governed by these principles, not only not "to begin before my records," but to confine myself to the accredited records of the church, and to give those records as authority for the facts I stated. Of the class of records which I considered as worthy of belief, was the life of Dr. Coke, written by Mr. Drew. This work I considered entitled to full credit. First, on account of the standing and reputation of the author as a writer. Secondly, because it was "printed in London at the conference room, sold by Thomas Blanchard, 14 City Road, and at the Methodist preaching houses in town and country." Thirdly, because it was re-printed by the Methodist episcopal church, and sold by the preachers in the United States. Of the many facts contained in my pamphlet, the account of one is taken from this work, namely, that before Dr Coke left the United States in 1785, an address was drawn up by him and Mr. Asbury, which address was presented by

them to general Washington.—That this address was published in the newspapers in this country, and in them found its way to England, before Dr. Coke arrived there—That upon the doctor's arrival in England, charges were preferred against him, before the conference.—And finally, as a punishment, it was determined that his name should be left off the minutes of conference "the succeeding year."

The reader is particularly requested to bear in mind, that I derived every particle of this information from Drew's life of Coke; and in copying the account into my book, I gave, not only the page, but was so particular as to notice the *edition* of the work. Now what does Mr. E. with all his boasted light and information say respecting the whole affair? Does he deny that such an address had been drawn up by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury? Does he deny that such an address had been presented in 1785? Does he deny that this address had been published in the newspapers? Does he deny that the newspapers containing it had reached England before the doctor? Does he deny that charges predicated upon this address had been preferred against the doctor in the British conference? Does he deny that the doctor was punished by leaving his name off the minutes? He does not. He admits all these facts, by inserting the very same account in the "Defence of our Fathers;" and contents himself with saying. "Mr. Drew though himself a British subject, has vindicated both the conduct and motives of Dr. Coke, on that occasion, with a triumphant ability, which leaves us nothing to add." Def. p. 60.

But Mr. E. intimates that the address to Washington was not presented in 1785 but in 1789. And yet all the transactions coupled with this address, actually took place according to Mr. Drew's statement, and I might add Mr. E's also, in 1785. Either the whole account, as given by Mr. Drew and copied by Mr. E. is incorrect; or there was an address presented in 1785. If there was no address presented in '85, it seems very strange that Mr. Drew, with all Dr. Coke's papers before him should say there was; and that his statement should be supported by collateral testimony. Allowing that no address was presented in that year, as Mr. Sparks, in his letter, intimates to be the case, then the charges which were preferred against the doctor, and the subsequent punishment, must have originated in another matter; and what more likely to have elicited charges than the organization of the Methodist episcopal church, and the assumption of that title. I say, therefore, upon a review of the whole affair, that this address is involved in "mystery;" and it remains for Mr. E. to clear this mystery up.

It may be expected that I should state the exertions I made to obtain information respecting the *date* of this address, which is said by Mr. Drew, to have been presented to general Wash-

ington in 1785: and the reasons which led me to conclude it was dated in 1785, and not in 1789. The reader must bear in mind, that although the address itself is not given by Mr. Drew, nor any date assigned to it, yet he says expressly that an address had been drawn up and presented to general Washington, by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury before the doctor left the United States in 1785. That it was published in the newspapers, carried to England, preferred as a charge against the doctor, in the conference, and for it, his name was left off the minutes as a punishment. All these things are stated by Mr. Drew, and in the contemplation of these facts, I considered first, the character of Mr. Drew. Some of my readers may not know that this gentleman is a local preacher in the Methodist connexion in England. That he is the author of two works which have immortalized his name: one on the "Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul," the other on the "Resurrection of the Body." That as a close thinker he is considered to have but few to equal, none to surpass him. That this gentleman was selected, by Dr. Coke to write his life, and for this purpose, the doctor placed in his hands all his papers, before he sailed for India. Now, what was there in the *historian* to lead me to disbelieve his statements? I could not doubt of his *ability* to investigate the subject; his metaphysical works forbade that thought. I could not doubt of his *integrity*; his ministerial standing, and his high character for piety precluded that. I could not doubt of the *correctness* of his statements; I knew that he had all Dr. Coke's papers in his possession, and before his eyes. Viewing the subject therefore, with reference to the *writer*, and the *materials* which were in his possession, I had no more reason to question his statement, than I would have to disbelieve any statement in the Life of Washington, by Judge Marshall; or in the Life of Patrick Henry, by Mr. Wirt.

Secondly. I stated above, that although Mr. Drew did not insert a copy of the address which had been presented to general Washington, before the doctor left the United States in 1785: yet he inserted a copy of general Washington's answer, which was said to be an answer to that same address. The answer being given, presupposed the presentment of the address, to which it purports to be an answer. This answer, though it has no date, corresponds word for word (with the exception of *one word*) with the answer published in the Arminian Magazine, vol. 1, p. 286. I concluded therefore, that as Mr. Drew had all Dr. Coke's papers before his eyes, that the address published in the Arminian Magazine must have been the address to which he referred; the answer in the Magazine being the same as that which he published in his life of Dr. Coke.

Thirdly. It will be recollected that Mr. Drew distinctly states that charges had been preferred against the doctor upon his return to England, founded upon the address which he and

Mr. Asbury presented to general Washington. He farther tells us, "that as some decisive steps were necessary to be taken in this critical affair, it was finally determined that the name of Dr. Coke should be omitted, in the minutes for the *succeeding year*." I accordingly looked in the British minutes for 1786, the year succeeding '85, and could not find Dr. Coke's name in them that year. Here was collateral proof that Mr. Drew was correct in his statement.

Fourthly. As Mr. Drew affirmed that this address was published in the newspapers of the day, and as general Washington's residence was in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, D. C. I thought it was most likely that the newspapers in which the address was published, were those of Alexandria. I accordingly wrote to two gentlemen in the District of Columbia, who are well acquainted with several of the officers of government, and with members of congress, requesting them to use their influence with their acquaintance, as well as to make exertions themselves, to procure for me, if possible, a copy of that address, or inform me in what newspaper it was printed. After a lapse of several weeks, they answered my letters, and stated that they could neither find the address, nor tell me where I could obtain it. One of these gentlemen suggesting that it might probably be found among Washington's papers, I had it in contemplation to go to Mount Vernon with the view of obtaining a sight of it. But being informed that Judge Washington was on his circuit, I relinquished the idea.

Fifthly. Failing to procure a copy of the address, through the assistance of my friends, I next applied to the editors of the Baltimore "American," supposing as it was an old paper, they could give me some information that might serve as a clue to the business. They informed me that they had no papers "so far back," but in all probability I could find them in the Baltimore Library.

Sixthly. I next applied to the librarian in the Baltimore Library, who not only allowed me to search the newspapers in the library, but politely assisted me in making the search. In this way I spent the greater part of a day, but all in vain.

Seventhly. Disappointed in every effort I had made, either to get a copy of the address, or to ascertain its date I published my pamphlet, under the solemn belief that Mr. Drew's statement was true, and that the date of the address was 1785, and not 1789.

Eighthly. Shortly after my pamphlet came out of press, Mr. Sparks's letters to judge Story were published in the newspapers: in which he stated that he had obtained general Washington's papers. As soon as I read these letters, I determined to apply to Mr. Sparks, to know if a copy of the address could be procured from him. Being a stranger to Mr. Sparks, I waited

on a gentleman of this city to get a letter of introduction to Mr. Sparks. This gentleman very politely and promptly complied with my wishes. I then addressed a letter to Mr. Sparks, accompanied with one of my pamphlets, and received from him the following answer.

"Sir. Boston, July 27th, 1827.

It has given me pleasure to comply with your request, in looking over general Washington's papers for the address of doctor Coke and bishop Asbury. The *original* paper I do not find, but the address is recorded with the date of May the *twenty-ninth* 1789. In your pamphlet, the date is stated to be May the nineteenth. A mistake of a figure has, in some way, crept in. As to the year, I am inclined to think the same error has happened; that is, 9 has been altered to 5. It is a little singular, to be sure, that two such errors should have occurred in one date. Whether it admits of explanation, I know not.

General Washington was never president of congress; nor is it probable that any address of a public nature would have been made to him in the year 1785, when he was living at Mount Vernon, as a private citizen. I should think circumstances would be very conclusive against this latter date.

The address and reply as recorded are word for word, as printed in your pamphlet, except one instance in the reply where three words are *omitted*. Thus, instead of—"It shall still be my endeavour to manifest the purity of my inclinations,"—it is expressed in the records as follows—"it shall be my endeavour to manifest, *by overt acts*, the purity of my inclinations." In all other respects the printed copy is an exact transcript.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant

JARED SPARKS"

From this plain, unvarnished account of the pains I took to ascertain the date of this address, the reader will be able to form an opinion, respecting the justness of the charge, preferred in the following words. "Any former publisher might have overlooked an error in the narrative, as a court in the ordinary routine of business without investigation or argument, or having the attention directed to the points in the case. But Mr. M'Caine's error is that of a court solemnly deliberating, hearing the arguments of counsel, taking time to advise, and then pronouncing a most glaringly unfounded and injurious decision, against all evidence and reason, and all justice and truth." Def. p. 81.

1. The decision which I pronounced, so far from being "against all evidence and reason, and all justice and truth," was pronounced with the utmost respect for the testimony, and with the utmost reliance on the respectability of the witness. The witness was the Rev. Mr. Drew, Dr. Coke's biographer; a gentleman who was selected, by the doctor himself, to write his life; and who placed in Mr. Drew's hands, all his papers for that

purpose. Mr. Drew holds a very distinguished rank in the religious and literary world. He is a minister in the Methodist society in England; the author of two celebrated metaphysical works, and editor of the Imperial Magazine. Was not this gentleman a competent, and credible witness? Would not his testimony be received in any court of justice as soon as Mr. E's? And if I had been so weak or wicked as to pronounce a decision against such testimony, then indeed it might have been said that my decision was "against all evidence and reason, and against all justice and truth." As it is, the imputation returns to Mr. E.

2. It ought also to be known that the Rev. Mr. Drew was deemed a competent and credible witness by the Methodist society in England. His "Life of Dr. Coke" was so highly appreciated, that it was published by the British connexion, and sold by the preachers "in town and country."

3. This work has been re-published in this country at the Methodist book-room. It has been sold by the preachers all over the United States—has been eulogised in the strongest terms possible—and has been lately recommended to the members of the society without even an *index expurgatorious*.

4. From this work, Drew's Life of Coke, I derived every particle of information I possessed at that time upon the subject of the "address," and the punishment inflicted on the Doctor for presenting it. In the decision which I pronounced on this matter, I gave Mr. Drew as authority for all advanced: of course, if there was any "error," it was Mr Drew's; not mine. This Mr. E. knew well, when he wrote the above charge; as is evident from the fact that he represented the subject in the same point of light, notwithstanding all the pains he took to *manufacture* his quotations.

Section XVIII.—*History and Mystery of Mr. M'Caine's inconsistency.*

If any thing unfair or untrue, coming from Mr. E's pen, could surprise me, I certainly should be surprised at the contents of this section. In reviewing a former section of his work, I perceived he had not once mentioned my name; but he has made ample amends for this omission, by appropriating a whole section to the "history and mystery" of my "inconsistency." He has reserved the history of my alleged "inconsistency" to the last, with a view, I suppose, of making a deeper impression; and this, he thinks, will clinch the nail which he supposed he had so surely driven. But when the reader is made acquainted with the history of the facts, to which Mr. E. has alluded, and which he has distorted and discoloured, the odium which was intended to be fixed on me, will in the end fall upon himself.

When I was printing my "History and Mystery," the printer informed me, there would be two or three spare pages, and

wished me to furnish matter to fill them up. This induced me to sketch the plan, which is given in the "conclusion." In this sketch, I distinctly stated, that the plan was entirely my own; and that it did not emanate from the "brethren who are in favor of representation." I was explicit in making this statement, lest the plan should be objected to as speaking the language of reformers generally, or as being sanctioned by them. One of the articles in this plan runs thus: "Let the name of bishop and the episcopal office, as it now exists among us, be put away for ever," &c. With a view of preventing objections, or weakening them if made, the project was submitted as the production of a single individual. Of one, who was willing to submit to the judgment of the majority of his reforming brethren, if they "thought it best to relinquish any or all of them," for the present. Of one, who arrogated no right to dictate, and who gave an assurance in his statement, that he would co-operate with his reforming brethren in any way, that would be likely to secure the great principle of "Representation." "We hope, therefore," this was my language, "no attempt will be made to withhold representation from the laity on account of any objections which may be made against the specified items of change. We are not tenacious of them. But representation from the local ministry and laity, by the help of God, we will never relinquish. This, with us, is a *sine qua non*."

Perceiving that every word in this quotation contradicted and refuted the slanderous reports put in circulation by some in *high* stations, that I only wanted to be the head of a party, Mr. E. improves upon a suggestion offered by Dr. Bond. The doctor had said of me, "if he believes all that he has written in the previous part of his book, and would be satisfied with *this*, he offers a *base* and *disgraceful* compromise." *Truth-loving* and *slander-hating* Dr. Bond who is almost afraid to open his mouth, lest an *untruth* or a *slander* should slip out, ushers in his conclusion with an "if:" and *modest* Dr. Emory (*par nobile fratrum*) asks, "is Mr. M'Caine *sincere?*" Yes, gentlemen, I believed the statements made in my book, and I was "*sincere*" in making them. And although you have both tried your skill, you have not been able to disprove them, or shake their credibility in the least.

Mr. E. asks "Does he really mean, after all he has said, that if admitted into the general conference, he would not be tenacious of doing away the name of bishop, and the episcopal office as it now exists among us? Or does he say this, lest by saying otherwise, at this juncture, he might dash from *his* lips the cup of sweets."

To this I answer. 1. I was a member of general conferences long before Mr. E. was a member of the church, and never found them to offer "a cup of sweets." 2. Since I have been engaged in the cause of reform, I never had the least wish or desire to be a member of a general conference. 3. The expressions which

he has attempted to distort, and place to the account of my "inconsistency," were not intended to procure for myself "a cup of sweets;" but to prevent objections to the sketch, procure unanimity among reformers, and shew, that notwithstanding I might have my own views of the subject, yet I was willing to submit to the will of the majority. 4. The expression of these sentiments, intended to be applied to the incipient stage of the business, cannot be construed as a pledge, promise or assurance, that at a future period I would be wanting in my exertions to "do away the name of bishop and the episcopal office as it now exists among us." 5. In proposing to put away the name of bishop, and to abolish the episcopal office *as it now exists among us*, I conceived I was only reiterating Mr. Wesley's advice who entreated Mr. Asbury in the most tender manner, and by the most sacred and powerful considerations to put away the title. 6. Perhaps some may *feel* that I have done as much, to say the least, as any other man, to put away the title. They may be fearful that as I had begun, so I intended to go on, until at last, the object of their highest ambition would be prostrated in the dust.

"But a still more extraordinary mystery of inconsistency," says Mr. E. "remains to be developed." To make out this "inconsistency," he compares one of the reasons, which I assigned in the preface to my "History and Mystery," for the publication of that work, with a "communication," which I made "in a way to reach episcopal ears." In the preface, I said, "I think this exposure of the manner in which episcopacy was foisted upon the societies, will tend much to lessen, if it will not totally overcome, the opposition of travelling preachers to *representation*." In the communication which reached episcopal ears, (Mr. E. ought to have said episcopal eyes unless he means that a Methodist bishop *sees* with his *ears* instead of his *eyes*,) I am represented as saying, "affection and veneration for episcopal men might, and no doubt would lead a local representation to support a measure which they had no immediate and direct interest in opposing! Thus, by *exposure* of episcopacy and of episcopal men, Mr. M'Caine exerts himself, on one side to overcome the opposition of travelling preachers to the representation of local preachers. And *at the same time*, on the other side, he endeavours to convince episcopal men, that the representation of local preachers will tend to confirm and to perpetuate their prerogative." Had I been guilty of this Double Dealing, and made this "communication *at the same time*," when I made the "exposure" to which reference is made in my preface, I would have been like a *lawyer* whom I once knew, who took a fee from both plaintiff and defendant in the same suit. But when the case came to be tried, this *gentleman* could not play "Jack of both sides" any longer. His iniquitous conduct was detected, and from the court and an incensed community, he met his just reward.

But how came Mr. E. by his knowledge of the "communication" to which he alludes? How came he by my *private and confidential letter* to bishop George? As he has not told us, I think I can inform the reader; and if there be no "mystery of *iniquity*" in the transaction, there is, at least, something that looks very much like it.

In the summer of 1822, bishop George called at my house, with an intention of sending his son to my academy. He breakfasted with me; and in the course of the conversation, which turned upon the presiding elder question, I said, "what is it to me as a local preacher, whether the bishop appoints the presiding elder, or whether he is elected by the annual conference. I have nothing to do with the abstract question; and considering it as an abstract question, it is not worth a shankless button." In this opinion Mr. George concurred, expressing his "surprise that Mr. McKendree would throw the connexion into a flame for a thing, which, in the abstract, was not worth a straw."

In March 1823, the Baltimore district conference appointed Dr. S. K. Jennings, Rev. J. R. Williams and myself, "a committee of correspondence to make communications to other adjacent district conferences, inviting them to co-operate in a memorial to the next general conference." See Wesleyan Repository, vol. 3, p. 41. The committee performed their duty, and sent a copy of their "circular" to Mr. Bangs, editor of the Methodist Magazine, and to Mr. Stockton, editor of the Wesleyan Repository, for publication. Mr. Stockton published the "circular" but Mr. Bangs would not. When Mr. Bangs refused to give this document a place in the Magazine, I determined to become a subscriber to the Wesleyan Repository, and addressed a note to Mr. Stockton, on that subject. See Wesleyan Repository, vol. 3, page 120.

At a meeting of the reformers in Baltimore in May 1824, they resolved to institute a new work to be called the "Mutual Rights," and to place the same under the control of a committee of four local preachers, and four laymen. I was elected one of that committee. On the 25th of Feb. 1825, bishop George wrote me a letter, in which he censured me severely, for the part I had taken, as one of the editorial committee, in publishing that work. To this letter I sent an answer, and this answer is the "communication which reached episcopal ears." The reader will bear in mind, that to the period when I wrote this answer, I had not commenced writing my "History and Mystery;" nor had I any thought of doing it. All that Mr. E. has said about my being "*several years* in preparing that work," and of making the "communication which reached episcopal ears *during the very period* in which he was engaged in preparing his book," Def. p. 87, is absolutely false. On the 4th of April 1826, I was selected to deliver a lecture before the Union Society of Baltimore. I chose for my subject the gov-

ernment of the Methodist episcopal church. From various considerations I was induced to commit it to writing; and I commenced writing it according to the views I had entertained, respecting the origin of the episcopacy, for 28 years. But when I began to examine the records of the church, and collate them closely and critically, I found I had been in an error all that time. I soon discovered, that the records of the church did not support my former opinions, and as I proceeded in the investigation I was more and more convinced that these records were not and could not be, the true and original ones. The lecture was prepared and read before the Union Society on the 6th of June following, as the subjoined certificate will prove.

"April 4th, 1826. A committee was selected for the purpose of selecting a lecturer, who chose Bro. M'Caine."

"June 6th, 1826. According to appointment, a lecture was delivered by the Rev. Alexander M'Caine." "This is to certify that the above are correct extracts from the Journal of the Baltimore Union Society. Oct. 24, 1828.

Levi R. Reese, Sec'ry of the Balt. Union Society."

I ask now where is my "inconsistency?" where, my double dealing? The "inconsistency" is in Mr. E's "own mind," or in his own *heart*. Long after I had written my answer to bishop George's letter, I was convinced of the falsity of the records of the church, and made the "exposure" promptly. I know that this "exposure" is not the way to secure Methodist favor. It is not the way to obtain a taste of the "cup of sweets;" nor is it the high road to the greatest benefice in the Methodist church. Had Mr. George lived, I should certainly say more of our correspondence, than I shall at present. One thing, however, in justice to myself must be told: that his correspondence was marked "in confidence" and "friendly and confidential." Mine was "friendly and confidential" also. This "confidence" the Methodist bishop betrayed. And now Mr. E. boasts he has "a copy of a letter from one of the editorial committee in his pocket" which letter I believe to be the one I wrote to Mr. George !!! For the purpose of making me infamous, he has used it in the "Defence of our Fathers," and plays it off against the "exposure," made in my pamphlet, as a proof of my "inconsistency." By this detestable conduct he has violated the sacredness of a "confidential" correspondence, which is considered, by every honourable man, to be an act no better than the breach of any other trust.

I shall now present the reader with bishop George's letter, and so much of my answer as relates to what Mr. E. has called my "inconsistency." At some future day I hope to be able to find room for the entire correspondence in the "Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer."

"February 25th, 1825.

"My dear brother—It will perhaps, be recollected by thee, and me, that during 30 years we have kept up a pleasant ac-

quaintance, that is to say, we have generally met with pleasure and parted in peace; no changes of season or place has made any change in our minds, my opinion has always been that your Cardinal point has been the glory of God. Although some of our friends have thought you in some cases severely zealous for and against principles which you have espoused, or rejected, yet impartial investigation has proved to me that you were pursuing what in your opinion was the noble principles of *moral justice and good order.*

After these preliminary remarks I wish to call your attention to a subject which to me is of the first importance; its probable you will bear with me though you may think me mistaken in my views, &c. &c. The subject is, the opinions introduced into the Mutual Rights, and set on float all over the continent as far as the committee has means and patronage. Finding your name among the editorial and circulating committee; it is my decided opinion, that in all the numbers there are opinions which are clearly inadmissable; but in the 6th No. there are things which to me are superlatively alarming, and its presumable yourself and the men associated with you holds yourselves responsible to all the Tribunals in Heaven and upon Earth for the truth and verity of all the things found in the numbers in general; and the 6th No. in particular. Then permit me to ask you one or two questions: the first is what induced the Committee to Publish a weakly bill of charges against Itinnerant Missionaries for the board of themselves and Horses? the question continued, did you ever hear of such a business in Europe or America among infidels or christians, that a man who asked an Itinnerant Missionary to his house that he might comfort him a few hours with the accommodations necessary to pursue his labours that in the Morning charged him for his lodgings. The only inference that I can draw from this unaccountable bill is that the Committee must have wandered out of every beaten track that has ever been heard of that they might roll a ponderous Mountain on the Itinnerant institutions and crush them, and then leap on the top of their towering Mountain, and shout aloud how high we are? You know who it is that saith he, and of course they, who exalt themselves shall be abased: take care how you triffle with these institutions which has had Jehovah for their Guardian for more than half a Century; and you or your Committee, and Satellites cannot clearly prove that the Glory has departed.—one more question why wander over the sea, take up what you consider an improper act of administration among our European brethren? do you think them incompetent to correct their own errors, and direct their own institutions? Or do you as a Committee set yourselves up as general reviewers with talent and Prerogatives to correct the errors of all churches? This looks very much like a consequential flight upward. Permit me to say it looks a little like any port in a

storm, that is Let us conceal our March, but crush the Itinerant institutions. Perhaps you will say, these are hard questions, and their application grievous to be borne: I cannot in conscience say any thing more pleasant if any thing is said by me on this awful and terrific subject. My opinion is that Mr. Stockton and his Patrons, the Committee and their supporters have all comparatively speaking been burning and flaming under the influence of a fanattical and schismattical zeal, which has long since leaped the bounds of rational investigation. I look upon you as men who consider themselves injured in their rights, and when you come together you meet as men who have in their hands burning torches which you immediately put together and you instantly cry we are warm we are oppresed, and having no ballance of Power in your councils none to moderate your feelings you all with consent commence your operations with a stedfast determination to destroy tyranny and tyrants, and seem to forget that eleven twelfths of your brethren have any rights at all; for you will permit me to know the spirit of Baltimore, Norfolk, and the Roanoak District. And I know your plans in the General are held in sovereign contempt. And upon your plans you have no more probability of producing a reformation than you have to sweep down Jupiter and his Satellites with your feeble fingers—I conclude with pleading with my Bro. to quit this unimportant business and help us to get precious souls to Heaven.

I am yours as ever *in confidence*, Enoch George."

Mr. George having charged me and the rest of the editorial committee, with a design to crush the itinerant institutions, I replied in the following extract, and it is to this part of my letter Mr E. refers, and this he adduces as proof of the "mystery of my inconsistency."

"How can a representation from the local ministry "crush the itinerant institutions?" When, in the first place every man that is returned to the general conference, is supposed to love "the itinerant institutions," comparatively speaking, as he loves his life: and secondly, when there is a guarantee for the perpetuity of itinerancy in the attachment of his electors to its institutions. How is it possible that such a representation could destroy itinerancy? Would it interfere with the episcopal prerogative of appointing the presiding elders? Every body knows that this is a subject which cannot affect local preachers. I say again, what I once said to you at my own house, "what is it to me, as a local preacher whether the bishop appoints the presiding elder, or whether he is elected by the annual conference. I have nothing to do with the abstract question, and considering it as an abstract question, it is not worth a shankless button." In this opinion you concurred, expressing your surprise, that Mr. M'Kendree would throw the connexion into a flame for a thing, which, in the abstract, was

not worth a straw. This is a matter, however, that concerns the travelling preachers themselves, and if the shifting of this power into other hands, should ever cripple or "crush the itinerant institutions," it will be done by the travelling, and not by the local preachers. Indeed, if I may take the liberty of expressing all my mind upon this subject, the probability would be greater, for the continuance of the exercise of this prerogative from a local representation, than without it; for the affection and veneration for episcopal men, might, and no doubt would lead a local representation to support a measure, which they had no immediate and direct interest in opposing. Would representation from local preachers affect the prerogative of the episcopacy to appoint the travelling preachers to their respective stations and circuits? I think not. And I am at the greatest loss to conceive, how it can be thought to interfere with that part of our economy, or be made to bear upon that prerogative."

I will now submit to the candid reader to decide, whether there has been any inconsistency in my conduct. In the first place, when I wrote my letter to bishop George, I only adverted to a subject, upon which we had freely and fully conversed, when we were last together. I did not, therefore, consider it necessary to be more particular, or more guarded in my observations; especially when I had not the most distant thought, that bishop George would give my *private* and *confidential correspondence*, to a man, whom *he knew* to be my personal and avowed *enemy*, for the purpose of *injuring* my character. In the second place, when I commenced the examination of the origin of Methodist episcopacy, it was a year after the date of my letter to bishop George. This examination resulted in the development of facts and circumstances, which have been published in my "History and Mystery." Of these facts and circumstances I had no knowledge when I wrote to bishop George; consequently there can be no ground for the charge of "inconsistency," in making this "exposure," as contrasted with the declarations in my letter. In the third place, Mr. George did not consider that this communication was made for the purpose that Mr. E. intimates it was. For in the next letter he wrote me he expressed himself thus: "upon examination I think it my duty to say that I find in your letter, what I have always found in you, that is a disposition to be *honestly* severe." So that even Mr. George himself, convicts Mr. E. of writing that which is not true.

Section XIX.—*Recapitulation and Conclusion.*

I have substituted the above title, for the one which stands in the "Defence of our Fathers," as being more appropriate to the contents of this section. I deem it of more importance

bring into a small compass, the principal facts which are noticed in my "History and Mystery" than to reply at length to the whining appeal which Mr. E. makes, to the passions of his readers. If Mr. Asbury's remains having been "deposited under the pulpit of Eutaw church," can impart any ministerial qualifications, or promote the spiritual improvement of the congregation who worship in that house, it is a most felicitous event for the preachers who ascend that pulpit, and for the congregation who assemble there. Or if it will undeniably and conclusively follow, because "his ashes rest there in peace as in a sacred and chosen asylum," that Methodist episcopacy is valid; that there are *three orders* of ministers in that church; and that Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal form of government; then indeed, we have a new system of logic, and Mr. E. has obtained for himself, an imperishable fame, as being the author of it.

"The Union Society of Baltimore had not forgotten that the remains of bishop Asbury were disinterred and removed from Virginia." "They had not forgotten that these remains were deposited in this city." "They had not forgotten the solemnities with which they were placed under the pulpit in Eutaw church." All these things they knew; and all these things they remembered. They knew, also, that none of these things made for, or against, the statements in the History and Mystery of Methodist episcopacy. They knew, they neither confirmed their truth, nor proved their falsehood. They had, therefore, no reason to allude to these transactions; nor had they any inclination to disturb those remains. There is not a man of them who would enter the "sacred asylum of the dead," bring up those remains, and expose them to public view, to promote the cause of reform; any more, than they would imitate the *unnatural* conduct of Tullia, who drove over her father's dead body, which lay in her way to the senate house. If other men can enter the charnel-house for arguments to promote their cause, if they can convert the "remains" of the dead into steps, to reach their object, such sacrilegious conduct ought not to be attributed to any of the members of the Union society of Baltimore.

Having made these passing remarks upon the 19th section of the "Defence of our Fathers," I shall now recapitulate some of the principal facts, which are mentioned in my History and Mystery: the first of which regards the different views which ecclesiastical writers give us of episcopacy. I stated that Episcopalians, in the strict sense of that term are divided into three classes. That, although they differ among themselves respecting the *origin* of the superiority of bishops; yet, they all agree in one particular, viz. that bishops are a distinct order from presbyters, and superior to them. This superiority I gave as the common acceptation of the term; and on this point there has been no *misrepresentation*. This is the first fact.

2nd Fact. The first section of the first chapter of the book

of discipline, which purports to be an account "of the *origin* of the Methodist episcopal church," was not written for upwards of *seven years* after the church was organized; and not until *after* the death of Mr, Wesley.

3d Fact. There is a discrepancy between the subject matter of the "foregoing account," and Mr. Wesley's letter, dated Sep. 10. 1784, inserted in the minutes of conference; which letter, it is said, "will afford as good an explanation as can be given of the subject;" viz. "for becoming a separate body under the denomination of the Methodist episcopal church." Any one who will take the trouble to compare these accounts, will find there is no misrepresentation here.

4th Fact. An account differing from both the foregoing (No 2 and 3) is given in a chapter of the book of discipline printed in New-York in 1795. This chapter has long since, been expunged as contradicting the "account" given in ch 1. sec. 1. of the present book of discipline. The reader will find this chapter on the the 18th page of my History and Mystery. In it neither Mr. Wesley's preference for the episcopal form of government, nor his recommendation of that form, nor his letter of Sep. 10. 1784 has been glanced at. The adoption of the episcopal form is made to rest on *other grounds* than these; namely on the corrupt state of the church of England. All these things I recorded as facts in my book; and yet Mr. E. slipt over them without the least notice or remark.

5th Fact. In the minutes of the conference, held when the church was organized, there are seventy six questions and their answers. Not one of these questions was printed in the volume of the American minutes, but other matter was substituted as may be seen by comparing these minutes with the prayer book of 1786.

6th Fact. The prayer book which Mr. Wesley abridged for the use of the American Methodists, and which was brought over "in sheets," was re-printed in London, at the press of Frys and Couchman, in a short time after Dr. Coke returned to England. He also had the minutes containing the above seventy-six questions and their answers re-printed at the same time and bound up with the prayer book.

7th Fact. Dr. Coke wrote a letter to Mr. Wesley urging him to ordain preachers for America; notwithstanding the measure had been opposed by Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Sellon, and some other clergymen at the conference. See Mr. Creighton's testimony on the 41st page of this book. Dr. Coke's letter was dated Aug. 9. 1784 and may be found in Moore's Life of Wesley, Vol. 2. p. 276. An extract from it may also be found in His. and Mys. p. 20. It ought to be noticed that Dr. Coke wrote the aforesaid letter after the conference had risen. Compare the above date with Wesley's Journals of Aug. 3. 1784.

8th Fact. When Dr. Coke came to America, his letter of ordination, as it has been called, was not published; although it has been considered "a part of the sketch" which Mr. Wesley.

drew up for the *use* of the societies. It is presumed the reason why this letter was not published, was because the preamble of it contradicted the organization of an "independent church." "Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North-America, *who desire to continue under my care*" &c.

9*th Fact.* Dr. Coke wrote to bishop White proposing to reunite the Methodist episcopal church with the Protestant episcopal church in the United States.

10*th Fact.* When Dr. Coke could not effect an union with the Protestant episcopal church in this country, he wrote to the bishop of London requesting him to ordain a given number of the British preachers. This he need not have done if he were a bishop.

11*th Fact.* Dr Coke and Mr. Asbury changed the title superintendent for bishop. "They changed the title themselves without the consent of the conference; and at the next conference they asked the preachers if the word *bishop* might stand in the minutes." Lee's His. of Methodism. p. 128.

12*th Fact.* Mr. Wesley wrote Mr. Asbury a letter of severe reproof for having assumed the title of bishop. In it he says "Men may call me a knave, or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never, by my consent, call me a bishop."

13*th Fact.* Although Mr Wesley expressed himself so pointedly and so strongly against the title of bishop yet the very next year after he had written the letter containing the above extract, his name was placed at the head of their minutes as filling the *episcopal* office. Thus: "Who are the persons that exercise the episcopal office in the Methodist episcopal church in Europe and America? Answer. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury." But Mr. E. says "Mr. Wesley was only entered as filling the episcopal office, but was not entitled bishop." If he was not a bishop, although thus entered, neither was Dr. Coke nor Mr. Asbury. For in ch. 1. sec. 1. of the book of discipline the term "episcopal" is mentioned six times, and the persons who "exercised" that "office," are called "bishops"

14*th Fact.* The travelling preachers who composed the conference in 1784, organized the Methodist societies into an "independent church," and assumed the title "the Methodist episcopal church." They did this without consulting the local preachers or lay members of the societies: They adopted the episcopal form contrary to the wishes of said societies, who were inclined to be Presbyterians: And they did it without the direction or recommendation of Mr. Wesley.

15*th Fact.* At the conference in 1784, the preachers made the following solemn declaration. "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves ready, in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands."

16*th Fact.* Mr. Wesley wrote to Dr. Coke expressing a wish "that Mr. Richard Whatcoat may be appointed a superintendent with Mr. Francis Asbury." Mr. Wesley's wishes

were disregarded, notwithstanding the foregoing declaration; for Mr. Whatcoat was not appointed.

17*th Fact.* At the conference held in Baltimore in '87, Mr. Wesley's authority was disowned, and his name struck off the minutes of conference. Two things are to be noticed here, 1. The conference by which this cruel act was done, consisted of only a part of the whole itinerant connexion. Other conferences being held in other places that same year. 2. Mr. Asbury was present at that conference, and made no objection to it, but "was *mute* when it was" done.

18*th Fact.* At the very conference, at which Mr. Wesley's authority was disowned, and his name struck off the minutes, the title of "bishop" was entered on the minutes. See the 11th Fact.

19*th Fact.* When Mr. Wesley died, who was the "father" and founder of Methodism, and who had preached the gospel upwards of 60 years, there was no notice taken of his death in the minutes, although an obituary notice was recorded of a young man who died the same year, who "had been in the field of labour" only "*two years and a half.*"

20*th Fact.* When Mr. Asbury was enumerating the sources of his episcopal authority, the names of all who were concerned in the transaction, were mentioned except that of Mr. Wesley.

21*st Fact.* When Mr. Wesley wrote to Mr. Asbury, entreating him to put away the title of bishop, Mr. Asbury would not do it, although he was urged to do so by the following moving entreaties: "for my sake—for God's sake—for Christ's sake." The title of bishop he still retained.

22*d Fact.* Mr. Wesley's circular letter of Sep. 10, 1784, which, according to Mr. E's statement, was also part of the "sketch drawn up for the *use* of the societies," was *mutilated*, and only an extract from it, was published.

23*d Fact.* The minutes of conference were altered, and not one line of all that was recorded when the minutes were taken, which were printed by Charles Cist, in Philadelphia, and afterwards reprinted in London, is to be found in the book of printed minutes sold at the book room of the Methodist episcopal church.

24*th Fact.* Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury presented an "address to George Washington, president of the United States." Mr. Drew says, this address was presented before the doctor returned to Europe. That it was printed in the public papers, and found its way to England before the doctor. That charges were preferred against him in the conference, predicated upon this address. All this is admitted by Mr. E. but he says the address was not presented before the year 1789. Excepting the decrease of numbers this is the only fact in all my book of which there can be any doubt. If Mr. Drew's statement be an error, it remains so still, notwithstanding all Mr. E. has said. And if it be an error, it does not affect Methodist episcopacy: it neither confirms its claims, nor destroys its validity.

HAVING now presented in a condensed form, *some* of the facts contained in my "History and Mystery," I may be allowed to ask those who have been engaged in the "*pious work*" of slandering me, and who have raised the hue and cry of defamation against me, what "fact" have I "misrepresented," or what "circumstance" have I "misstated"? I have stated the foregoing facts in language that cannot be misunderstood; and I have stated them exactly as I found them in works which have chiefly been printed at the Methodist book room. These works are supposed to be in the hands of the members of the church. If, therefore, I have "misrepresented" any "fact" it is one of the easiest things in the world, to prove the misrepresentation. I defy my calumniators to do it. It will not be enough for those who make the charge to rest it upon their own unsupported declaration. Their assertion is one thing; the proof of the truth of that assertion is another. It is due to themselves, if they would avoid the charge of "slander and falsehood." It is due to Methodist episcopacy which they profess to defend. It is due to the sacred cause of TRUTH. It is due to one who has been most shamefully vilified and injured. Let them, then, prove what they have said, or if they cannot do it, let them recant their base and slanderous statements

From stating "facts and circumstances" I shall proceed to offer some reasons which have induced me to believe that the form of government of the Methodist episcopal church has been surreptitiously introduced.

FIRST REASON. Because there is not a single line from Mr. Wesley's pen, in which he ever recommended the episcopal form of government to the American Methodists Six of the preachers, who were in the conference of 1784, have informed me, that they never saw such a paper If any one now living has seen such a paper. let him come forth and declare it. The want of such proof, is. of itself sufficient to establish the assertion, that the episcopal form of government has been surreptitiously introduced.

SECOND REASON. Because Mr. Wesley was induced to supply the American societies with the ordinances, from the assurances made him, that these societies "*desired to continue under his care.*" See the preamble to Dr. Coke's letter of appointment. But these assurances were soon violated

THIRD REASON. Because in the circular of Sep 10, 1784, Mr. Wesley says nothing about any particular form of government; although that letter is given in the minutes as the reason why the episcopal form was adopted. All he says is, "they are now at full liberty to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church." With this agrees Dr. Phœbus's statement, "Mr. Wesley recommended to us the New Testament for our pattern."

FOURTH REASON. In the circular of the above date, Mr. Wesley says, "In compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch." Where is that little sketch? Who ever saw it? Mr E. now tells us that "Dr. Coke's letter of ordination"—"the *preface* to the prayer book"—"Mr. Wesley's letter of Sep. 10, 1784"—and "the prayer book, constituted together the little sketch" Def. p. 37. This does not agree with Mr. Wesley's language, "*I have drawn up* a little sketch." This sketch could not consist of the above named papers. each of which was intended for a specific purpose.

FIFTH REASON. Because Mr. Wesley declared in the above circular that there are but *two orders*. He could not, therefore, have intended by setting Dr. Coke apart as a superintendent, to create a *third*.

SIXTH REASON. Because there is no evidence that Mr Wesley approved of the proceedings of the conference in 1784 in becoming an "independent church," and assuming the title "the Methodist episcopal church."

SEVENTH REASON Because Rev. Henry Moore, Mr. Wesley's biographer, declares, "Mr. Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things"

EIGHTH REASON. Because Mr. Asbury's "attachment to the church of England" in which there are three orders "was *exceedingly strong*." He also "preferred the episcopal, to the presbyterian form of government."

NINTH REASON. Because Mr. Asbury believed there are *three orders* of ministers.

TENTH REASON. Because in organizing the church, the episcopal form of government was adopted, contrary to the wishes of the societies. If the societies had been consulted, they would have adopted the presbyterian

form, not the episcopal. "Our numerous societies," says Dr. Coke, "would have been a regular presbyterian church were it not for me."

ELEVENTH REASON. Because Mr. Wesley's "*solemn injunctions*, not to take the title of bishop," were disregarded, and that title was afterwards taken.

TWELFTH REASON. Because Dr. Coke's letter of appointment, in which Mr. Wesley sets forth the "desire of the societies to continue under his care," was *suppressed.*

THIRTEENTH REASON. Because Mr. Wesley's circular letter of Sep. 10, 1784, was *mutilated* when published.

FOURTEENTH REASON. Because chapter 1, section 1, of the book of discipline, entitled "of the origin of the Methodist episcopal church" was not written until *after Mr Wesley's death.*

FIFTEENTH REASON. Because it was never said until some time after Mr. Wesley's death, which event happened nearly 7 years after the organization of the church, that he *recommended* the episcopal form of government.

SIXTEENTH REASON. Because of the pains taken to exhibit episcopacy to the best advantage in ch. 1 sec 1 of the book of discipline. The term "episcopal" occurring six times, the term "bishops" once, and Mr. Wesley's phrase "ordained ministers" being rejected, and "three regularly ordained clergy" substituted in its stead.

SEVENTEENTH REASON. Because the records of the church have been altered, see 119th page of this work.

EIGHTEENTH REASON Because contradictory reasons are assigned for the adoption of the episcopal form of government: compare Mr. Wesley's letter of Sep. 10, 1784, the first chapter and first section of the book of discipline, and the account given in the book of discipline of 1795, copied into the History and Mystery, p 18.

NINETEENTH REASON. Because Mr. Wesley's prayer book and the minutes of conference of 1784 were reprinted in England, at the press of Frys and Couchman, and not at Mr. Wesley's, in a short time after Dr. Coke returned to Europe; that, coming from England, with the minutes of the Methodist episcopal church bound up with it, it might seem as if these minutes had Mr Wesley's approbation.

TWENTIETH REASON. Because Mr. Wesley's prayer book was laid aside, shortly after the church was organized. And now Mr E. offers the recommendation of this prayer book as Mr. Wesley's recommendation of the episcopal form of church government !!!

TWENTY FIRST REASON. Because, in about two years after ordination had been obtained, Mr. Wesley's authority was disowned, and his name was struck off the minutes, by a "*few*" of the preachers, of *one* of the conferences held in that year.

TWENTY SECOND REASON. Because Mr Brackenbury stated, that he saw a letter from Mr. Asbury in which he said, "that he would not receive any person deputed by Mr. Wesley to take any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him"

TWENTY THIRD REASON. Because Mr. Wesley declared he had himself "received some letters from Mr. Asbury affirming that no person in Europe knew how to direct those in America."

TWENTY FOURTH REASON. Because Mr Asbury himself declares: "I did not think it practical expediency *to obey Mr. Wesley* in all matters relative to church government."

TWENTY FIFTH REASON. Because Mr. Asbury in a *confidential letter* to George Shadford said "Mr. Wesley and I are like Cæsar and Pompey—he will bear no equal and I will bear no superior."

TWENTY SIXTH REASON. Because the title *bishop* was assumed without the knowledge of the preachers At the next conference permission was asked to let this title be entered on the minutes.

TWENTY SEVENTH REASON. Because the title *bishop* was placed on the minutes the same year that Mr. Wesley's authority was rejected.

TWENTY EIGHTH REASON. Because Mr Wesley severely censured Mr. Asbury for assuming the title of bishop. "How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called a bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought.

Men may call me a knave, or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never by my consent call me a bishop."

TWENTY NINTH REASON. Because Mr. Asbury would not put away the title of bishop, although he had been entreated to do so by Mr. Wesley in the following moving manner. "For my sake—for God's sake—for Christ's sake" &c. He would neither yield to reproof nor entreaty; but would rather forfeit the confidence and affection of Mr Wesley his "father" his benefactor, and one of "his greatest friends," than part with the title of bishop.

THIRTIETH REASON. Because no notice is taken of Mr. Wesley's death in the American minutes of conference, although the death of one who had not travelled more than "two years and a half" is respectfully recorded.

THIRTY FIRST REASON. Because Mr Asbury takes no notice of Mr. Wesley in enumerating the sources whence he derived his episcopal authority; and yet Mr Wesley's recommendation of the "liturgy" is given as his recommendation of the episcopal form of government.

THIRTY SECOND REASON Because of the strife between Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury and the conference. See Dr Coke's certificate of May 1787 in my His. and Mys p. 62. Dr. Coke's letter dated Wilmington Del. May 1791 in my His. and Mys. p 64 Dr Coke's letter to bishop White in this work p. 58 See also an extract from his letter in "Defence of our Fathers" p 91.

THIRTY THIRD REASON. Because Dr. Coke wrote a letter to bishop White, without consulting the conference, or even Mr. Asbury his colleague in the episcopal office; proposing to re-unite the Methodist with the Protestant episcopal church

THIRTY FOURTH REASON. Because in the aforesaid letter. Dr. Coke acknowledged he 'went further in the separation than Mr. Wesley. from whom he had received his commission, did intend."

THIRTY FIFTH REASON. Because Dr. Coke wrote to the bishop of London requesting him to ordain only a few of the British preachers. Would he have done this if he had been a bishop?

THIRTY SIXTH REASON Because of the pains which have been taken by the rulers of the church, to effect concealment and prevent examination Investigation being interdicted, in fact, under the penalty of excommunication.

THIRTY SEVENTH REASON Because of the contradictory views of the writers who have undertaken to defend Methodist episcopacy See Mr. Morrell's. Dr. Phœbus's, Mr. Bangs's, and Mr Emory's pamphlets, Mr Wesley's letter of Sep 10 1784. The first chapter and first section of the book of discipline. The section extracted from the book of discipline of 1795 published in my His. and Mys. p 18 The extract from Mr. Asbury's letter dated Dec. 26. 1806 in this work p. 90; and the Narrative and Defence, said to be written by T. E. Bond and signed by George Earnest and others. If the reader will compare these documents, he will find that the writers not only differ respecting the *origin* of "our episcopacy" and the *reasons* for adopting the episcopal form of church government: but that they contradict one another in their statements respecting the ministerial *order* to which a Methodist bishop belongs.

When the candid reader shall have duly considered the nature, the number, and the variety of the facts set forth in the foregoing recapitulation, he will be led to the inevitable conclusion, that Methodist episcopacy, as it now exists, is not of Mr. Wesley's creating; nor could he have recommended the episcopal form of government to the American societies. He will be convinced that although these "facts" are so diversified in their character, originating under various circumstances, happening at different periods, and having been transacted by different agents, yet they all unite to prove such a recommendation impossible. And he will be convinced, by these "facts and reasons" that I am fully sustained in the assertion I have made that the episcopal form of government was SURREPTITIOUSLY INTRODUCED, and was imposed on the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name.

Erratum.—Expunge the words "for it" in the note on the 56th page, second line from the bottom.

FINIS.

TO THE

BISHOPS AND MEMBERS

OF THE NEXT

GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

Methodist Episcopal Church

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

CINCINNATI:
A. N. DEMING, PRINTER,

1824.

At a meeting of a respectable number of the male members of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, in Cincinnati, convened by public notice on January 17th, 1824; the following Address was submitted—approved of, and ordered to be printed, with a design to promote an union of sentiment in our Addresses to the General Conference.

D. ENGLISH, *Pres't.*

JOHN FORBES, *Sec'ry.*

ADDRESS, &c.

Honoured and Beloved,

FATHERS and BRETHREN.

As we are firmly attached to the cause, and deeply interested in the peace and prosperity of Methodism, we cannot with indifference, contemplate your present assembling together. Perhaps no period in the history of our Church, has presented a more important aspect than the present; and at no time have we stood in greater need of the united counsels of preachers and people. This, therefore, if any is needed, forms an apology for our present address; and we hope it will be considered, as indeed it is, a friendly, altho' at the same time a free expression of our sentiments on some important subjects, closely connected with our interests as a religious society.

It cannot be concealed, that much dissatisfaction exists throughout the Connexion, respecting our present form of government; and there is too much reason to fear, that unless some healing measures are adopted, divisions deep and wide will be the lamentable consequence. It is therefore, a question of no ordinary importance, whence those evils rise, which threaten to convulse the whole body, and what measures are best adapted to prevent the impending storm. And well, indeed, will those individuals deserve of the Connexion, who by their well meant exertions, cast a light on the path, which at present, appears to be partially concealed in the shade.

It is a notorious fact, that the dissatisfaction of which we now speak, is confined to no particular branch of the church; but may be traced from the Bishops through the Itinerant and Local Preachers to the leaders and private members; so that it may indeed be said, "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint?"

It is highly probable however, that our opinions will vary from some of our brethren, both as to the cause of which this

state of things is the consequence, as well as to the measures which ought to be adopted at this critical time, and also that this exposition of our sentiments will draw down upon us the displeasure of those who think that on these subjects we have no *right* to express our opinion.

We assume as an incontrovertible principle, that "IN ECCLESIASTICAL, AS WELL AS IN CIVIL POLITY, THE SUPREME AUTHORITY (*under God,*) IS VESTED IN THE PEOPLE; AND THAT THEY ARE, IN CHURCH AS WELL AS STATE, THE FOUNTAIN OF ALL RULE AND OF ALL LAW."*

It is freely admitted that in the origin of Methodism, this principle was lost sight of, or partially forgotton in the affection which swelled every bosom, towards that venerable man; now with God; who was the chief instrument in effecting, perhaps the greatest and most glorious revival of Religion ever witnessed since the days of the Apostles. He was the spiritual father of thousands of affectionate sons. To his will, they offered no resistance—his commands were obeyed with promptitude and affection, so that he was enabled to govern his large and rapidly increasing societies with credit to himself, and singular advantage to the whole body.

But Mr. Wesley is gone to his reward, and we have no Elisha to step into Elijah's room. Our "Guides and Brethren" are equally with us the fruits and not the fathers of Methodism. They can by no means be supposed to stand in the same relation to the Methodist family, as Mr. Wesley did; and as he could not transfer that power to any individual at his death, so no individual, or individuals could assume it with any degree of propriety; it necessarily reverted to the people by whom, to Mr. Wesley it had been virtually conceded.

Here then we are unavoidably conducted to this conclusion; that the General Conference, in assuming the right to legislate for the church, have vested themselves with powers subversive of the liberties of the people; and here if we mistake not may be dated the rise of all our difficulties. Here the causes originate which threaten us with the most alarming consequences. But

* See Moshiem on the Government of the Primitive Church, 1st American edition printed at Philadelphia, 1798 page 97 98.

in saying this we do not charge our brethren with wilfully and deliberately depriving us of our rights and privileges, as we can assure them we feel no hesitancy in believing that what they have done, has been with a sincere desire to promote the glory of God in the salvation of our race.

With us we confess it is a matter of no small surprise, that our form of church polity has continued with so little interruption to the present time. That under a popular form of civil government, where the people are the acknowledged sovereigns, and where all the institutions of the country are founded upon equal rights, a system of church government so diametrically opposed to republican principles should be established and so long submitted to, is a fact almost beyond credibility, and which can only be accounted for, from that flaming zeal which glowed in every bosom, and enervated every arm in maintaining and diffusing those sacred truths which are the peculiar glory of Methodism.

Exceedingly various are the opinions which men in the same circumstances have embraced both on civil and Ecclesiastical polity: yet we think there is no truth more clear and self-evident than that every form of government, as well Ecclesiastical as civil, ought to be adapted to the condition of the people, over whom it is intended to be exercised; and also, that wherever the civil government is of a liberal character, that of the church ought to partake in some measure of the same spirit. This being admitted, and we think it cannot be denied, we are led to recommend the adoption of a government partaking of the same principles with our civil institutions. Admit, therefore, into the General Conference, a Lay Delegation, chosen by the people; equal in number with the delegates from the annual Conferences: let them thus have a voice in the enactment of those laws by which they are to be governed; and we firmly believe the present commotion will subside into a state of peace and quiet, and harmony and love be again restored.

We know it is urged, that those who are most forward, to advocate a change in the Government of our church are meditating a blow at the very vitals of itinerancy. So far as this re-

lates to ourselves, or as our knowledge reaches, we know it is not the fact. We have ever contemplated our itinerant plan, as one of the firmest pillars of Methodism, and so far are we from thinking that its inevitable destruction, would be the result of the measures we recommend: we are firmly of opinion that their adoption would place it upon a more stable foundation, than that upon which it has hitherto rested, and thus ensure its continuance for generations yet to come.

We are not ignorant that our local brethren are using their exertions to obtain for themselves that station and influence in the church which they think their services and importance demand. In a circular we published some time ago, we expressed a wish that they would allow themselves to be identified with us. But to this several of the most influential, strongly object, as they are of opinion such a concession would greatly lessen their services in public estimation, and thus diminish both their usefulness and respectability. Such, however, is our opinion of their importance in the economy of Methodism, that so far as the admission of their claims is consistent with the general good, we hope they will be granted: yet we cannot see that a representation seperate and distinct from the laity would in any way ameliorate the condition of the local preachers, or promote the interests of our church; we therefore hope that our local brethren will allow themselves to be identified with us, and to be made eligible to a seat in the General Conference, as the representatives of the people.

Such, dear Brethren, are the views we have taken of this important and deeply interesting subject, and we recommend our remarks to your serious consideration. We make no pretension to infallibility, nor are we tenacious about all the minutia, yet we are firmly of opinion, that the principle we have endeavoured to advocate, is the only one that can be adopted with safety.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

ON

THE SUBJECT

OF

Reform in their Government.

PHILADELPHIA.
Clark & Raser, Printers, 33 Carter's Alley.
1827.

PREFACE.

BRETHREN,

Christianity carries all her books open. From every page the invitation proceeds, "Come and see"—"He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear." As friends to publicity, we have invited you here.* We desire you honestly to judge of our opinions and designs, and to decide, whether we are innovating on what is right, or if our endeavours are only directed to reform what is wrong; whether the principles we advocate ought to be established, or those we oppose ought to be confirmed.

* It was intended to read this Address at a public meeting.

AN ADDRESS,

&c.

WHEREIN essential Christian principles are concerned, men are not left to their own, or to the varying views of others, to determine what is expedient, or inexpedient. Were it of necessity that a Christian should decide on what is fit, proper, and convenient, or what is unfit, improper, and inconvenient, without any reference to fixed principles, he would soon be lost in the mists of his own doubts, or destroyed by the false reasonings of others.

But, of more value than even principles when alone, are the precepts and examples of the New Testament, which embody and exemplify those principles. Principles when clearly ascertained, precepts when perfectly understood, and examples when conscientiously adhered to, being designed for our guides, infallibly lead us into the paths of light, of truth, and happiness.

PRINCIPLES therefore, which are interdicted to the heart of man, by the New Testament, can find no support from those Scriptures, under *any form* of government. The New Testament sets up its own infallible standard; to that we must submissively come, if we would promote the interests of Christianity, as contra-distinguished from the interests and designs of sects and individuals, as such.

These views are no less beautifully than forcibly illustrated by St. Paul in a case in which he was personally interested. Some said, "I am of Paul;" others, "I am of Apollos." "Who, then, is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted: Apollos watered: But GOD gave the increase."

—Neither the soil, nor the seed, nor the fruitful showers, were theirs—"So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but GOD that giveth the increase." "Now, he that planteth, and he that watereth ARE ONE; AND EVERY MAN SHALL RECEIVE HIS OWN REWARD, ACCORDING TO HIS OWN LABOUR. For we are labourers together with GOD; YE are GOD'S husbandry, YE are GOD'S building." "Therefore, let no man glory in men: for all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come: all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." Does Paul, or Apollos assume to himself the right, or the left hand places, in the spiritual kingdom of HIM, whose is the kingdom and the glory? "Ye know," saith the Divine and only Head of the Church, "that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but, whosoever will be great among you, let him be your servant: even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life for many."

How then shall we account of the ministers of Christ? "Let a man so account of us, *as ministers*"—[not as those who having princely pretensions, *exercise dominion* over the Brethren.] "Let a man account of us as *stewards*"—[not as those who *exercise authority* upon the Brethren; for our Master has positively interdicted dominion and authority over his "husbandry and building]"—"*it shall not be so among you.*" "Let a man so account of us, the Apostles and Evangelists, as of the Ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." "Moreover, it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful"—"And these things, Brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself, and to Apollos, for your sakes; that ye might learn in us not to think of *men* above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up for one against another. For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?"

Here we have the irrevocable interdiction of Christ, regarding dominion and authority over his Church, on the part of the Apostles themselves; and the disavowal of one of the Apostles of their *not* exercising dominion. They were sowers, planters, ministers, stewards—but of themselves, they were nothing—having nothing but what they had received. What can be more plain? If Paul is only a *steward*, then is he not a *master*. If only a messenger and a minister, then is he not a lord over God's heritage—*Mark*, GOD'S HERITAGE, not man's. To HIM "whose is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," his heritage owes allegiance, and "*we all are brethren*," who compose the heritage of the Lord.

The Apostles no less explicitly disavowed dominion over their fellow Christians, than they strongly interdicted it to others. All their doctrines, all their precepts, all their examples, are united in one testimony on these subjects. How could it have been otherwise, if they were obedient to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who had strictly forbade his disciples to call any man *master*, or to permit any one to call them *masters?* How could it have been otherwise, if the Apostles did not preach another gospel? Over whom a man exercises absolute authority, his master he is, over whom he exercises authority—his servant he is, whom a man obeys. "Ye cannot serve two masters." "One is your Master, even Christ."

There are no ordinances in the New Testament, of perpetual obligation, but those of Divine appointment. In the character of ambassadors to brethren possessing the same right to the same Christian immunities; as the Stewards and Ministers of Christ, did the Apostles come to the churches "in the fulness of the blessings of the gospel of peace." And we are convinced, that the primitive churches were regulated by the principles and precepts of Christianity, rather than by any forms prescribed by men. Had the Apostles assumed to themselves the exclusive privilege of legislating, how could they, or those for whom they irresponsibly legislated, have maintained their allegiance to Christ? On the

part of these legislators, would have been the exercise of *mastery*—on the part of the governed, *subjection*. Christ has forbidden both. "*It shall not be so among you.*" "Not," saith Paul, "that we have dominion over your faith." Who could have believed this disavowal to have been sincere, if without the consent of churches, the Apostles had governed them? And who could have believed those churches, not to have been the servants of men, had they been so governed? Will any one seriously assert that there are one set of principles in the Christian Scriptures for the direction of ministers, and another for private members of churches?

The EXAMPLES of the New Testament, respecting church privileges, claim a brief review. When Judas by transgression fell, the eleven did not assemble apart from the Church, and in *secret* fill his place. "About one hundred and twenty" disciples being present, Peter addressed them, "*men and brethren.*" Did he call the eleven, *men and brethren*, or did he address the *hundred and twenty?* Did the eleven only give forth their lots, or was the choice made by the free suffrages of all who were present? If only the eleven gave forth the lots, in whatever manner this was done, why are the one hundred and twenty mentioned? Why address those who had neither part nor lot in the matter? Is it reasonable to suppose that all, excepting the Apostles, were disinterested, and therefore, idle spectators, in this highly important scene? Reasoning from analogy, we think not. For women, as well as Apostles, were witnesses of the resurrection. Our risen Jesus appeared to five hundred brethren at one time. These were all witnesses of his resurrection, and were referred to accordingly. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, at least, the one hundred and twenty gave their testimonial to the election of Matthias to the Apostleship? No one can prove that they were not absolute and proper electors.

Bingham,* a learned minister of the Church of England, in his "Antiquities of the Christian Church," has taken much pains to prove that the right of suffrage was inherent

* See Rees's Encyclopedia, Art. *Bingham*, for his character. He died in 1723, in the 55th year of his age.

in the primitive churches, and adduces several rules and methods that were observed in setting apart fit persons for the ministry. He states that "in the Apostolical and following ages there were *four* several ways of designating. 1. By casting lots; and this was the method in the designation of Matthias to be an Apostle. 2. By making choice of the first fruits of the Gentile converts. 3. By particular direction of the Holy Spirit; as in the case of Timothy. 4. By the ordinary course of suffrage and election of the Church. The method of which, in general, was so accurate and highly approved, that one of the emperors, though a heathen, thought fit to give a great character and encomium of it, and proposed it to himself as an example proper to be imitated in the choice of civil officers, for the service of the empire. For so Lampridius represents the practice of Alexander Severus: Whenever he was about to constitute any governors of provinces, or receivers of the public revenues, he first proposed their names, desiring the people to make evidence against them, if any one could prove them guilty of any crime: saying, it was unreasonable, when the Christians and Jews did this in propounding their Priests and Ministers, the same should not be done in appointing governors of provinces. This argues that all imaginable care was taken in the election of Christian ministers, since their practice in this respect, has such ample testimony from the heathen. And, indeed, all modern writers agree upon the matter in general, that anciently, elections were made with a great deal of caution and exactness." Mosheim, and other ecclesiastical historians, are decided in their testimonies to the same facts. The liberty of the churches never was deposited in the hands of the ministry. The Councils of Nice, of Antioch, of Laodicea, as have some modern Councils, quite missed their way in arrogating the supreme authority.

To whom does Christianity address itself, in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles? To men in absolute subjection to absolute masters? Or to men who must judge for themselves? because every one must give an account of himself to God. "The Holy Scripture containeth

all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought necessary to salvation." Now, it is the awful prerogative of every man by his own election to be governed by the Scriptures or not:—so free are men. Who then shall deny Christian people the right of suffrage in lesser matters?

The second *Example* is from xv. chapter of Acts of the Apostles. At the time Paul and Barnabas were at Antioch, a difference arose between them and some Jewish Christians, regarding circumcision. Paul, though a chief Apostle, and Barnabas, though an eminent Evangelist, did not attempt on their own authority, to settle that dispute. The differing parties sent chosen men to Jerusalem; who when they arrived, "were received of the Church, and Apostles, and Elders." The disputed points being settled in an assembly, "Then pleased it the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas—And they wrote letters by them, after this manner: The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren, send greeting unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles.—So when they were dismissed, they came to Antioch, and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered unto them the Epistle." Here is a conjoint exercise of legislative and advisatory power on the part of the Apostles, Elders, and Church, which, as an example, sophistry cannot evade, all the power of men cannot destroy. How trifling with common sense and universal usage, is the attempt to elude the force of this argument by saying, that as to the people, this address ought to be considered as only conveying their salutations! The only place, in ancient, as well as in modern epistles, for salutations, is the end. The title bears (and to this use it is generally appropriated) the designation of those by whom, as well as to whom, the Epistle is sent. In the proceedings and address of the Assembly at Jerusalem, we perceive, as plainly as we can perceive any thing by the help of language, the different classes of persons

abovementioned, giving an account of their joint doings: and they sent forth the decree, sanctioned, as it was from heaven, in virtue of their joint authority.

When the Hellenistic Jews complained that their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations, the apostles, advised "the multitude of the disciples," to "look out among themselves, seven men of honest report," to be set apart over this business. Nothing was done in this affair without the consent of the Church!

Beloved Brethren! Fellow heirs of civil liberty, of the freest and wisest institutions! What more shall we say? Let us review our own humiliated condition, as Methodists. The General Conference is composed of travelling preachers, chosen at the discretion of the Annual Conferences, which are likewise composed only of travelling preachers. These delegates, in whose election we have no voice, make all the rules and regulations for our government. They elect as many bishops as they please. These *bishops* preside in the General and Annual Conferences. *They* appoint all the presiding elders. *They* "fix the appointments" of the preachers for the several circuits and stations. *They* OVERSEE the *temporal* and *spiritual* concerns of the *Church*. *They* are as independent of the people, as is the Emperor of all the Russias. The presiding Elder has charge of all the Elders, Deacons, travelling and local Preachers, and exhorters in his district—He can receive, change, and suspend preachers in his district, during the intervals of the Conferences; and, in the absence of the Bishop, it is his duty to be present at all the quarterly meetings—to hear complaints, and to receive and try appeals—to oversee the temporal and spiritual concerns of the district—to attend the bishops when in the district, and to give them, when absent, all necessary information by letter. The duties of a travelling preacher are, to appoint all the Leaders; to receive, try, and expel members as the Discipline directs, that is, to try them by committees of his own appointment. 1. To pack the jury. 2. To pass sentence. 3. To execute the sentence, according to the award of his own jury.

Brethren! as Methodists, we have not the vestige of liberty! What think you of turning from masters in civil government, with abhorrence, and submitting to ecclesiastical masters! Wherefore do ye reject the pretensions of Popery? We should be glad to know what difference there is, what possible distinction you can make, between Popery and Protestantism, if Protestants, equally with the Papists, have no privilege of judging for themselves; are denied suffrage, and have no voice in the laws by which they are governed; and hear no voice either in the laws, or in their execution, but the voice of travelling preachers! Brethren, do ye not know that those Protestant Ministers who have set up *their* exclusive right of judging and governing for us, are in the same condemnation with the clergy of the Roman Church, as far as our rights and their authority is concerned in these vitally important matters? The Romish Church has never done more than govern its own members without their consent. Our travelling preachers do nothing less. The question is not, Have they, since the settlement of our Episcopacy, and the powers of the General Conference, kept side by side in abuses, but has one assumed more right than the other? The heads of the Roman Church have exceeded. They have made themselves *infallible.* This was *wisdom!* for, unless a *Clergy* be infallible, it can have no right to govern those who are under allegiance to Christ. Except we are convinced of this infallibility, we have no privilege of submitting to those who have assumed all power, temporal and spiritual, over the Methodist Episcopal Church. Our irresponsible, self-constituted legislators, do not, however, profess to be infallible; nor do we think they are so.

We forbear to enlarge on this fruitful source of shame! Every one knows full well, that, to make "rules and regulations" for a community without its consent, whether it be civilized or savage, heathen, papistical, or Protestant, whether at Rome, Constantinople, or in the United States, is to exercise lordship and mastery over that community, *in the only way* in which it is possible to exercise the mastery over any people. Nevertheless, civil and religious liberty is

that inherent right, that divinely-bestowed inheritance, which, in every region of the earth, is the common right of human nature.

We consider this truth to be incontrovertible, that God hath prescribed for the government of his churches, the standing and perpetual laws of his revealed Will, of which the Scriptures of the New Testament are the only depositories: that those laws secure the liberty of the Churches: that the powers of the Pastors are forbidden to extend beyond the authority of those laws which secure that liberty: that, therefore, the power of government can never be lawfully exercised by Ministers alone, independently of the people; because the exercise of this power by Ministers alone, is forbidden by those laws, and is necessarily destructive of Christian liberty, as it is diametrically opposed to the Divine authority. We infer that, by as much as absolute power is assumed or conceded to Ministers, by just so much, are those Ministers masters; by just so much, do they sustain an anti-christian relation to the Church they directly govern, and to the Church universal.

The friends of reform in this system, have been styled "Radicals," "Innovators," "Revolutionists." These names do not alarm us. Some of us have suffered more because we have borne the name of *Methodist*, than we fear to suffer from any other epithet. We do desire, and we are labouring to achieve, *radical changes*, *thorough revolutions* in some parts of our present system. We intend continually to aim at this mark. Now, let all our opponents know, let them engrave, what we are about to state, on their memories: We do not desire any changes in the "*General Rules of the United Societies*," as signed by John and Charles Wesley. We abide by our "Articles of Religion." We desire no abridgment, but as far as is possible an extension of the labours of evangelical Ministers.

It has also been alleged that the friends of reform deal in, and rest upon, abstract speculations and untried theories. We have done more. We have given many facts; and shall give more. We think that facts have demonstrated that our sys-

tem of government, is not according to the Scriptures; but opposed to its principles and precepts, and has not, as far as supreme power is exercised by the Preachers, any thing in common with its examples. In constituting the present government, the travelling preachers did not consult the people, although at the time, there were some thousands of members in the Societies. They have held absolute control over most church property; entire, over all financial concerns of Conferences; entire, over the Book Concern, which they claim as wholly theirs, and appropriate its proceeds in *various ways*, as they please. They are irresponsible in creating new Bishops, Conferences, Circuits, Stations—dividing, amalgamating, or destroying Circuits and Stations. Time would fail to enumerate all the powers growing out of this overwhelming supremacy in travelling preachers.

In contrast with the foregoing, let us return to the examples of Apostles. How differently did they settle the *first* Churches. Giving them the Gospels and Epistles, informing them in both, and by preaching from house to house, that these were to be their only rule of faith and practice. That, as they were pilgrims and sojourners, and fellow-heirs of the promises, so they were to be equal as brethren, to love as brethren. The eldest, best instructed and most faithful, both men and women, were made overseers over the rest; but with no other powers than to oversee for good; not to watch for honours and distinctions; not to exact obedience to themselves; not to assume titles as the security of place, and privilege, and influence. Such, too, were some of the first Methodist Societies. The Apostles are no where opposed to *Christian* honours, or the most intense affection for the faithful labourers in their Lord's vineyard; on the contrary, they would have them highly esteemed in love for their work's sake; but this affectionate regard was to be received in conformity to the spirit of meekness, love, and deep humility—no man must "glory in men"—no one must appropriate the regards paid to the spirit of his Master, to himself. Even in a few short years, some departed from their simplicity, sought, and obtained pre-eminence, grew strong in authority,

gave their successors the plea of their example. These, not content with resting on precedent, claimed also, Divine right, the command of Christ, and the example of Apostles. The office, the title to it, the immunities of it, were thus too soon, alas! established.

How are men under the guidance of the genuine principles of the Gospel; in subjection to its chastening influences, while of great *official* reputation; holding the keys, merely in right of their *office?*

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!" A Resolution was brought forward at the General Conference of 1824, of which the following is a copy:

"Be it resolved by the Delegates of the Annual Conferences, in General Conference assembled, That the several Conferences be, and they are hereby advised to recommend to the next General Conference, the adoption of the following Article, to be annexed to the sixth Article of the Limitations and Restrictions, and adopted by the General Conference in 1808, to wit:—Provided also, That whenever the General Conference shall pass any rule or rules, which, in the judgment of the Bishops, or a majority of them, are contrary to, or an infringement upon the above [Constitutional Articles or any one of them], such rule or rules, being returned to the Conference within three days after their passage, together with the objections of the Bishops, to them, in writing, the Conference shall reconsider such rule or rules, and if upon reconsideration, they shall pass by a majority of two-thirds of the members present, they shall be considered as Rules, and go into immediate effect—But, in case a less majority shall differ from the opinions of the Bishops, and they continue their objections, the rule or rules, objected to, shall be laid before the Annual Conferences, in which case a majority of all the members of the Annual Conferences present, when the vote shall be taken, shall be final. In taking the vote in all such cases, in the Annual Conferences, the Secretary shall give a certificate of the number of votes, both in the affirmative, and in the negative, and such certificates shall be forwarded to the Editor and General Book Steward, who, with

one or more of the Bishops, who may be present, shall be a committee to canvass the votes and certify the result. Provided also, That in the Annual Conferences, and in the General Conferences, the votes shall be taken by ballot."

The foregoing Resolution is full in proof of the Bishops' wishes.

A Circular, addressed to the members of our Church, by direction of that same General Conference, and signed by the Bishops, fully develops their late opinions and determinations regarding the *rights of the People.* That Circular has appeared in the Methodist Magazine, and in the minutes of the Conferences, and is too well remembered to need an entire insertion here. We shall submit a few remarks on some of its doctrines.

We see not how men, with American feelings, who had not been drilled by office into opposite interests, could have been influenced by the principles and spirit which governed a majority of the General Conference of 1824. Petitions from various sections of the country, signed by local preachers, and by intelligent lay-members, praying that body to acknowledge their rights; to recognise them as men, as Christians, as citizens, were respectfully laid at the feet of the Conference. The most convincing arguments, the most powerful motives, and the most earnest entreaties were urged in vain! Who that is not an avowed enemy, or a hypocritical friend of Methodism, can contemplate this result, without intense regret, and the utmost confusion of face! Who would have believed it credible, that "after much reflection," these petitions would have all been rejected, without any intimation being given of their reconsideration. Is it even now credible, that these petitions have been rejected once for all? "After much reflection," but not after any debate, (for they were not formally called up and passed upon,) they were rejected forever!

"With respect to lesser matters," say the Bishops, "we refer you to the revised edition of the Discipline about to be published." There are the laws, obey them! You now have our *ultimatum.* The sole power of the Bishops to appoint

the presiding elders and station the preachers—the sole power of the preachers to try and expel members, to appoint and remove class-leaders, and do all other matters and things they were wont to do,—remain precisely the same. The legislative, judicial, and executive powers, remain in the same faithful hands. But have the authors of the Circular succeeded in flattering the intelligent portion of the American Methodists into a state of mute thankfulness, for the new edition of old rights? Most certainly not. They ought to know, that that portion of the Methodist community, who are reformers from principle, cannot always accuse themselves with the ruinous fault of suffering their rights to be disregarded and withheld from them.

Three years have now elapsed since this Circular was sent abroad. We think the conviction must have pervaded the whole understanding of the authors, that, however much the production may have pleased them, it has been seen, too clearly seen in its true character, to have any other than an opposite effect from that they intended. Essential rights, when so perfectly understood, as to be incorporated with the judgment, will, and affections of Christians, are not to be ejected, by opposing *titles* and the *influence* of *office*, to REASON and RELIGION.

We wholly dissent from the Bishops' sentiments and doings. "The rights and privileges of our Brethren, *as members* of the *Methodist Episcopal Church*, WE hold *most sacred*. We are *unconscious* of *having infringed them*, nor would we *do so*." This is very different from saying—*We* hold *your rights*, as *Christians* and *American citizens*, most sacred, and we are unconscious of having infringed them, nor would we do so. The "rights and privileges" of our Brethren, *as members* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and their rights, as Christians and men, we know full well, are very different. This we perfectly understand. When will the Bishops ever acknowledge the rights of men and Christians, as such? Hear them! on their own, and on the account of the General Conference: "The *limitations* and *restrictions* which describe our *authority* in *General Con-*

ference, and *beyond* which (*limitations* and restrictions) *we* have *never acted*, vindicate our sincerity in asserting," that *as Methodists* we respect your rights—That we never went beyond certain *limitations* which say, the Preachers shall have all power; never went beyond certain *restrictions* which declare, the people, as Methodists, have no rights and privileges! You, who are our supreme governors, unaccountable to us—You, who appoint your own successors—You, on whom the whole Church depends in a state of passive obedience—and as you would have it—in a state of nonresistance —You, who direct the wheels of Methodism as you choose, you are unconscious of having regarded our "rights and privileges," other than as sacred; have "never infringed them," nor have you ever, no, never, "exceeded your authority." O these limitations! You are greatly *restricted* in your doings! O the unchangeable acts of a few men, most of them young, "from round about Philadelphia and Baltimore!"*

Let our Ministers excel all others in wisdom, zeal, and usefulness, but spare us from ever again reading under their own hands and seals, that they have such a sacred regard for the rights of our Church, as never to have acted beyond absolute authority!!! The General Conference is tightly bound—it can add, on the recommendation of the Annual Conferences, as many new *limitations* and *restrictions* as it chooses; and it had *liked* to have added a huge *restriction* on the Bishops, by granting them a *veto*, equal in value to the good sense of *two-thirds* of the members of that body. O the propulsive power of these "limitations;" they permit addition, *ad libitum*, until neither the world, nor the Church can contain, the "sacred regard" the General Conference feels for "the rights and privileges," of "our brethren."

We will make a few remarks on one or two other sentences, and we are done. The authors of the Circular say, "If by 'rights and privileges,' it is intended to signify something foreign from the institutions of the *Church*, as *we* received them from our fathers, pardon us, if we know no

* This was stated by an old member of the late General Conference, who was present at that of 1808, to have been the fact.

such rights, if we do not comprehend such privileges." We freely tender our "pardon," as part of the people addressed. If *a Church* is a faithful body of men, having a share in its own government, our Church never had any institutions, which might fairly be styled, "*institutions of the Church.*" As to the "Fathers," if we may take the ages of a majority of the members of the last General Conference, as being similar to the "young men of 1808, from round about Philadelphia and Baltimore," we cannot very highly regard them on account of their antiquity. Some of them were little more than full grown boys.

Again the authors say, "With their rights (the *petitioners*), as citizens of the United States, the CHURCH *disclaims all interference;* but that it should be inferred from these, what are your rights as Methodists, seems to *us* no less surprising, than if your Methodism should be made the criterion of your rights as citizens." Is the General Conference a *Church?* Who desired the General Conference to interfere with their rights, as citizens? *Nobody.* Suppose the Congress of the United States should address the Methodists as follows: "With your rights, as Methodists, the United States disclaims all interference; but that it should be inferred from these, what are your rights as citizens, seems to us no less surprising, than if your citizenship should be made the criterion of your Methodism." Could any body understand this language?

We think, we know, what the General Conference meant: and that was:—Natural rights are some things, and religious rights are other things. We shall turn the argument against the *Bishops.* It matters nothing, (we hope the General Conference know) to say that sacred things must not be compared with worldly things. In their importance we allow they cannot; but in their discipline and order, they may be so far compared, as to say, that the discrepancy and wrong, which would be disgraceful and pernicious in worldly affairs, should in common prudence, be avoided in the affairs of religion.

The difference between civil and religious rights consists

not merely in their value, but also in their nature. Civil rights are conditional, temporary, and uncertain in enjoyment. Religious rights are fixed by Divine appointment, are indefeasible, and bear relation to eternity and all that is certain. For the sake of peace, a man may waive civil rights; though he be a *slave*, he may be a Christian. But let a man bow down to religious masters, let him but waive his right to be governed by his own conscience, in submission to revelation, and he abandons the highest interests, and is a traitor to Christianity. Restraints imposed by common consent, on civil liberty, are lawful. But no man may lawfully consent that his religious liberty shall be abridged or wrested from him. Those who are under religious masters, boast absurdly and in vain, of their civil liberty.

The Methodist reformers, as far as we know them, are warm friends of our doctrines and of itinerancy. All their petitions proved this: all their publications before, and since, 1824, evince the same facts. So that it is unjust to say the contrary. Their affections abide with their brethren; and they will all abide while they safely can. But, if we are correctly informed, they are bound in conscience to obtain a representative form of government where they best can find that form.

Objections have been raised against representation in the General Conference, on the grounds of impracticability. We know there would be difficulties: there are many now. But if it were really impracticable for the Church to be equitably represented in the General Conference, we most surely believe that it will not waive its rights, or the Reformers their principles, on these grounds. No, we will seek representation in the Annual Conferences. If the Methodist people are so widely spread over the United States, as not to permit of a fair delegation to one distant place, let them make their laws at home. We think there is too much intelligence every where, to permit our brethren to accommodate a huge and unwieldy system at the expense of the good of all, in every place. Can any thing be more plain, than, that a system is radically wrong which defeats all the principles and

ends of good government? Of what value were the enactments of the last General Conference? A law was passed respecting the marriage of preachers, directly in the face of all liberty, civil and religious; directly opposed too, to one of our own Articles of Religion. Therefore,

1. Let the government be remodelled. Let the Annual Conferences be made independent legislative bodies, in which the Church in all its sections, and in all its interests, may be easily and fairly represented. Some money may be saved, much travelling, and no small share of intrigue.

2. As the Preachers and Members best know the peculiar wants, habits, and usages, of the Churches, and of the public, in their own particular boundaries, so they can certainly legislate wisely and for the best in those sections wherein they reside.

3. After all the notes of preparation, after all the elections of Annual Conference delegates, after all the travelling expenses, and vexations, there can only subsist a nominal community of interests between the Philadelphia, Missouri, and Canada Conferences—between the East and the West, the North and the South. The General Conference is held only once in four years: the Preachers are, in general, wholly unknown to each other: they know next to nothing of any wants but those at home: the various necessities are sometimes too obstinately discordant to be met by any general laws, and yet general laws alone can be passed. In a word, such are the contrarieties of views, principles, interests, and ulterior objects, that the legislation of the General Conference is of sheer necessity conducted on the principle, and in the spirit of compromise. How do the northern Preachers justify it to their consciences to be accessary to slavery in the south and west—to sit as legislators with Preachers, who themselves are slaveholders? By agreeing that every Conference shall regulate its own slave matters, do not the northern Preachers sanction slavery? Look at the members of the committees, who for once in four years, had the disposal of our interests, in common with the interests of all, and say, what did they know of us?

4. To obtain our rights, to do our duty to ourselves and to future generations, to obviate most of the difficulties, if not all, of the present system, it is only necessary for the Members of the Philadelphia Conference, and the people within its boundaries, to constitute themselves, as we believe they ought to be, and may be, if they are not wanting to themselves, an independent legislative body, in *unity* with all, but in *subjection* to none.

5. Another reason in favour of the independence of the Philadelphia Annual Conference is, that its boundaries are too extensive, the peculiar and local wants of the people and the public, are too numerous to be neglected for four years in succession, and for ever after. This is the fact: Our circuits, stations, societies, and travelling, superannuated, and worn out ministers, our local preachers, exhorters, and class leaders, can as well be benefited by the English Parliament, as by the sessions of the General Conference held once in four years. Just look for one moment: What ought we to expect preachers on committees, once in four years to do for the Societies in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the eastern shore of Maryland, when these preachers have been born and bred with other feelings, habits, principles, and sentiments, than are common to us. Indeed, in *our bounds*, there are varieties enough, of all sorts, to require the united wisdom of preachers and people to provide for. We suffer every thing to go to ruin! For what? For the sake of maintaining a nominal integrity in the body! For the sake of making the Bishops the inefficient standard bearers of universal American Methodism! Where is the love for souls? Where is our allegiance to Christ, that we suffer every thing at home to be dilapidated? And how do we expect to answer for the sacrifice of our best interests?

What are our Annual Conferences now? our own in particular? A body of Preachers, who meet together once a year, for a week, to do trifling things, to receive their appointments from one man, who has travelled post haste, for the purpose of appointing the Ministers of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to the several places of their labour for the

ensuing year! The Bishop is in haste! No matter what important concerns demand the attention of Conference, the Bishop must be at New York, or at Troy, or at Boston, or in the western part of the state of New York, or in Canada, by such a time; therefore, Conference must be forthwith dissolved—And away goes the Bishop to perform over again the same things! O ye *American* Preachers! are ye not ashamed of your condition? How long will ye bow down to men, and lay your inherent rights at their feet!

Ministers, Preachers, of the Philadelphia Conference, have you so contemptible an opinion of the aged and wise among us—of the fathers and the young men of our Israel—as not to wish them to be seated side by side with you in your annual deliberations; assisting you, first, in your efforts to save souls, and ministering, secondly, to your necessities while labouring in this holy work? Are ye the only wise men, and will wisdom die with you? Ah! we say not so! Ye would grieve did we impute such assumptions to *you!* We do not. We pray you acquit yourselves like men. Look at our Zion! She mourns in all her gates! Her palaces are falling down—the wilderness is increasing upon us. Call up the aged, awaken the young—let all put to their hands—to the help of the Lord, come up, to the help of the Lord against the mighty, who rule you, and rule all—who possess and exercise the most uncontrolled, and irresponsible powers, that were ever before named, in the hearing of Protestantism, in any country!

In proof of our privilege of sharing in our own government, we appeal to the Scriptures. In this appeal we dare not concede an iota of essential principles, nor depart from plain precepts, to please the friends of a mistaken expediency. We are fully convinced that ecclesiastical power is the right of no individual, but may be given by Christian communities to those only who appear to the united body, to be best fitted to promote its common welfare. And by consequence, as it is the duty of Christian Ministers to serve the Church, so it is the duty of the Church, to restrain power in the hands of the

ministry; because, it is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary, to withhold power from all whose principles or practices are hostile to the security and happiness of Churches. If these views are not sound, then, indeed, is the Church under absolute masters; and if any are masters over the Church, they disregard the authority of Christ, who has reserved to himself the supreme authority over all Churches; and who has permitted Churches to make such prudential regulations for the well-ordering of their affairs, as shall be based on the ground of mutual consent, for mutual benefit.

Church government is an incidental expedient of the Gospel, and therefore can receive no sanctions from the Gospel, in any principles incongruous with Christian liberty. Throughout every grade of progression in ecclesiastical organization, from the voluntary assemblage of two or three indifferent hearers, up to the organized assembly, of a hundred adult Christians, all depends on their consent. In his commission to preach the Gospel, no Minister can find a word, authorizing him to impose penal laws on believers, or on unbelievers, without their consent. From what we have adduced from Bingham, it is plain that these views were held by the first Christians.

As to the expressions regarding the Episcopacy, we say, they would not have been made, could we have been persuaded, that the assumptions and influences of a corrupt polity, would always be restricted to the mere limits of temporal disadvantages; that it would never exert a deadly control over our spiritual experience and practice. But what is the tale of wo which history tells in regard to such contaminating influence? And how is it possible that such extensive human control can compatibly consist with the exclusive sovereignty of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; which is a most essential principle in experimental holiness. "The Papacy," says Dr. South, "grew by taking advantage of grants and favours; like courtesy passed into a claim; and what was got by petition was held by prerogative. Thus grew the Papacy: and, by the same ways will also grow other sects; for, there is a Papacy in every sect; they all design the very

same height, or greatness, though the Pope alone, hitherto, has had the wit and fortune to confess it."

Brethren, let us persecute no one for his opinion; but, be as free from this unhallowed temper, as we are fearless of its exemplifications in some who oppose us.

APPENDIX.

An argument recently adduced in favour of the present system of government, has exceedingly surprised us. Never before have we seen in print any thing of the sort from a friend of our *distinguishing doctrines*. The argument is this: "It would be as illiberal, as unjust, to allege, that the success of the Methodists is wholly owing to any *peculiar doctrines*, enforced by the Methodist Ministry; but is to be mainly attributed to its missionary character and operations." Admit this to be true, and the glorying of the Methodists is vain! For, if they cannot identify their success with the Gospel, they are little better than those mentioned by our Lord, who encompassed sea and land to make proselytes.

Before we proceed farther, we wish to remark, once for all, that we have not the most remote desire to derogate, in the least, from the well-earned praise of the faithful travelling preacher. Our hearts and our houses are open to receive them. It is against a fatal error, which has been for a long time engendering in our Israel, that we wish to adduce facts, and Scripture, and reason, if happily we may wound the monster, before he waste and destroy to an irreparable extent.

Every one must admit that Itinerancy, as an abstract circumstance, is of no value. If not of value, abstractly considered, it is then only of value, as associated with the doctrines it facilitates; or, Itinerancy may, on the other hand, be injurious, as it facilitates erroneous views. The *doctrines* which Itinerancy bear, make it a *good*, or an *evil*. A man

may, if not in the Spirit of Christ, itinerate for ever, in successless rounds. "The Gospel is the power of God to salvation," be it preached by any faithful man, whether at home, or abroad; whether he be local, or travelling; of whatever name, of whatever country. The Gospel of God our Saviour, provides, and has ever provided, its own instruments, and means of promulgation; all its power, all its effects and results, proceed from itself: in its own intrinsic qualities and properties, it is every thing; for foreign aid it never was, it never will be, indebted. Shall we refer to the Scriptures to prove these facts? *Take the whole Bible in proof.*

The Gospel in its first publication and establishment, equally acknowledged, as auxiliaries, itinerant and local measures. 1. The Apostles and first preachers published the truth as it is in Jesus, beginning at Jerusalem, and going through the world. 2. In every place they made choice of the first fruits, as fellow-labourers. So, we see their epistles are directed to individual Churches. To make one or two examples suffice: St. Paul preached at Ephesus for three years, *labouring with his own hands;* at Corinth, *labouring with his own hands.* So, too, others preached and *laboured.* See St. Paul's salutations in the last chapter of Romans. See also all his Epistles. See too the Epistles of all the Apostles; and see if you can find any distinctions between the office, or efficiency, or regards due to travelling or local Ministers of Christ. The fact is, and we challenge proof to the contrary, that the world never before saw such an order of ministry, as is the Methodist Itinerancy. Merely on account of their travelling, not at all on account of their being Elders, or Deacons, or Ministers of the Gospel—but solely on the ground of right, as travelling preachers, continually changing, they are the supreme and irresponsible governors of every Methodist Church, in every city, town, village and neighbourhood in the country! When even one of the eldest of the travelling preachers locates, he resigns all his power as a governor; sinks down into the common level of the governed. Now, it is *not because* a man is a *Deacon*, or an *Elder*,

that he is of this wonderful order of supreme masters; it is purely because he is of the *order* of travelling ministers.

How came these things to pass? The best things are capable of the most fatal perversions. Methodism, in its *origin*, was not indebted to itinerancy. For its first introduction into this country, Methodism was not indebted to itinerancy. For its extension into many parts of the country, and for its establishment in many others, it has not been indebted to itinerancy.

The genius of Christianity is the genius of liberty. All its duties, and all its responsibilities require liberty. All its votaries, with the most hearty welcome, are invited to usefulness. But what is this? One order of men, merely because they travel about, are permitted to control and overrule every thing! We are told, "local men have local views." These we need, and cannot dispense with; we must have local views, and local measures, and local men to do local things. Travelling men have travelling views. We need them too; have no desire to abridge their usefulness; but we do not wish to see them dragging every thing in their train wherever they go.

Safely might the *Societies* be left to assign each one his proper sphere. Safely might the concurrent reason and religion of Christians be permitted to estimate the graces and gifts of local preachers, exhorters, class leaders, and travelling preachers. With the Scriptures in their hands, Christians will not long err in estimating the qualifications and character of a labourer in the vineyard of Christ. The mere circumstance of a man being a travelling preacher, or abiding at home, ministering to his own, and to the necessities of others, should not for one moment have an iniquitous influence on a Christian mind. Fruits, a holy life, should furnish the only criterion of judging and deciding; of giving, and withholding, affection and support. Never let it be said of us, that our homage is to the office, and not to the Gospel. Never let us be guilty of depressing a faithful messenger of the Cross, because he is of our own country and kindred, and does not leave us to labour in distant places; but pours out all

his tears, offers up all his prayers, and spends his life in serving his generation at home, and in the adjacent parts.

Brethren, if we are forbidden to have respect of persons, because of worldly distinctions, it cannot be an indifferent matter to acknowledge (for we did not make them) distinctions, of a *purely official* character, regardless of moral, intellectual, and religious worth. Let us rather, "hold up the hands that hang down, and confirm the feeble knees."

Methodism needs the presence of the HOLY AND EVER BLESSED SPIRIT, to pervade all her sections and all her borders; to restore us to primitive principles, disinterestedness, simplicity, and usefulness. Perish then all anti-Christian assumptions, all vain distinctions!

What occasions every minister, divinely commissioned, to exclaim on his own account, "Wo is unto me if I preach not the Gospel;" and, on the people's account, "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh?" What, but an impulse from Heaven so imperious, as not to be restrained, and not to be rendered inefficient by the want of merely incidental and rigidly systematical itinerancy. Is it not well known that the itinerancy, which served as the *primum mobile* of the primitive spread of Christianity, as well as of Methodism, was so desultory, as that the first ministers itinerated accordingly as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? When has the Gospel, with all the supposed advantages of systematic itinerancy, been spread with such pure efficiency, as in those days of desultory movement, when the primitive ministers were uncontrolled by councils or conferences, composed of privileged orders of *clergy?*

We sincerely declare, that we are entirely in favour of an efficient, evangelical, itinerant ministry, and are wholly disposed to support them to the utmost of our ability. But we are equally disposed to tender every encouragement to evangelical ministers, who are not of the itinerancy.

We fully believe that "the Lord hath ordained, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." This ordination, however, does not make it *necessary* that every

minister *should* "live of the things of the Altar." "But I have used none of these things," said the holy Apostle, "neither have written these things, that it should be *so done* unto *me:* FOR IT WERE BETTER FOR ME TO DIE THAN THAT ANY MAN SHOULD MAKE MY GLORYING VOID: For though I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of—if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward—What is my reward then? *Verily*, that when I preach the Gospel, I MAY MAKE THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST WITHOUT CHARGE."* Now, if secular avocations in any wise vitiate either the office, or the efficiency of a minister, is it not strange that Paul should have said "it were better for *him* to *die* than to be deprived of the *glorying* of *ministering* to his *necessities* by the *labour* of his *own hands*."

There is much reason to think that the primitive elders exercised their worldly employments; it is *certain* the Ephesian elders are exhorted to do so, in these remarkable words: "I have coveted no man's silver or gold, or apparel: yea, you *yourselves know*, that *these hands have ministered* unto my *necessities*, and to them that were with me. I have showed you in all things, how that, *so labouring, ye ought to support the weak*, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, *it is more blessed to give than to receive.*" Acts xx. 33, &c.

Those ministers are most like St. Paul, who, preaching the same Gospel he did, preach it without charge. As before hinted, Methodism has not been first introduced into new places, always, by the order of travelling preachers. From London to the neighbouring towns—from the towns in Great Britain generally, to the villages and country places, the local preachers have gone and returned, founding new societies. So in Wales: so in Ireland: so in Scotland: so in the United States: so in the West Indies. Mr. Gilbert, not of the travelling order; John Baxter, only a leader, were the instruments of introducing Methodism into the West Indies, before Dr. Coke and his associates arrived there. It is true of Metho-

* 1 Cor. ix. chap.

dism every where, that its first introduction, and, it ought to be said of it every where, as it can be of it in many places, that its establishment has been as much owing to the local, as to the travelling preachers. Take the city of Philadelphia, and the country around for a circuit of fifteen or twenty miles; look into the history of the societies, and it may surprise any one to learn, how many of these have been raised by the local preachers!* Look at the Wyandots—a poor black man, "who, without either pecuniary friends, or patronage, has been more eminently successful in the conversion to Christianity, of those Indians, than all his predecessors, aided by the patronage of the learned and the opulent."

There is a monstrous evil in depressing the ministerial character of local preachers. The travelling preachers are taught to believe themselves their superiors, in most respects, as they are in all, as far as power is concerned. The people are taught the same lesson. And even the local preachers themselves are taught, and made to feel too, that they are, in general, no better than mere conveniences; fit, once in a while, to fill up a niche! This is a crying sin! Its effects on all parties are dreadfully pernicious! The travelling preachers are our *regular* clergy—and soon, if the doctrines we hear, are believed, that a minister should be "a man of one work," we shall learn to despise local preachers altogether, and refuse to hear them at all; as our high-toned elders in charge of cities have refused to *employ* them! with a very few exceptions. In Baltimore, Philadelphia, and in New York, the official standing of local preachers is as low as their enemies could desire it to be—*almost!*

Why are these things so? So much assumption on one hand; so much depression and contempt on the other? Not because of any examples or principles in the New Testament. Not because there is any thing in the history or pureness of

* We would respectfully request all the friends of the local preachers to institute careful and systematic inquiries, in the several circuits within the bounds of the Philadelphia Annual Conference, for the purpose of ascertaining the origin of the several Societies, and that they send the result of their investigations to Dr. Thomas Dunn, Vine Street, Philadelphia.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

GENERAL CONVENTION OF DELEGATES

FROM THE

MEMBERS AND LOCAL PREACHERS

OF THE

Methodist Episcopal Church,

FRIENDLY TO REFORM,

Assembled in the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church,

IN THE

CITY OF BALTIMORE, NOV. 15, 1827.

Baltimore:
PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY,
Corner of St. Paul and Market streets.
1827.

JOURNAL.

AGREEABLY to previous notice, a Convention of delegates of Reformers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was held in the city of Baltimore, on the 15th November, 1827, when brother Nicholas Snethen, of Maryland, was appointed president pro tem. of the meeting, and brother Gideon Davis, D. C. secretary, pro tem.

On motion of brother French, it was *resolved*, That a committee be appointed to make out a list of the delegates that have been appointed to attend the Convention.

Whereupon, brothers John French and Moses M. Henkle were appointed said committee.

The names of the delegates being called, it appeared that the following brethren had been duly appointed or elected:

OHIO.

†Rev. Archibald Hawkins.	†Mr. William Disney.
†Rev. Moses M. Henkle.	Mr. William B. Evans.
Rev. David McMasters. [1]	Mr. Alexander Sutherland.
Rev. James Towler. [2]	Mr. John Stricker.
Rev. Daniel Inskeep.	Mr. William Griffith.
Rev. Thomas Scott.	Mr. Thomas McEver.
Rev. Evert Richman. [3]	Dr. James T. Johnson.
Dr. Shadrach Bostwick. [4]	Mr. Benson Goldsberry.
†Mr. Stephen B. Cleaveland.	Mr. Stephen Bell. [5]

NEW-YORK.

†Joseph K. Owens, Esq.	David Ayres, Esq.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

†Rev. William Lamphier.	†Mr. William King.
†Mr. Gideon Davis.	†Mr. Nathaniel Brady.

NORTH CAROLINA.

†Rev. William W. Hill.	Rev. Thomas Moore.
†Rev. Willis Harris.	Mr. Augustus Claibourne.

For an explanation of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, see Appendix.
Those marked thus (†) were present.

PENNSYLVANIA.

†Rev. Charles Avery.
†Rev. Anthony A. Palmer.
†Mr. William S. Stockton.
†Mr. John Mecasky.
†Mr. John S. Furey.
†Mr. James Kelch.
†Mr. James McKim.
Mr. Patrick Leonard.
Mr. William Scholey.
Mr. John Bissell.
Mr. Samuel Bushfield.
Mr. Henry Ebert.
Mr. William Robinson.
Mr. Samuel Haslet.

VIRGINIA.

†Rev. Dr. John French.
†Rev. Charles Roundtree.
†Rev. Richard Gilham.
†Rev. Richard Latimore.
†Rev. Dr. John B. Tilden.
Rev. William H. Coman.
Rev. Benedict Burgess.
Rev. David T. Ball.
†Mr. John Blount.
†Mr. John Jones.
Mr. Richard H. Ramsay.
Robert Bailey, Esq.
Joseph Ball, Esq.
†Dr. Andrew B. Woodley.
†Mr. George O. F. Andrews.
†Mr. Jordan Edwards.

MARYLAND.

Western Shore.

†Rev. Dr. S. K. Jennings.
†Rev. Alexander McCaine.
†Rev. William Bowden.
†Rev. Benjamin Richardson.
†Rev. Eli Henkle.
†Rev. Daniel Chambers.
†Rev. Nicholas Snethen.
Rev. Slingsby Linthicum.
†Mr. John Chappell.
†Mr. John J. Harrod.
†Mr. Thomas Mummey.
†Mr. Ephraim Smith.
†Mr. Philip S. Chappell.
†Mr. Biscoe Doxey.
†Charles Jessop, Esq.
Mr. Edward Hall.
†Mr. Samuel Willis.
†Mr. Jasper Peddicord.
†Mr. Hezekiah Linthicum.
†Mr. Richard A. Ridgely.
†Mr. Elias Crutchley.
†Mr. Nicholas Durbin.
†Mr. Thomas W. Boyd.
Ignatius Davis, Esq.
†Mr. William Bradford.
Mr. Kidd Morsel.

Eastern Shore.

Rev. Francis Waters, D. D.
†Rev. Thomas Walker.
Rev. D. Watts.
†William Quinton, Esq.
Hon. Philemon B. Hopper.
Thomas Roberts, Esq.
Edward Anderson, Esq.
†John Constable, Esq.
†William R. Stewart, Esq.
†Mr. William H. Waters.
†Mr. John Wesley Bordley.
Rev. Arva Melwin.
†Mr. John Turner.
Mr. William R. Durding.
Mr. John Cropper.
Richard Bayley, Esq.

On motion of brother Henkle, of Md. it was *resolved*, That the hours of meeting and adjournment, shall be as follows, viz:—the hour for meeting in the morning shall be

9 o'clock, to adjourn at 1—to meet again at 3 o'clock, and adjourn at 5.

On motion of brother Palmer, it was *resolved* unanimously, That the meetings of the Convention be with open doors.

On motion of brother Harrod, it was *resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to regulate preaching.

Whereupon, brothers John J. Harrod, Thomas Mummey, and Ephraim Smith were appointed.

On motion of brother Davis, it was *resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to draft rules and regulations for the government of the Convention, when brothers G. Davis, A. McCaine, and C. Avery, were appointed said committee.

Brother Davis, from the committee appointed to draft rules and regulations for the government of the Convention, made a report, which, after some amendment, was adopted as follows, viz:

Resolved, That the following rules shall govern the proceedings of this Convention, during its sittings:

1. The meetings of the Convention shall be opened and concluded with singing and prayer, under the direction of the president.

2. The proceedings of the preceding session shall be read by the secretary, at the commencement of each session.

3. The president shall have power to appoint all committees, except such as the Convention may chose to appoint.

4. All motions shall be submitted in writing, and read in the first instance by the members offering them, excepting those made to amend, postpone, or adjourn.

5. No discussion will be allowed, except on a distinct motion, as provided in the 4th rule.

6. It shall be the privilege of the president to call to the chair any delegate, whenever he may be disposed to partake in the debate.

7. No member shall speak more than twice upon any question, except by consent of a majority of the Convention.

8. No personal reflections will be allowed, and any member indulging in the same, shall be liable to be called to order.

9. A majority of the members of the Convention shall form a quorum.

10. The president shall decide all questions of order, from whose decission, however, an appeal may be made to the Convention.

Convention adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Thursday, November 15—3 *o'clock, P. M.*

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment, when the minutes of the preceding session were read and corrected.

Brother Davis having resigned his seat as secretary, on motion of brother Harrod, brother Henry Willis, of Frederick county, Md. was appointed secretary, and brother Luther J. Cox, of Baltimore, assistant secretary to the Convention.

The president submitted a preamble and resolution of the Frederick county Union Society, which, by order of the Convention, was read and laid on the table.

A communication from the associated friends to reform in Philadelphia was also read, and by order of the Convention, was laid on the table.

Brother Davis, offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to the General Conference, setting forth the defectiveness of our present church polity.

On motion, it was *resolved*, That the committee on the memorial consist of seven members, and that one delegate be selected out of each state that is represented in this Convention, including the District of Columbia—whereupon the the chair appointed the following brethren, viz: William S. Stockton, of Philadelphia, Stephen B. Cleaveland, Ohio, Gideon Davis, D. C., J. K. Owen, N. Y., John W. Bordley, Md., John C. French, Va., and Wm. W. Hill, of N. C.

On motion, it was, *resolved*, That the president pro tem. of this Convention, be added to said committee.

Convention adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Friday morning, November 16.

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment, when the following delegates appeared and took their seats, viz: brothers William R. Stewart, John Constable, John Turner, and William Bradford, of Md., and brother Andrew Woodley, and George O. F. Andrews, of Virginia.

The minutes of the preceding session were read.

On motion of brother Latimore, of Virginia, seconded by brother McCaine, of Md. the Convention went into the election of a president, when brother William R. Stewart, of Md., was elected by a unanimous vote of the Convention, and, after an appropriate address, took the chair.

On motion of brother Wm. S. Stockton, of Philadelphia, the following resolution was submitted:—

Resolved, by this Convention, That a committee of five

be appointed, and instructed to inquire and report on the alleged grounds of the trials and suspensions of brother Samuel K. Jennings, and other local ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church; and likewise of the alleged grounds of trials of certain lay members of the same church; and that they also inquire and report on the expediency of this Convention appointing a general committee of safety and privileges.

On motion by brother Furey, of Philadelphia, the following was offered as a substitute to the resolution:—

Whereas it is understood by this Convention that a number of local preachers and private members of our church, have, of late, been tried, and the former suspended, therefore, *resolved*, That a committee be hereby appointed, and instructed to inquire into the alleged causes of said suspensions, and report to this Convention.

Determined in the negative.

The question then recurring on the original resolution, was determined in the affirmative.

And brothers Willis Harris, of N. C., Wm. Disney, of Ohio, Wm. S. Stockton, of Philadelphia, Charles Avery, of Pittsburg, and Nicholas Snethen, of Md., were appointed by the Convention said committee.

Brother Davis, of the D. C., offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to draw up an address, in favour of reform, to the members of our church.

On motion of Brother Henkle, of Ohio, it was proposed that the resolution be amended by adding "and that they report the same to this Convention."

Determined in the affirmative.

The question was then put, will the Convention agree to the resolution as amended.

Determined in the affirmative.

The following persons were then appointed:—Brothers Charles Avery, of Pittsburg, Gideon Davis, of the D. C., R. Latimore, of Va., John W. Bordley, of Md., and Wm. W. Hill, of N. C.

The committee appointed to draft a memorial asked leave of absence, which was granted.

Brother Hill, of N. C., asked to be excused from serving on the committee to prepare an address, which was granted.

Brother Bordley, of Md., made the same request, which was also granted.

The president submitted a communication, presented by brother Jennings, from brother Asa Shinn, of the Pittsburg Conference, which was read; and on motion, by brother Henkle, of Ohio, the same was referred to the consideration of the memorializing committee.

The president appointed brother Wm. H. Waters, of Md., and Willis Harris, of N. C., to fill the vacancy in the committee of address, occasioned by the resignation of brothers Bordley and Hill.

The Convention adjourned until 3 o'clock, P. M.

Friday, November 16—3 *o'clock, P. M.*

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment, when the proceedings of the preceding session were read and corrected. Brother Mecaskey of Philadelphia, submitted the following resolution.

Resolved, That the word brother be invariably prefixed to the names of the delegates appearing on the journal, excepting when ministers and doctors are spoken of, who shall always have their proper titles given them.

On motion by brother Henkle, of Ohio, the resolution was divided, and all after the word "journal" was stricken out. The question then recurring on the first division, was determined in the affirmative.

Brother Davis, of the D. C., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee appointed to draft a memorial to the General Conference be instructed to prepare the form of a memorial to be submitted to the membership, and local preachers for their signatures, in addition to the one to be adopted by this Convention.

After some debate on the foregoing resolution, the Convention adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Saturday, November 17—9 *o'clock, A. M.*

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The proceedings of the previous session were read, when the unfinished business was taken up, viz: the resolution submitted by brother Davis, D. C. which, on motion of brother Harrod, of Baltimore, was laid on the table.

Brother Henkle, of Maryland, submitted to the Convention the following resolution:

Resolved, That the secretary be authorised to address a note forthwith to the Rev. Mr. Hanson, and the Rev. Mr. Waugh, informing them that the local preachers now assem-

bled in Convention, will be at their service during the ensuing sabbath.

Brother Mecaskey, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution as a substitute:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inform the Rev. Mr. Hanson and the Rev. Mr. Waugh, that there are now in this city a number of local preachers from different parts of the United States, who will be at their service on to-morrow.

On motion of brother Latimore, of Virginia, the resolution and substitute were laid on the table.

On motion of brother Brady, of the D. C. the unfinished business of yesterday was then taken up, viz: the resolution of brother Davis, of D. C. in relation to a memorial for the signatures of reformers.

Brother Avery, of Pittsburg, moved that the resolution be indefinitely postponed, and after some time having been spent in debate thereon, the question was taken and determined in the affirmative.

Brother Snethen, of Maryland, chairman of the committee, appointed to prepare a memorial to the General Conference, submitted the report of the committee, which, by order of the Convention, was read by the chairman of said committee, and ordered to lie on the table.

Brother Harrod, of Baltimore, presented a memorial, drafted by brother Francis Waters, E. S. Maryland, which, on motion of brother Kelch, of Philadelphia, was read by brother Harrod, and

On motion of brother Davis, D. C., was laid on the table.

Brother S. K. Jennings presented a letter from brother Asa Shinn, of the Pittsburg conference, and asked leave to read the same, which was granted.

On motion of brother Henkle, of Ohio, the letter was laid on the table.

Brother Jennings presented another letter from a travelling preacher, which was also read, and laid on the table.

Convention adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Saturday, November 17—3 *o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met agreeably to adjournment, when the proceedings of the previous session were read and approved.

Brother Bordley, of Maryland, presented a memorial addressed to the General Conference, drafted by brother Davis, D. C. which, by order of the Convention, was read by

brother Davis; and on motion of brother Snethen, of Maryland, was laid on the table.

Brother Davis, D. C., of the committee appointed to prepare an address to the Methodists throughout the United States, submitted the report, which, by order of the Convention, was read, and on motion of brother Brady, D. C., was re-committed to the same committee, who reported it.—See Address.

On motion of brother Latimore, of Virginia, brother Hill, of N. C. was added to said committee.

Convention adjourned to meet at St. John's church, in Liberty street, at half past six, P. M.

Saturday—6½ o'clock, P. M.

The Convention met in St. John's Church, Liberty street, agreeably to adjournment.

Brother Davis, D. C. moved the reading of the memorial reported by the committee; determined in the affirmative.

On motion of brother Kelch, of Philadelphia, the same was read by paragraphs, and sundry amendments proposed and adopted.

The Convention adjourned to meet at the place of their former sessions in Lexington street, 9 o'clock on Monday morning.

Monday morning, November 19.

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment. The proceedings of the two previous sessions were read and approved. Brother Wm. Quinton, of Somerset county, Maryland, appeared, and took his seat in Convention.

On motion of brother Harrod, of Baltimore, brother L. J. Cox, was elected by the Convention to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of brother H. Willis, secretary, the indisposition of whose family required his absence from the Convention.

On motion of brother J. Chappell, seconded by brother McCaine, of Maryland, it was *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to brother Hill, of N. C. for the discourse he delivered last evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication.

On motion of brother Davis, of D. C. the Convention resumed the consideration of the memorial to the General Conference.

On motion of brother Davis, of D. C. the said report and memorial as amended, was re-committed for examination.

The committee retired, and, after a short interval, returned and reported the memorial as amended, which was read by the chairman of the committee.

The Convention then adjourned till 3 o'clock, P. M.

Monday, November 19—3 *o'clock, P. M.*

The Convention met. The proceedings of the previous session were read and approved.

The unfinished business of last session was called up, and the memorial, after sundry additional amendments, was put upon its final passage, and determined in the affirmative.

Brother Stockton, chairman of the committee to examine the alleged causes of the recent trials, &c. presented a report, which, by order of the convention, was read by brother Snethen.

The Convention then adjourned until 6½ o'clock this evening.

Monday, 19*th November*—6½ *o'clock, P. M.*

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment.

The proceedings of the previous session were read and approved; when the consideration of the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the alleged grounds of the recent trials, &c. was resumed, and on motion of brother Harris, of North Carolina, was amended by inserting the 6th paragraph. The report as amended was then laid on the table.

Brother Hill, of N. Carolina, from the committee appointed to prepare an address to the members of the Methodist Episcopal church throughout the United States, presented a report, as a substitute to the one reported by said committee, and read during the session of Saturday afternoon, which substitute, by order of the Convention, was read by brother Hill, and on motion, ordered to lie on the table.

Brother Avery, of Pittsburg, chairman of the committee appointed to prepare an address to the members of the Methodist Episcopal church throughout the United States, presented the report read during the session of Saturday afternoon, and which had been re-committed to said committee, and by order of the convention was again read by brother Davis, D. C. The address was then put on its final passage and determined in the affirmative.

The president submitted a communication addressed to the Convention by the Union Society of Centreville, Indiana, which was read, and on motion of brother Henkle, of Ohio, was laid on the table.

On motion of brother Stockton, of Philadelphia, *resolved*, That 5,000 copies of the Journal of this Convention,—the Memorial to the General Conference, and the Address to the members of the church, be published together in a pamphlet of the octavo form, and that the members of this Convention be requested to state how many copies they suppose will be necessary for the supply of their several sections of country, and that it shall be the duty of the publishing committee, to supply the delegates with the number of copies each may request, with an understanding, that they will hold themselves responsible for the number of copies they may take.

On motion, the resolution was laid on the table.

Brother Davis, of D. C. offered the following resolution: *Resolved*, that a delegation of three persons, be appointed to attend the General Conference, in order to present to that body the Memorial of the Reformers, passed by this Convention, and that they are hereby instructed to use every proper effort during their continuance at said Conference, to further the interest of Reformers—determined in the affirmative.

On motion of brother Mecaskey, of Philadelphia, *resolved*, That the thanks of the Convention be given to brother Snethen, for the sermon preached by him on last Sabbath morning, and that he be respectfully solicited to furnish a copy thereof for insertion in the Mutual Rights.

Convention adjourned, to meet again at 9 o'clock next morning.

Tuesday, 20th November—9 o'clock, A. M.

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment.

The proceedings of the preceding session were read and approved.

The unfinished business of last session was called up, viz: the resolution of brother Mecaskey; and being under consideration, the question was put, and determined in the affirmative unanimously.

On motion of brother McCaine, of Md. the resolution offered by brother Stockton last session, in relation to publishing the proceedings of the Convention be amended, by adding thereto, "under the direction of a committee to consist of five"—determined in the affirmative.

The question recurring on the passage of the resolution as amended, was determined in the affirmative.

The president then presented a letter from brothers James Towler and Stephen Bell, of Ohio, assigning the reason why

they could not attend the Convention, &c. which, by order of the Convention, was read and laid on the table. (See Appendix.)

A letter from brother Brady, apologizing for his absenting himself from the Convention before its final adjournment, was read and laid on the table.

The report of the committee appointed to inquire into the alleged causes of the recent trial and suspension of a number of Reformers, &c. was called up.

Brother Furey, of Philadelphia, moved to strike out the 6th paragraph, which had been inserted as an amendment, which was determined in the negative.

On motion of brother Mecaskey, of Philadelphia, the paragraph adopted as an amendment to the report, be re-considered.

The Convention adjourned till 3 o'clock, P. M.

Tuesday, 20th November—3 *o'clock, P. M.*

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment.

The proceedings of the preceding session were read and approved.

When the unfinished business was called up, being a motion to re-consider the amendment to the report of the committee of inquiry, the question, "Will the Convention reconsider the amendment?" was determined in the negative.

On motion of brother Snethen, of Md. the report was amended by adding thereto the 7th paragraph.

The question then recurring on the report as amended, was determined in the affirmative.

On motion of brother Mecaskey, of Philadelphia, *resolved*, That the members of the Convention present to the Methodist Reformers, and the citizens generally of the city of Baltimore, their grateful acknowledgments for the kind attention and generous hospitality with which they have treated the delegates from the different and distant parts of the United States—determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

On motion of brother Cleaveland, of Ohio, *resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention, be presented to the minister and trustees of the First English Evangelical Lutheran church, for the kindness they have evinced to its members, in granting them the use of their house, in which they have been in session—determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

Brother Quinton, of Md. moved to increase the number of the committee to be appointed to present the Memorial to the General Conference—determined in the negative.

Brother Stockton, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution:

Resolved by this Convention, that the report of the committee appointed to examine the alleged causes of the late trials, &c. be printed with the Journal—determined in the affirmative.

Brother Henkle, of Md. offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the memorials presented to this Convention from Dr. Waters and brother G. Davis, likewise the paper presented in the form of an address by brother Hill, and that by Dr. Jennings, from a travelling preacher, on the presiding elder question, be referred to the editorial committee of the Mutual Rights, to publish such parts of them as they may think proper—determined in the affirmative.

On motion of brother McCaine, of Md. it was *resolved*, that the committee appointed to superintend the publication of the memorial to the General Conference, &c. correct the Journal of the proceedings of this Convention.

Brother Hill, of North Carolina, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention appoint another convention in the city of Baltimore, or elsewhere, and that they do hereby appoint such an one to convene as aforesaid.

On motion, the resolution was laid on the table.

On motion of brother Hill, of North Carolina, *resolved*, that the thanks of this Convention be respectfully presented, and that they are hereby thus presented to the president, for his able and impartial discharge of the duties of the chair—determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

On motion of brother McCaine, of Md. the following be added: "Also to each of the secretaries, for the laborious, patient, and very satisfactory manner in which they have respectively performed the services imposed on them by their appointment—determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

The president then proceeded to appoint the revising and publishing committee as follows: brothers S. K. Jennings, J. J. Harrod, John Chappell, L. J. Cox, and P. S. Chappell.

The Convention then adjourned to meet at 6½ o'clock, P. M.

Tuesday, 20th November—6½ *o'clock, P. M.*

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment.

The proceedings of the preceding session were read and approved.

Brother Hill, of North Carolina, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of nine members be appointed, and instructed to call a General Convention of representatives of Methodist Reformers, to assemble in the city of Baltimore, if in the opinion of the committee, the meeting of a General Convention should be necessary for the promotion of the great principles of christian liberty in the Methodist Episcopal church, or for other purposes of importance to the general interests of the Methodist Reformers.

Brother Snethen, of Md. moved to amend the resolution, by inserting the words, "Committee of vigilance and correspondence"—determined in the affirmative.

Brother McCaine moved to amend, by inserting the word, "majority,"—determined in the affirmative.

Brother Henkle, of Ohio, moved to amend by inserting the words, "The committee be selected from each state represented in the Convention"—determined in the negative.

Brother McCaine, of Md. moved to amend, by striking out all after the word "church"—determined in the affirmative.

Brother Henkle, of Ohio, moved to amend by striking out that part of the resolution restricting the appointment of the committee to the members of the Convention---determined in the affirmative.

The question recurring on the resolution as amended, was put, and determined in the affirmative.

On motion of brother Palmer, of Philadelphia, *resolved* by this Convention, That it is deemed of the utmost importance to the cause of christian liberty in the Methodist Episcopal church, for the Methodist Reformers to use all lawful means to increase the circulation of the periodical entitled, "The Mutual Rights;" and this Convention hereby earnestly recommend that its increased circulation be made the special business of each member of this Convention---determined in the affirmative.

On motion of brother Stockton, of Philadelphia, *resolved*, That the committee of publication be requested to deposit the manuscript documents connected with the proceedings of this Convention, in the archives of the Union Society of the city of Baltimore for preservation, after they have revised and published them according to a previous resolution.

Determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

On motion of brother Henkle, of Ohio, *resolved*, That the president of this Convention be requested to serve as one of the delegates to present the Memorial to the General Conference.

Determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

The president then proceeded to appoint brother N. Snethen, of Md., and Dr. Henry D Sellers, of Pittsburg, to serve in conjunction with himself in the said delegation.

On motion of brother Stockton, of Philadelphia, the Convention was requested to say what number of the Journal of the Convention, when printed, each would take and be responsible for; 3125 copies were subscribed for by the following persons:—

William S. Stockton	300	Wm. Quinton & Francis Waters	100
Charles Avery	500	Dr. John French	100
S. B. Cleaveland & Wm. Disney	500	Chas. Roundtree, G. O. F. Andrews, J. Blunt & D. A. Woodley	100
A. Hawkins	100	R. Latimore & Jordan Edwards	50
Moses M. Henkle	50	J. B. Tilden	50
A. McCaine	200	Willis Harris	50
Baltimore Delegation	500	William W. Hill	60
E. Henkle	15	J. K. Owen & D. Ayres	50
William Bradford	50	Benedict Burgess	20
N. Snethen	50	Gideon Davis	100
J. Peddicord	20		
Wm. R. Stewart	10		
J. W. Bordley	100		
John Constable	50		

TOTAL 3125

The president then proceeded to appoint the committee of vigilance and correspondence, when the following brethren were appointed: S. K. Jennings, A. McCaine, John J. Harrod, Luther J. Cox, W. Starr, J. W. Bordley, N. Snethen, F. Waters, and E. Henkle.

Brother Furey, of Philadelphia, offered the following preamble and resolution:—

Whereas it has been stated before this Convention, that there are members of the Methodist Episcopal church who entertain an opinion that the Mutual Rights advocates principles repugnant to the plan of itinerancy; and whereas this Convention are anxious to remove any prejudices which may have been formed in the minds of any of our brethren, by those opposed to the principles of reform—Therefore *resolved*, by this Convention, That the editing committee of the Mutual Rights be requested to continue, as they have heretofore done, to exclude from the pages of the Mutual Rights every article which would have a tendency injuriously to affect itinerancy.

Brother Snethen moved that the vote be taken standing, which, being put, was determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

On motion by brother Furey, seconded by brother Mecaskey, that brother Snethen be requested to deliver an address to the Convention before they adjourn, which was determined in the affirmative, unanimously.

Whereupon brother Snethen proceeded to address the Convention, which, after singing and prayer, adjourned *sine die*.

MEMORIAL

To the Bishops and the Delegates of the Annual Conferences, in General Conference assembled:

Respected Brethren,

1. We beg leave to inform you that we have assembled together in this city, (Baltimore,) in virtue of an appointment by our brethren, the members and local preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church friendly to reform, in the neighbourhoods and districts where we severally reside, for the purposes of petitioning and memorializing the General Conference upon the subject of lay and local representation in the legislative department of the church, and certain other matters. We have, therefore, taken the title of, The General Convention of Delegates of the Members and Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, friendly to Reform; and you will please to consider us as addressing you, not in our own names only, but in behalf of our brethren who appointed us, or approved of our appointment.

2. We wish it to be distinctly understood, that we do not intend to use any word or phrase, calculated to wound the feelings of any member of the General Conference, or of the travelling connexion.

3. All our brethren who have made known to us their opinions and desires respecting the subject of reform, or changes in the government of the church generally, agree that a representation of the lay members and of the local preachers, in the General Conference, or the legislative department of our government, is by far the most important. We speak advisedly, when we say, the opinion is daily gaining ground among our personal friends and correspondents, that the extension of the principle of representation to

the members and the local preachers of the church, by the General Conference, in compliance with a petition of this kind, at this conjuncture of time, would do more towards conciliating good feeling, restoring lost confidence among brethren, and confirming wavering minds, on all sides, than any other measure which can be adopted.

4. The subject of lay and local representation, may be considered as a matter of right, and as a matter of liberty. The members of this Convention are aware that much exception has been taken to the claim of right, and that it has been frequently argued, and attempted to be proved, that the members and local preachers have no right to a seat in the legislative department of the government. We will, therefore, take an argumentative view of this question in a form somewhat different from those which have become the most familiar, and which have been frequently found to fail to convince individuals. We begin then by assuming that a monarchy, or an exclusive sovereignty in a civil community, or state, necessarily, and in the nature of things, deprives the people of their liberties—-that a hierarchy, or exclusive sovereignty in the church, must necessarily produce the same results likewise, as it regards the members of a church—and that an aristocracy, or an exclusive sovereignty, exercised by any particular number of men, will have the same effect in any church or state. It is evident, that just in proportion as power is divided to a people in a state, or to the members in a church, in that proportion the power of a monarchy, or a hierarchy, must be diminished or qualified. There are axioms, or maxims, which in point of fact, however they may be disguised or concealed under forms or words, must enter into the theory and practice of all governments, at all times and in all places; and the one just now stated is among the number. The origin of a government, its nature or its intentions, cannot affect certain principles or truisms. To suppose that there is no analogy between a civil and a religious government, is just as erroneous as to suppose that there may be a sacred and a profane system of arithmetic, or system of numbers by which to estimate religious things, independently of the axioms, that the whole is greater than a part, and that all the parts are equal to the whole. The principles of addition and subtraction may be made as applicable to estimates of ecclesiastical power as to civil power. In both cases, when all is assumed nothing remains; and when any part is granted the whole is so much

diminished. When all the legislative power in a state is in the hands of a monarch, or the nobles, or in both conjointly, none is left for the people. So likewise in a church, when all its legislative power is in the hands of the bishops, or the bishops and a particular order of ministers, none remains to the members, or to any other order of ministers: and any portion of power which may be granted to the people in a state, or to the members in a church, diminishes to that amount the sum which was in the hands of the civil or religious ruler or rulers. The truth of these axioms might also be illustrated by a variety of examples, but they need only to be stated to be understood. We, therefore, feel ourselves warranted in asserting this kind of analogy between a monarchy, or an aristocracy, in a state; and a hierarchy or exclusive sovereignty of priests or ministers, in a church. Power in both must bear certain relations. People in a state, who have no legislative power, cannot make, nor assist to make, any of the laws. But simple and obvious as these truths are, facts and circumstances have led, and indeed almost compelled us to believe, that they have not been sufficiently reflected upon: and we cannot conceal our fears, that even some among the members of the General Conference may be apt to overlook them in arguing upon the great question of power.

5. Are not the subjects of the most absolute religious sovereigns and the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while destitute of legislative power, equally alike, cyphers to the legislative department of those governments? Not only can no ingenuity of the human mind alter this law of cause and effect, but we cannot conceive of any power that can alter it. To our apprehension it is not only like the principle of universal gravity, which operates upon all bodies according to the quantity of matter contained in them, but like absolute necessity itself: it is so, and it must be so, and it cannot be otherwise—that, while all the legislative power is in the hands of the travelling preachers, none can be in the hands of the members of the church and the local preachers. Monarchy, or absolute sovereignty, by the very nature of its existence excludes liberty—they cannot remain together at the same time and place. Were we to make these statements of civil governments only, all persons in the General Conference, and out of it, we are persuaded, would instantly and universally admit them. How is it, then, that no sooner than we refer to the liberties of the church, we are met with the strange prejudice about the

want of analogy between civil and religious liberty; as though men might possess religious liberty of legislation under an exclusive sovereignty, in which all the legislative power is in the hands of the travelling preachers.

6. We hope, brethren, that it will not be deemed intrusive or impertinent in us, to entreat the members of the General Conference, not to substitute or transfer their feelings or imaginations into the place of the legislative liberty for which we petition. We have been induced to make this seemingly strange request from the frequency of the assertion, that we have too much liberty or power already; and, we can conceive of no means by which such an idea could originate in any mind, unless it should have been by too great an ascendency of feeling or imagination, as we think we have made it clear, that we have no legislative liberty or power at all.

7. It is legislative liberty, brethren, that we and our brethren want; and this liberty, so far as we understand the New Testament, is not forbidden to us by it—nor can we conceive how any portion of that sacred book can be construed by the General Conference, so as to amount to an interdiction of the grant of it on your part. We would fain hope that you will avoid the consequences of saying that we have no right to any portion of legislative liberty in the church of which we are members; but that this right belongs exclusively to the travelling preachers. Upon the subject of right, however, we will take leave to solicit your attention to history. In the oldest civil and religious governments, the records of which are most conspicuous in history, monarchy and hierarchy existed upon a great scale. In ancient Babylon and Egypt, the people were alike deprived of civil and religious legislation. The oldest records of Southern India and Tartary, bear testimony to the same state of things. And the exclusive legislative power of the Druids through ancient Europe, is well known. Had, then, all these priests the right to deprive the people of religious liberty, and was the same common to the kings of those countries, to deprive the people of the liberty of civil legislation? And have the travelling preachers this kind of right in common with them, without any formal grant in the New Testament? The consequences of taking the affirmative of these questions, you must perceive, brethren, are serious, if not alarming. If the right to legislate for religious people, or churches, is common to the priests of all religions and to the ministers of Jesus Christ, how does the gospel improve the state of reli-

gious liberty among mankind? Is it not evident that if there be no legislative liberty in the christian church, there never has been any from the beginning of the world. We purposely avoid all reference to the history of the Catholic Church, or Church of Rome. The only safe ground, it seems to us, is to concede the right of legislative liberty to the members of the church of Christ.

8. But it is within our knowledge that some of the itinerant brethren do hold lay and local representation to be lawful, but not expedient; and the knowledge of this fact seems to justify us in offering a few remarks upon the subject of expediency. Was it heretofore, and is it still inexpedient for any, or all of the priests or ministers of religion who did possess legislative power exclusively, or who still possess it, to yield any portion of it to the professors of religion? But, as no pains have been taken to conceal from us the grounds of the doctrine of expediency, as generally urged against us, we will not evade it. We, therefore, continue to urge the subject of universal experience in reply. All our knowledge of the history of intelligence, morality and religion goes to produce a conviction in our judgments that those qualities of the mind and of the heart, have not flourished most in the absence of all legislative liberty, but the contrary. Nothing, we think, is more susceptible of proof, than that all the great hierarchies, as well as the great monarchies, have been remarkable for the prevalence of ignorance and vice: and, that in almost every country, and in every age, men have improved in knowledge and virtue in proportion to the advancement of legislative liberty among the people in church and state. Was not the Reformation expedient? Would it not have been expedient had it commenced sooner? Now, the Reformation led the way to legislative liberty; and, we put the question with great earnestness to those of our brethren, who are incessantly and emphatically urging the expediency of the exclusive legislative sovereignty of the travelling preachers, from the almost unparalleled success (as they think,) of Methodism, to tell us how much success the most eminent of the missionaries would have in those countries, and those civil and religious governments where legislation among the people is held to be neither lawful nor expedient—in Turkey, for instance, to say nothing of some of the southern parts of Europe?

9. In asking legislative liberty, brethren, for the members and the local preachers, we are fully aware of the many prejudices our petition will have to encounter, and of the

urgent manner in which a plan has been called for from a belief of the difficulty, if not impracticability, of forming one. Independently of any other considerations, we are disposed to avoid the attempt to form a plan, out of deference to the General Conference. We ask for no distinct representation of the local preachers, and only require that the number of lay delegates and local preachers chosen by their joint ballot should be equal to the whole number of the travelling preachers in the General Conference.

10. Recent circumstances, in the highest degree painful to our feelings, induce us to urge upon the General Conference an immediate attention to the third paragraph of the Discipline, section 7, page 91, respecting "endeavouring to sow dissensions," which we are persuaded has been misconstrued; but, whether the General Conference agree with us or not, upon this point, the manner in which it has been used, convinces us that it is liable to great abuse, in its present form. We are greatly alarmed to find brethren assuming the prerogative under said paragraph, to judge of the intentions of men, while prejudice or party feeling is producing high excitement in their minds. We ask for the abolition of that part of the Discipline, inasmuch as we do not clearly perceive how it can be so modified as to avoid a tendency to favour constructive treason—a consequence which cannot be too carefully avoided. All the eminent civilians and jurists agree in opinion respecting the great evil of constructive treason, in every community. Could we suppose that any member of the General Conference labours under any degree of doubt upon this subject, or of the necessity of relying upon the proofs drawn from overt acts only, we would refer him to the British State trials in particular, as well as to the history of jurisprudence generally. This objectionable paragraph, as it now stands in the Book of Discipline, has been made to co-operate, even in the hands of sincere and well-meaning men, who are not appriz-ed of the consequences, so as to produce great injustice and oppression.

Another subject of great importance in the estimation of this Convention, is the invaluable institution of trial by jury, which all experience teaches, can never be a sufficient protection of the accused, without the right of challenge. The principles of justice, sanction us in demanding such a modification of the answer to the question, chap. 2. sec. 7 of Discipline, "How shall an accused member be brought to trial"—as shall plainly and effectually invest the accused mem-

ber with the right of challenge in all cases analogous to those wherein it is allowed in the civil jurisprudence of our common country—and as shall plainly and effectually secure to the accused the right of choosing, whether he shall be tried before a committee, or the particular church of which he is a member.

AN ADDRESS

To the Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the United States.

Dearly Beloved Brethren:

We presume it is well known to you, that the controversy which agitates the Methodist Episcopal Church, originated with the travelling ministry. Our itinerant brethren disputed among themselves with great interest, on the presiding elder question, many of them contending for an abridgment of the present Episcopal powers of the church, before either the local ministry or the laity, publicly, entered into the investigation. And even now, after the inferior powers of the church have begun to take a lively interest in the subject, it is an indisputable fact, that some of our itinerant brethren are foremost, as active agents in the great cause of reformation.

The first public effort on the part of the laity, to secure to themselves, that christian liberty which is justly due to all the disciples of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was exhibited in the "Wesleyan Repository," after the General Conference of 1820, and continued until the General Conference of 1824.

A variety of petitions were sent up to that Conference, praying for an introduction of the great principles of general and equitable representation. The General Conference answered, "We know no such rights;" "We do not comprehend such privileges." And because the different bodies of petitioners, expressed themselves in different forms of language, and some of them perhaps extended their requests farther than others, the Conference fondly took advantage of this circumstance, to insinuate that there was little or no unanimity amongst them.

In consequence of this, a meeting of Reformers who assembled in the city of Baltimore, near the close of the Ge-

neral Conference, besides establishing a new periodical, that the investigation might be continued, resolved to institute Union Societies to concentrate their views, out of which grew an arrangement, to hold a general delegated Convention, to prepare a memorial, which should express the sentiments of all Reformers on the continent. This Convention is now assembled, and now see proper to address their Methodist brethren throughout the United States.

Opposition to all our efforts has advanced with increasing violence to the present hour, and in the same proportion as the cause of Reform has advanced. Ministers have been suspended, members have been arraigned for trial, and an extraordinary combination, systematically organized, to break up the Union Society of the city of Baltimore, and all this has been done, merely because they have advocated in the Mutual Rights, a lay representation in the legislative department of the church.

These facts are calculated greatly to increase conviction in every thoughtful mind, that we did not begin to call for a reformation until there was an imperious necessity for the struggle. If such vehement acts of violence on the part of our opponents, do not prove the indispensable necessity for an abridgment of their power, what species of proof in nature, would be sufficient to produce conviction?

It is our duty, however, to pursue the subject by way of humble and respectful petition, as we commenced it: if our rulers forget what is due to themselves, as professed followers of the meek and lowly Saviour of mankind, it would ill become us to follow so unworthy an example. If they are determined to meet all our arguments with blows, we must leave the responsibility with themselves;—remembering that truth and gentleness, and patient love, were the only weapons used by the great Captain of our salvation.

Our opposing brethren have used political management, to keep the subject in controversy from getting hold of the public attention. They have used threats to intimidate the fearful. Some of them have withdrawn from the cause of reform, and seemed to manifest increasing hostility against it, in exact proportion as evidence in its favour advanced, and became unanswerable. They have raised the strong arm of authority against ministers and members, for no other reason but because they were Reformers: and when they could produce no shadow of law for their proceedings, they have boldly marched on their course, without law. These facts prove that our rights are not only in *danger;* but have

already been violated, which satisfies us that our persevering efforts are essential to the security of religious liberty, as well, perhaps, as for the defence of the great principles of our civil constitution. Our brethren think we are restless spirits, who are actuated by selfish motives, and who are disposed unnecessarily to disturb the peace of society; but in this unbrotherly surmise, we think they do not treat us according to the common demands of justice, much less in conformity with the sacred claims of christian charity. Men who have simply a regard to their own individual advantages, would not be apt to face the long established prejudices of society, and expose themselves to the thunders of the highest ecclesiastical authority, existing any where in Protestant Christendom. Men whose only object is to secure personal comfort from the elements, will not be apt voluntarily to face the greatest violence of the storm.

When has it happened, since the world began, that any improvement has been made in the moral and religious condition of society, without a struggle? And when was a serious effort commenced, with a view to such improvement, that was not violently opposed by the existing civil or ecclesiastical powers of the world, or by both of them together?

The few Reformers who struggled against despotic power through the dark ages, were stigmatized as Heretics, Schismatics, Lollards, Hugonots, or any other name that could excite prejudice through the influence of clerical ingenuity. The Waldenses, Albigenses and other Reformers, had in a manner to retire from the world and hide themselves in corners, to avoid the storm of persecution; Jerome and John Huss were put to death, and many others had cruel mockings and scourgings, bonds and imprisonments, for the testimony which they maintained: their magnanimous efforts, though in a great measure concealed from public observation, prepared the way for the great reformation by Luther, which produced an earthquake in the dark places of the earth, the effects of which will continue and increase unto the end of the world.

The time has now come for the attention of the christian public to be called to the importance of liberal principles in church government, as well as in divinity. This is particularly the case in our country. The attention of Mr. Wesley and Mr. Fletcher was not especially directed to this subject: they had other demands upon them sufficient to occupy all their time. The English Methodists, after the death of Mr. Wesley, made an earnest demand for religious freedom; and

the ministry made such concessions as have, in a great measure, quieted the Societies. The same views are now rapidly advancing in this country; and the principles of civil liberty have had a greater influence, perhaps, in giving rise to the inquiry, both in England and America, than any other cause. Our opponents, aware of this, are now importunate to have it believed that there "is *no analogy* between ecclesiastical governments and civil institutions." They want this proposition supported that they may remain in quiet possession of the maxim, that however self-evident the principles are, on which civil liberty is founded, yet the *church* has an "indefeisible right" to the exercise of despotic power. This maxim prevailed in past ages, until the power of the church actually predominated over the civil authority of kings and emperors.

In the days of Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors, the spirit of persecution was restrained, in some degree, by the civil power: Mr. Wesley was known to be a warm advocate for the government of his country; and he every where exhorted his societies to honour the king. The clerical authorities were also reluctant to commence an open persecution, because he was an ordained minister of their communion, of high standing, and constantly insisted, that he was only reviving the neglected doctrines of the church of England. Hence, opposition had to be carried on by various modes of slander, and by the violence of lawless mobs. In this hemisphere reformers are also protected by the government of the country. But attempts have been made, and plans formed, to put us down by a course of clerical censure and expulsion. How far this will be successful, or what other modes of opposition will be adopted, remains for the future to develope.

Whatever form the spirit of opposition and proscription may assume, its design and tendency are the same, from the beginning to the end of time. Persecutors in all ages of the world have one design in view; and that is, *to hinder the truth from coming to light*, lest its general prevalence should deprive them of some of their *power*, their *influence*, their *fame*, their *false security*, or their *pleasure*.

That the church has a right to guard her members against opinions and practices which are contrary to the gospel is freely and fully admitted; but it is her sacred duty to inquire for the truth with all attention and candour, that she may be qualified to judge correctly when her members are going astray; and that she may not blindly hinder them from progressing in the way of truth and justice, through ig-

norance and inconsideration. One of the most indubitable axioms in all theology is, that THE TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS WILL DO NO PERSON ANY HARM, AND THERE IS NO DANGER WHATEVER, THAT IT SHOULD BE TOO WELL UNDERSTOOD. In ten thousand instances the truth has been concealed under pretence of guarding against error; and millions of mankind have been kept in a state of degrading and destructive ignorance, to preserve them from heresy! It is high time for christians to make an effort, to deliver the human family from such injurious, enslaving, and stupifying absurdities. If the truth will do no person any harm, in the name of God, let every person have the privilege to find the truth, as perfectly as he can. If, through pride, or any other unhallowed passion, an individual, or any number of them, should run into delusion, in attempting to find the truth, the church has an undoubted right to interfere, according to christian principles; but let her distinctly understand her sacred obligation to become qualified, by a course of christian candour and attention, to decide correctly when her members are in reality departing from the truth; and not allow herself, through ignorance and bigotry, to arrest the righteous progress of intelligence upon the absurd claims of her own infallibility.

That there is danger of injuring society by injudicious efforts to bring about a *hurried* reformation, we allow: the community ought not to move in any course of practical operations, only as intelligent conviction shall point out the way. We feel no disposition to hurry our Methodist brethren into any premature determinations: all we are at present disposed to insist on is, the rationality and christian obligation they are under to give the subject a fair and persevering examination. If we are mistaken in our views we sincerely wish to be set right; but we think it impossible for any people to be qualified to judge of the matters in dispute, who neglect to examine into the subject, or who refuse to give an impartial hearing to both sides of the controversy. We, therefore, solicit our brethren in church fellowship, and think we have a reasonable and religious right to solicit them, calmly and patiently to examine this subject before they allow themselves to make up a decisive and final determination. For them to conclude hastily, that we are their enemies, and the enemies of the church, without properly inquiring for themselves, is a course of conduct which is utterly unfair towards us, and in the end must be extensively injurious to themselves.

We entreat our brethren, therefore for their own sake, as well as for ours, calmly and deliberately to inquire into the real truth of the case, before they allow themselves to make up any absolute conclusion. Let them consider that it is high time the human family should solemnly weigh the matter, how often mankind have seriously injured themselves by a passionate and dogmatical determination to spurn from them the mild appeals of evidence, and the earnest expostulations of christian benevolence. We do not wish our Methodist brethren to be governed by our authority, or to act, but upon the convictions of their own intelligence; but we sincerely wish them all to be at due pains to inform their minds upon the subject, that they may be qualified to act as men of rational understandings, and not as passionate and obstinate children, who know not what they say nor whereof they affirm. If we are mistaken let our beloved brethren kindly aid us in detecting the delusion; but let them not commence a course of furious opposition before they know what it is for which we are contending.

Some, indeed, have objected that we have not told the public what it is we are calling for from our church authorities; but this objection originates in ignorance, or in something worse. We have been labouring with great attention and perseverance, to put the public in possession of our views as fast as we can. We have not, indeed, given a full and unsupported outline of our *plan:* because we think it far more advantageous, both to ourselves and others, to *prove* our propositions as we advance in the inquiry, rather than to give a catalogue of simple, undefined principles, to excite the tumults of ignorance, and the storms of passion, before the subject can be fairly and rationally investigated. If our objectors were really desirous the truth should appear, and nothing else, they would be willing the subject should be examined in any way best calculated to bring the truth before the intelligence of the public.

It is far from being our intention to raise disturbances and commotions in society; but we think the members of our church universally, ought to give a candid hearing to our reasons for desiring a reformation. Can our beloved brethren prevail on themselves to believe for a moment, that any advantages will result to themselves or their posterity, by listless indifference, or by a blind opposition to principles which they have never examined? Can they believe God is honoured, or man benefitted, by that inconsiderate bigotry which refuses truth a hearing, and which tends to keep the

community in a state of deplorable and increasing ignorance? If not, let them be entreated, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to make themselves acquainted with our views, before they have the rashness to condemn them.

Some pretend, that our plan of bringing about a reformation is altogether improper; and that we never can succeed in this way. One says, "You never can reform the church after your fashion: but you may rend it; and have cause after all to lament your fatal success." Now we would respectfully ask in what way was the church ever reformed, but by bringing forward the evidence of truth, to convince her of her errors? We must honestly declare, that we are utterly at a loss to conceive of any other way by which the church can be reformed, in any period of the world's duration, but the same way, in substance, which we have pursued. If our brethren can point out a better way, we will sincerely thank them for their instructions; but until they give us new light upon this subject, we feel conscientiously bound to persevere in the course we have adopted.

Our Union Societies and conventions may be objected to: these have been instituted for no other object but to embody our sentiments, and to act together advisedly. It is our duty to be *united;* and if our ingenious and politic opponents attempt to scatter us to the ends of the earth, it is probable that these societies will save us eventually from ruin.

The late proscriptions and persecutions demonstrate that they were not instituted at too early a period. It has been attempted to deprive some of our brethren of the liberty of speech and of the press. They have attempted to wrest it from us by various stratagems, and have at length commenced a course of open violence. They have arrested our preachers and people, and dragged them before their church tribunals, for no other reason but because they supported the efforts that are now making, to bring about a better state of things in our ecclesiastical government and administration. They may cover their designs as they please; but this is the real ground of all their violent opposition to reformers, in the Baltimore city station. Scenes of oppression like these appeal at once to the tenderest feelings of our nature, and to the dearest interests of our souls; say not that it is merely an abuse of power under a strong excitement, and will be corrected. Would to heaven it were so—but we are satisfied that it is not. It is the natural operation of the present state of things. We would, therefore, call upon you, brethren, in the name, and in the behalf of our common Zion, and in the name of

every thing that is dear to christian peace and charity, to express your sentiments of disapprobation of those acts of proscription and persecution, so dishonourable to Methodism, and so deeply afflictive to many pious minds.

It is also urged by our opponents, that our labours as reformers are like the efforts of men beating the air, inasmuch as it is impossible in the nature of things, for us ever to be successful in such an enterprise. This is an objection on which our old side brethren delight to dwell: they say we never can succeed; "the effort will be abortive;" and after a while we shall have to abandon the enterprise with shame, and "return to due submission." All this is said with a view to discourage us, and to bring about the very state of things, which they predict. For the more reformers are discouraged, the more their efforts will be paralyzed; hence, prophecies of their ultimate failure abound through all the land. Some who call themselves reformers, are frequently heard harping upon the same string. But we may justly conclude, that any man who does so, is either too ignorant of human nature to be a good reformer, or is really in his heart an opposer of reform. No good reformer will try to discourage his brethren, and thereby weaken their energies. He will say, on the contrary, "let us go up and possess the land, for we are fully able." Suppose you had heard a man urging arguments, from human nature, and from the actual state of human affairs, to convince the apostles that their enterprize to evangelize the world was utterly hopeless:—would you not have taken him for an opposer of christianity? Let our half-hearted reformers seriously consider this question; and let them make up their minds to take a consistent stand, on one side or the other.

A man of principle will be very little governed by anticipations of future success, in one way or another; for it is a great principle of practical christianity, that every man should do his duty, and leave consequences to the superintending care of the Almighty. A conscientious reformer will say in his heart, is it the *truth* for which we are contending? are we aiming to promote that which is *right*, and which is founded on the pure gospel of our blessed Redeemer? then it is my sacred duty to be faithful and firm to the end of my life, however the cause of reform may be treated in the church, or in the world around me. And any man who has such a superficial view of the subject, as to regard the whole as a trivial affair, as a system of mere *church politics*, that may be changed as occasion may require, will be

very apt, let his professions be what they may, to do the cause of reform more harm than good.

It has been urged by our opponents that we cannot, or do not state what it is we wish to accomplish. But the great principles for which we contend are neither prolix nor intricate. They are set forth in the memorial. Those are what are deemed important to the prosperity of the church, and for these we are represented as aiming to overturn the Methodist church! Will our opponents say plainly, that a church constitution, founded on social justice and just representation, and pure christianity, is so inconsistent with Methodism, that the existence of the former will inevitably produce the destruction of the latter? Will they say our episcopal government is so totally contrary to justice and christianity, that their essential principles cannot be constitutionally introduced into it, without an "entire revolution?" If they are unwilling for such a constitution to exist in the church, it must be because they wish the bishops and the General Conference to have the privilege of doing as they please, without sufficient checks to restrain their proceedings. To put a just constitutional check upon the episcopacy, or upon the legislative power, as organized at present, it seems, would be totally to revolutionize the government, and hazard the very existence of Methodism.

The question is a very simple one:—shall the executive and legislative power of the church be restrained by the principles of justice and christianity, established in an authoritative constitution? or shall their *own will* alone be all the constitution that is to restrain them? This is the simple and plain state of the case; and let not the community be infatuated with any equivocation. If our brethren believe there is no alternative, but for the episcopacy to retain its high prerogatives, *be absolute*, and for the General Conference to continue to be an independent aristrocracy, or for the very foundations of Methodism to be destroyed, let them own it in intelligible language; that mankind may know how to appreciate their alarming representations, concerning our "revolutionary project." To call for the least check, upon either their legislative or executive power, it seems, is in their estimation a radical abandonment of the whole plan of "old Methodism!"

That such a sovereignty is dangerous, and destructive to the dearest interests of human beings, has been proved by the experience of mankind, for more than twelve hundred years. We therefore entreat our Methodist brethren,

throughout the United States, to look the subject fully in the face—to examine with calm and candid attention for themselves, and to be resolved, like men and christians, that neither the blind impulse of prejudice, nor the intimidations of authority, shall hinder them from reading the Mutual Rights, and whatever else they can find, calculated to give them a just view of the reasons on which our claims are founded.

We have not been aiming to "rend" the church; we have been striving to *prevent* such a calamity. We are still striving to prevent it; and sincerely wish to continue peaceable members to our lives' end; but our "rational faculties must be untrammelled," and we must maintain our right, "to search after truth, and to promulgate it, in any way we may judge most expedient." If our itinerant brethren demand of us to sacrifice this privilege, we are resolved, that we will not yield to their demand. If they are determined to expel us for not renouncing this essential duty of true christians, we must submit to it with patience; but at the same time we feel authorized to summon them to answer for their conduct, before his august tribunal, who said, "*Call no man your father upon earth; for one is your father who is in heaven:—and be not ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ: and all ye are brethren.*"

REPORT

Of the Committee appointed to inquire into the alleged grounds of the recent trials, &c.

The committee appointed to inquire and report on the alleged grounds of the trial and suspension of several local preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, residing in the city of Baltimore and elsewhere; and, of the alleged grounds of trial of several lay-members of the said church, beg leave to report, That, in conformity to their instructions, they have ascertained that eleven local ministers and preachers, residents of Baltimore, have been suspended from their ministerial functions, as ministers and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And, that some twenty members of the same church, also residing in Baltimore, have been tried, but no verdict has yet been given in their cases.*

* Since the foregoing was put to press, the committee appointed by the preacher to try the cases of the laymen, have reported, that the first and se-

And that six members of the church, residing in North Carolina, have been expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

From the testimony before the committee, it does not appear that any charges of immorality, or of dissent from the christian doctrines of the church, as set forth in the Articles of Religion, and the General Rules of the societies, which, as asserted in the circular of the last General Conference, "constitute to each member, distinctively, a constitution," were alleged, or even intimated, but, on the contrary, disavowed, as forming any grounds of dissatisfaction with the suspended local preachers, or the tried and expelled members, either in this city, or in North Carolina, in a single case.

From the evidence before your committee, it appears, that the aforesaid local preachers have been suspended, and the lay-members tried, and some of them expelled, purely on the grounds of their holding dissent from, and publishing their objections to some parts of the form of our church government, and its administration. The committee do not deem it necessary to exhibit before the Convention, in detail, the particulars of these trials, as the committee has not been able to obtain any information, contradicting the printed reports of these trials, in the hands of most, if not all the members of this Convention.

The committee, after having carefully reviewed facts and circumstances, under the best lights they have, do advise and recommend, that this Convention should expressly disavow all intentions of forming a government within a government, or in anywise to obstruct or influence the regular and legitimate exercise and execution of discipline; and, that this Convention recommend to all their reforming brethren, not to interfere, or intermeddle in any manner, with any tri-

cond specifications are SUSTAINED! Mr. Hanson has sent each layman, on whose case the committee have reported, a letter, a part of which is as follows, viz:—"The committee appointed to investigate the charges and specifications against you, as a *member* of the *Union Society*, have, by an unanimous decision, found you *guilty*." "You must, therefore, plainly perceive that the only ground on which expulsion from the church can be avoided, is an abandonment of the UNION SOCIETY; with assurances that you will give no aid in future to any publication or measure, calculated to cast reproach upon our ministers and members. Be good enough to answer, in writing, the following plain and simple questions:—First, Will you withdraw, *forthwith*, from the *Union Society*?—Second, Will you, in future, withhold your aid from such publications and measures as are calculated to cast reproach upon our ministers, and produce a breach of union among our members? Your answer will be expected in the course of four or five days."

November 27, 1827.

al, or excommunication of any one by the constituted authorities of the church, for established facts of immorality of conduct, or confirmed hetorodoxy of doctrines, as the latter are contained in the Articles of Religion, or in the General Rules of the Societies.

The committee further advise and recommend, that in all cases of trial, suspension, or expulsion of a local preacher, or a lay-member of our church, for any other causes than immorality, or heterodoxy, as above stated, but merely because such persons use, or have used lawful means of inquiry and imparting knowledge, for the purposes of obtaining the liberty of representation of the lay-members and the local preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the legislative department of its government; then, and in all such cases, our reforming brethren are in duty bound to render all the assistance in their power to such persons as may be persecuted on these grounds; and, to let all men know, that we still esteem such, brethren beloved; and, that, however others may deem them to be heathens and publicans, they are highly entitled to, and shall receive our constant aid and most affectionate regards: and that they should not suffer any of these things to move them from the pure hopes and duties of their holy calling, but still hold fast faith and a good conscience, manifesting to the church and to the world, that they know how to be consistent and courageous sufferers in the cause of Christ, against ministerial supremacy and domination, over his body, the church, of which he alone is the supreme and divine head.

And that the Convention earnestly and affectionately recommend, that in cases of expulsions from the church for professions of the principles of Methodist Reformers, the individuals so expelled, form themselves into Union Societies, which societies so formed, shall be recognised by all other Union Societies—and where an individual shall be expelled, where there are no societies, and none can be formed, that all such individuals be advised to unite with the nearest Union Society, even though the nearest Union Society should be five hundred or more miles from the residence of such individuals. If entire Union Societies be expelled, the members thereof, are advised to continue united under the General Rules of John and Charles Wesley, and in christian fellowship continue the use among them, of all the christian ordinances, under the superintendance of such ministers as are friendly to reform in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

And the committee advise that the Convention distinctly express, in order that it may be universally understood, that

the objects of the preceding recommendatory measures are, that in the system of trial and expulsion now commenced against reformers, they, the reformers, do not consider themselves the aggressors, that they are acting only on the defensive, and that so soon as the preachers and the old side members leave the reformers in the quiet possession and enjoyment of their church privileges, and restore those preachers and members who have been expelled or suspended on account of their having been members of Union Societies, or aiding in the cause of reform, the preceding recommendatory measures cease to operate.

The committee would further recommend, that to prevent impositions upon the reforming brethren, and especially to prevent scandal to the gospel of God, being caused in the name of Methodism, all cases of trial, suspension, and expulsion from the Methodist Episcopal Church, of reformers of good moral character, and of acknowledged orthodoxy—the alleged grounds of the proceedings, should be carefully examined, fairly and clearly stated, and confirmed by members of our church, or other citizens of unexceptionable character, and forwarded to the corresponding committee of the Union Society of Baltimore, whose duty it shall be to lay all such communications before the said society, for the purpose of having them registered in a book of records, to be kept for these purposes, or to be published, or otherwise disposed of, as that society may deem best.

APPENDIX.

The revising and publishing committee have been handed by brethren, the following intelligence from absent delegates.

1. A letter from W. B. Evans states, that he was detained by high-water, and also mentions the death of the Rev. David McMasters, President of Union Society, Mt. Pleasant, Ohio; and further says, the last energies of his mind were employed in the good cause of reform. Also states, "We are prepared to acquiesce in what the Convention may do, and to stand or to fall with our brethren in this good cause."

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2. Brother Towler writes as follows:—

Green county, Ohio, November 3, 1827.

"The propriety of an apology for not attending the Convention, was suggested to me a few days since.

"You are hereby informed that I remain the same as to my sentiments on the contemplated changes by the reformers in our church polity; and the late proceedings against the reformers in Baltimore, is additional evidence that the ruling authorities of our church have departed much further from the spirit of the gospel than I had ever conceived of before. It would gratify me much, could I be with you on the 15th inst., but circumstances beyond my control forbid it. May Heaven smile on the Convention, to introduce into our persecuting church a better order of things, is the ardent prayer of your affectionate brother in Christ. JAMES TOWLER."

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3. Information from the Rev. Mr. Richman, stating that affliction in his family prevented his attendance on the Convention.

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4. A letter from Dr. Bestwick has been received since the rising of the Convention, in which he assigns the state of his health, and the nature of his business and engagements, as the causes of his absence. He, at the same time, expresses great regret on account of his inability to attend the Convention, and his earnest wish for the success of our cause.

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5. Brother Stephen Bell writes as follows:—

November 3, 1827.

"I will say to you, and the brethren composing the Convention, that a combination of circumstances beyond my control have prevented my attendance on the Convention—my prayers are with you, and may Heaven's blessings attend your efforts to bring about a better state of things in our church, of which I have long seen the necessity, and more so since I have received the last number of Mutual Rights, and discover the persecuting spirit of the power-party in Baltimore. But I hope our persecuted brethren will stand firm.—Yours, in the bonds of a peaceful gospel."

The Hon. Judge Hopper, writes, "That in consequence of the illness of his wife, he was prevented from attending the Convention" Also, that his best wishes were with the objects of the Convention.

The want of room prevents more numerous and extensive extracts.

THE END.

A

NARRATION OF FACTS,

RELATIVE TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

AGAINST

Certain Local Preachers and Lay-Members,

IN CINCINNATI;

WITH SOME ARGUMENTS

IN FAVOUR

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SAID CHURCH.

BY DAVID FISHER, LAYMAN.

WILLIAMSON & STRONG, PRINTERS.

1828.

PREFACE.

As the late proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this station have finally terminated before the highest court, having jurisdiction in the case, I consider it necessary that some one should now lay before the public a correct and minute account of the whole matter. I have undertaken this painful work, not for any personal interest or benefit which I expect to receive, but from a sense of duty to the church whose economy and ministry have been much reproached through the influence of various misrepresentations.

Although I may incur much opposition and receive many hard sayings, for writing the following narrative, yet I can say that I have not endeavored to injure the character of my brethren who differ from me in church politics, except a true development of their own words and actions will have that tendency; I have laboured in the fear of God to give a fair statement of facts, and if any thing should appear therein not *strictly correct*, let it be ascribed to my ignorance. Yes, to any thing, rather than to a design to misrepresent.

It is generally known that our church in this city, has been unhappily agitated for several years, on account of the course pursued by certain members called radicals or reformers. These brethren who had long been happy in the church, suddenly became dissatisfied with her government; united themselves together, and adopted measures to procure certain changes. Those measures unfortunately were such, as soon produced strife, contention, and breach of union among the members: they were often told that their course was injuring, and threatened to destroy the happiness of our society, and earnestly entreated to desist. They always knew it was their privilege to withdraw from the church whenever they contracted a dislike to her economy, but they refused to relinquish their inflammatory course, or to withdraw, as though they wished to keep us in perpetual broils; it finally became absolutely necessary that some one should proceed against them, as the only alternative left for the restoration of peace; and fortunately for the church, her discipline had made provision to secure her interests against the assaults of such opponents

rising up within her own bosom. With these remarks I submit the following sheets to the public, and should any one think proper to appear in opposition to what I have written, he may be assured, I will make no reply, unless his production be accompanied with the proper name.

THE AUTHOR.

AS the character of a controversy, which has agitated the Methodist Episcopal Church for some years, respecting her economy, has become so generally known, by means of the different mediums through which reformers, (so called,) have availed themselves to make the contest notorious, that it has become absolutely necessary to put our brethren, and the public in possession of the facts as they really exist, by giving them a correct narative of the proceedings in this place.

My object is to arrange and lay before the public some donuments which will give them a correct idea of the proceedings of the Church against certain reformers in this city; for since those proceedings have taken place, many things have been stated, which if believed, would have a direct tendency to injure the character of the preacher in charge, and also, all those who thought it their duty to appear against them in behalf of our much beloved, but injured church; for already the press has begun, through the medium of the public newspapers, to utter forth reproaches, and to cast the most unwarrantable odium of cruelty, and oppression upon the preacher in charge, and upon those Rev. Fathers in Israel, who were called as a committee to try the case of the local preachers. But the author of those calumnies, had not fortitude enough, or for some other reason, did not, put us in possession of his real name. But we need not be astonished at this, for it has been almost the uniform practice of such midnight stabbers, (to use a phrase furnished by a reformer,) to secretly assail the character of individuals, by concealing their proper names.

In my opinion, it very little becomes christian professors to publish any thing relative to church matters, in newspapers, which are so zealously, and almost entirely devoted to the great political question of national affairs. But since it is a fact, that our opponents have done it, and no doubt with a design to forestall and enlist public opinion and feeling in their favour, and prejudice the minds of the people against the preacher in charge, I think therefore, he was justifiable in making his defence through the same medium.

I believe in 1804, the first Methodist class was organized in this city, consisting of but eight members, of whom the Rev. Robert Richardson was leader; and they walked in the fear of the Lord, having fellowship one with another; and the "Lord added to their number," greatly "such as should be saved," until we could number between twelve and thirteen hundred incorporated within her pales in this city; notwithstanding there were a number seceded from the church some years ago. But we need not be astonished at this, when we recollect that there have been secessions from the purest churches that have ever been organized; and indeed, I am bold to say, that according to the best account on record, there never has been a church of as long standing and as numerous as the Methodist E. Church, that has experienced as few schisms; and that the schismatics decreased as soon as those who have separated from her.

But a few years since, some again became dissatisfied with our church government, and they began to be restless because they had not power, suitable to their ambitious notions, and therefore began to trouble the church

by disputing with their brethren; and this contention was much increased by the publication of a monthly periodical, called the "*Mutual Rights*," &c. In which work there is much matter that is "*unjustifiably inflammatory*," and also many statements which are not consistent with truth; and in their very nature, would have a tendency to prejudice the minds of the public against our church and her ministers, and thereby destroy their usefulness among their fellow beings, and consequently counteract the noble design of the Divine Being, in calling them to the work of the ministry.

About the same time, in addition to the above mentioned work, there were organized within the bosom of the church, distinct bodies, called "*Union Societies*," which bodies stood in direct opposition to her economy, and whose object was, with their united efforts to subvert her government. Thus, they completely signalized themselves, and drew the line of distinction between them and their brethren, and could be considered nothing less than systematic opponents to our church polity; such a course of conduct, could not fail to arouse the friends of Methodism from their slumbers, and call forth their energies in behalf of their injured Mother; and the natural result was, strife engendered, discord sown, breach of union took place, and brotherly love destroyed; and our brethren were hailed in the corners of the streets and lanes of our City, and their minds prejudiced against our church and her ministers, by representing her government as despotic, and her ministers as monarchists and tyrants.

However, the friends of Methodism prudently avoided contention and controversy for some time; insomuch that their opponents complained of it; they were often invited into the field of controversy; and oppositions were frequently solicited, and talents were much boasted of, and relied on for success; and the friends of the church were frequently asked, why do you not write? Why do you not oppose us? We have no chance to grow! We want to be opposed! &c. &c.

The time of the general conference (which sat in May last,) was approaching; and many petitions and memorials were sent up by the reformers, for the purpose of effecting a change in our economy. But many more were sent up by the friends of our government, praying that the same mode of government might be continued: and after taking into consideration the nature of the proposed changes, in connexion with the various arguments of the memorialists, the general conference concluded that (according to their judgment,) they could not devise any plan that would prove more effectual in bringing about the great object of their labours, (namely, the salvation of souls,) than the one already adopted: and consequently they issued a report, advising our disaffected brethren to cease agitating the church; and desired that Union societies should be abolished, and the Mutual Rights discontinued.

Soon after the report had reached our City, the preacher in charge, called together the society, and read it to them. And this report, (in my judgment,) for good arguments and mildness of temper has scarcely ever been excelled. But it was treated with the utmost contempt and ridicule; and its true meaning shamefully perverted. And shortly after this, the Union society was called together, and the following resolution passed, to wit: "That according to our present feelings and sentiments, we ought, and therefore *design* to patronize the *Mutual Rights*, and to continue the

Union Society until the meeting of the convention in November next, and then to be governed as circumstances may seem to direct."

This cut off all hope of submission to the authority of the church, and indeed it was virtually withdrawing themselves from under its jurisdiction, and placing themselves under such authority as they should create; for they refused to submit to the easy requisitions of the general conference; and therefore they could not with propriety expect to share in the benefits resulting from church membership.

The thing had now come to a crisis, that something must be done, or the result must be inevitable ruin to our society: fortunately for the church, she yet had some warm friends existing in her bosom, who dared undertake the mighty enterprize against her formidable enemies, to rescue her from contention and internal broils, and cause her courts once more to resound with the voice of love, harmony, peace and friendship.

Consequently the preacher in charge of this station, being informed of the intention of certain brethren to have the matter investigated and determined before the church, advised that they should first wait on those whom they considered the most active in conducting the course pursued by the Union Society with the following resolution, which was proposed by the Rev. O. M. Spencer, who was then a member of the Union Society, instead of the one I have above inserted, to see if they would not agree to its contents, viz: "Resolved, that for the sake of conciliation and with a view to the restoration of peace and harmony in the church of which we are members; we are willing, and do hereby agree to abolish our society, and discontinue our patronage of the Mutual Rights; reserving to ourselves however, the right of assembling at any time in a peaceable and orderly manner, to express our opinions on church government, or on any other lawful subject, and reserving also the right of publishing those opinions through such medium, (other than the Mutual Rights,) as we may deem proper, holding ourselves responsible therefor."

But the above propositions were utterly rejected, although (as one of their own members remarked) a compliance with them, would not deprive them of any privilege that a christian, or a good citizen, ought to enjoy.

Therefore, under a sense of duty towards God, and with the above object in view, four members of the church, of good and long standing, (whose names you shall shortly hear,) preferred charges against four local preachers and ten lay-members, who were members of the Union society. And I am very certain those charges were not preferred because of any personal antipathy, but with a view to the benefit of the church, for it is evident that whatever interest those aged veterans, (who have lived in the bosom of the church for more than a score of years,) may feel for many individuals, yet it is not worthy to be brought into competition with the deep interest which they feel for the church. Therefore nothing remained but that the preacher in charge must be under the painful necessity of executing the duties devolving on him by virtue of his office. The following is a true copy of the charges preferred, to wit:—

We the undersigned members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, feel ourselves under the painful necessity of preferring charges against the following ministers and members of the Methodist E. Church, viz: William

Young, David English, John Haughton, Jesse B. Dorman, (local preachers,) Ezekiel Hall, James Foster, George Lee, John Garrison, Isaac Snyder, Henry Handy, Thos. Wright, William L. Chappell, Stephen Ashley, and Moses Lyon, (members.) The above named are severally charged with the following charges and specifications, (viz.) charged with endeavoring to sow dissentions in the society or church in this station, known by the name of the Methodist E. Church, and with the violation of that general rule of the discipline of said church, which prohibits its members from doing harm, and requires them to avoid evil of every kind, especially with violating that clause of said general rule, which prohibits speaking evil of ministers.

Specification 1st. Because the above mentioned members of said church, did heretofore attach themselves to, and become members of, the society called the Union Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati; which Union society is in opposition to the discipline in whole, or in part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has arrayed and combined all the workings of the spirit of party in their pernicious and destructive forms, distinguishing its members as organized and systematic opponents of the church aforesaid.

Specification 2d. Because the aforesaid members, as members of the Union society are directly or indirectly, either by their pecuniary contributions, or their personal influence, aiding, abetting, co-operating, or assisting in the publication or circulation of a work called the "Mutual Rights of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church," printed in Baltimore, and containing among other things, much that inveighs against the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church aforesaid, in whole or in part, and is in direct opposition thereto; and that is abusive, or speaks evil of a part if not most of the ministers of that church; the general tendency of which periodical work has been to produce, and continues to produce disagreement, strife, contention, and breach of union among the members of said church in this city or station.

Specification 3d. Because the said members as members of the Union Society aforesaid, did at a meeting of said Union Society, held on the evening of the 10th day of this month, (July) vote for, or otherwise agree to the adoption of the following resolution, viz: "That according to our present feelings and sentiments we ought, and therefore design to patronize the Mutual Rights, and to continue the Union society until the meeting of the convention in November next, and then to be governed as circumstances may seem to direct." Which resolution on account of the licentious manner in which the periodical called "Mutual Rights" has been conducted, and on account of the discord and strife produced by the organization and continuance of that distinct body within the bosom of the church, called the "Union Society," is a plain violation of the existing regulations under which we are voluntarily associated as Methodists, and as Methodist ministers, and is in opposition to the judgment and advice of the late General Conference of the Methodist E. Church, and is well calculated to produce and increase the disagreement, strife, contention, and breach of union alluded to in the 2d specfication. For proof of which, the publication entitled the "Mutual rights of the Ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is referred to, and particularly,

No. 19. Page 162, Constitution of the U. Society of Cincinnati.
" 7. " 261, Essay on Church property, No. 1, 2.
" 25. " 26, Joseph Walker's letters.
" 27. " 52, Luther on Representation.
" 29. " 108, Timothy's address.
" 30. " 147, Disenter.
" 32. " 192, Rev'd A. Shinn's Appeal.
" 33. " 214, Granville Union Society.
" 34. " 270, Vindex.
" " ib. Sovereignty of Methodist in the South.
" " 248. Address of N. Snethen.
" 35. " 277, Union Society on Dorsey's Case.
" 44. " 230, Resolutions of the Cincinnati Union Society.
" 47. " 338, Reasons for not complying, &c.
" " 343, Methodism by Jeffers.

With such other documentary, or oral proof as the undersigned may deem expedient to exhibit or produce.

R. RICHARDSON,
C. SMITH,
S. NELSON,
L. QUINTON.

Cincinnati, July 23, 1828."

In order that every opportunity might be given them, to make preparation for their defence, the preacher in charge, made the following communication to one of the accused.

"*Brother Young:*—

I wish to say to you, and through you, to all those brethren complained of, that you are not charged with crime for holding certain opinions, but for the *manner* of propogating those opinions. Not for investigating the principles of Church government, but for the peculiar course which you seem determined to pursue in that investigation, which is by means of the Union Society, and through the medium of the Mutual Rights, which course is thought to be inflammatory and productive of harm to the Church.

You are not charged with crime for defending and encouraging the liberty of speech and of the press, but for patronizing, recommending and circulating a certain periodical, thought to be conducted with licentiousness.

I wish these points distinctly understood, in order,

1. That you may know the reason why you are solicited to abolish the Union Society, and cease your patronage of the Mutual Rights, for the sake of peace.

2. That you may know why I think it my duty as preacher in charge of this station, to have the charges investigated, and decided on before the Church.

3. That you may have a clear and accurate view of the *grounds* of the prosecution, and be thereby assisted in making your defence in point.

The general Conference gave it as their opinion, that peace can never be restored and settled on any firm and lasting basis, till what is solicited of you shall be done. There are many in this place of the same opinion, and some on both sides of the dividing question.

Is it considered a matter of conscience with you? if so, it cannot be expected! But if a matter of judgment, it may reasonably be expected, when so large a majority of the Church think it necessary in order to peace; and when the general conference has advised it.

I remain, Yours, &c.

J. F. WRIGHT.

P. S. Some have expressed themselves entirely unwilling to join our church on account of the contentions existing among us. One man and his wife, I am informed, after joining, in a short time, united themselves to the Baptists, and he gave as a reason "the present agitation."

Is it not time to close the disputation by amicable adjustment, or otherwise? Judge ye!"

On the 26th July, at a meeting composed of the official members of Cincinnati station, held after the adjournment of the Quarterly Conference, it was resolved that it be advised, that a committee of five members be appointed by the preacher in charge in this station; and that a committee of the same number be appointed by the Union Society, to take into consideration the difficulties existing, and that they devise a plan of reconciliation; and provided they fail in divising such plan, that they devise a plan of separation, and that they report to the preacher in charge, who is respectfully requested when such report shall be made to call together the society, to consider and decide thereon.

It was then understood that all proceedings against the accused, and also, that all proceedings and disputations on both sides, should be entirely suspended until it be fairly known whether terms of reconciliation or of separation could be brought about by the committees. It was understood that the Union Society should meet, in order to appoint their committee, at which meeting they took in several members, which act was a breach of the confidence reposed in them by the official members of the church.

However, the committees were appointed, and met on the evening of the 29th of July, with apparent friendship and good feeling, it was then proposed by the committee on the part of the Union Society, that we separate and transmit all our communications in writing, to which the committee on the part of the church agreed, as it might save feelings, and also be the surest way to avoid misrepresentations; therefore, the committee on the part of the Union Society, made the first proposition; which was as follows, to wit:

"With a view to conciliation, and the restoration of peace and brotherly love, which have lately been disturbed in consequence of a difference of opinion in relation to our church government, &c. the undersigned, in behalf of the members of the Union Society of said church, propose as follows, viz:

1st. That we will abolish our Union society, reserving to ourselves the right to assemble as a *body* of reformers, at any time, for the purpose of transacting *such* business as in our *opinion* may be proper to promote the cause of reform.

2nd. That for the present we will continue our patronage of the Mutual Rights, pledging ourselves however, to use our exertions and influence with the Editors of that work, to prevent the publication therein, of

any matter unjustifiably inflammatory.—But should said Editors after due representation made by us, continue to publish any matter, which in our opinion, shall be unjustifiably inflammatory, we will withdraw our patronage from said work.

3d. In case of our withdrawing our partronage from the Mutual Rights, we reserve to ourselves the right of publishing our opinions through such other medium as we may think proper. We respectfully request an answer to the above proposition.

JOHN WOOD,
WM. DISNEY,
JOSEPH T. HODGSON.
RIC'D FOLGER,
DANIEL H. HORNE.

July 29, 1828."

THE REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

"In replying to the first report of the Committee of the Union Society, we think it necessary that we come at once to the merits of the case, that is, to examine the grounds of difficulty between Old-side Brethen and Reformers.

In the preamble of this, your first communication, the ground of difficulty is stated to be "a difference of *opinion* in relation to our Church government, &c."

In reply, we say for ourselves, and we think for every Old-side brother also, that men ought to have, without molestation, the privilege of thinking for themselves. But the *real ground* of difficulty appears to us, to be:

1st. There is a distinct society organized within the bosom of the M. E. Church, the *transactions* of which society are not in accordance with the economy of our social compact as a people,———consequently party spirit is engendered among us. But, "how can two walk together except they be agreed." Brethren we must say, we do not think your first proposition relative to the abolition of the Union Society, goes to remove the *cause* of complaint at all; inasmuch as you reserve to yourselves the right of *transacting* the same *business* as before.

2d. As it respects the *matter* contained in the "Mutual Rights," we think much of it "unjustifiably inflammatory," and that much of said *matter* cannot be maintained as truth.

But according to some *official* acts of our reforming brethren, it would seem they think very different from us on that subject. Now suppose we accede to your second proposition, you are nevertheless, left *judges* of the whole *matter*, with respect to its *character*. And on the supposition that we agree to your third proposition, we shall then grant you a privelege by which, if you choose, you may pursue a course as well calculated to injure feelings as by the plan at present pursued.

Our dear brethren, we entreat you at once to lay hold on the *cause* of difficulty, and we are ready to believe the *effects* will cease

MATTHEW BENSON.
BENJAMIN STEWART,
ADONIJAH PEACOCK,
DAVID FISHER,
DAVID S. RAYMOND.

July 30, 1828."

SECOND COMMUNICATION.

"*Cincinnati, July 30th*, 1828.

DEAR BRETHREN;

In our first communication on the subject of the difficulties which exist in our church, we have made certain propositions to you; in your reply to the same, you have not said positively whether you accept or reject them; we wish you therefore, to be more definite. Should you reject our propositions, we wish you to propose such terms of conciliation as you may think satisfactory. Yours, respectfully,

Signed by the Committee."

SECOND REPLY.

"DEAR BRETHREN:

We did not expect to be under the necessity of telling you in plain terms that we did not consider your communication a new proposition in reality at all, but rather a request to permit you to proceed as you have been in the habit of doing for these three or four year past; consequently we could not acceed thereto.

As it respects our making propositions, we did not think that our business at present by any means. We therefore, wish you to say in direct terms what you will do, with a view to the restoration of a permanent peace among us.

Signed by the Committee.

July 30, 1828."

THIRD COMMUNICATION.

"DEAR BRETHREN,

From the tenor of your last commmunication, it appears very evident to us, that you have entirely misunderstood the object for which we have been severally appointed, (you by the preacher in charge, and we by the U. Society,) on the present negociation, we feel satisfied that by reference to the resolution which was passed at the meeting of the officiary of the station, namely, that we were to confer with each other, on the subject of the existing difficulties in our church on the subject of church government, for the purpose of devising some plan by which an amicable adjustment of said difficulties may be affected, so that peace and harmony may be restored and perpetuated; and further, that should we fail in our attempt to effect this most desirable end, that we then endeavor to fix upon terms of friendly separation.

Now Brethren, when you say to us, that you do not think it your business to make any propositions, we think that you have lost sight of the weighty obligations devolving on you, as peace-makers, and are in danger of losing the blessing promised by our adorable Saviour, that such "shall be called the children of God." We sincerely hope that you will ponder the subject fully, and see if you cannot find it in your hearts to reciprocate in proposing terms of conciliation, we have made the first proposition, it certainly devoles on you therefore, to make the second.—We can say in truth, that we are for peace upon honorable terms; will you suffer your conduct towards us to speak a different language, and expect to be blameless.

You say in your communication that we have made no new proposition; in this we think you are entirely mistaken, for we know of none having

been made before those submitted in our first communication, therefore they must be new; and in respect to the first, we consider that we have conceded every thing which has been requested; either by the preacher in charge, or the prosecuting committee; and of course we think in doing this, we have met you half-way, at least, in relation to the existing difficulties. The right to assemble together in a peacaable manner, for the purpose of exchanging our views on church government, or any other lawful subject, has never yet been called in question, but is admitted by the warmest old-side brethren.

In regard to the second proposition, we think we have showed a disposition to satisfy our old-side brethren, inasmuch as we have assured them that we will discontinue our patronage of the Mutual Rights, should the Editors continue to publish inflammable matter therein. This we think, is going as far as ought to be required of us, as brethren and as Christians. But notwithstanding we have made the propositions above alluded to, you say we have made no proposition, but rather a request to be permitted to proceed as we have been in the habit of doing 3 or 4 years past; and then conclude by saying, as we have above stated, that you do not think it your business to make any proposition. If so, we consider the present negotiation in relation to the first proposition in the resolution passed by the meeting of the officiary, closed.

Dear Brethren, if you feel disposed to negotiate on the second proposition in said resolution, you will be so good as to open the same by proposing honorable terms, upon which a friendly separation may take place. Should you decline making any proposition on either of the above named points, we shall consider the negotiation at an end.

Yours, Respectfully,
The Committee."

THIRD REPLY.

"DEAR BRETHREN:

We confess, we know not of any plan by which a permanent reconciliation can take place under existing circumstances, unless you will recind your fourth resolution, passed by the Union Society, July 10th, 1828, no more to be constituted again in any shape or form, whatever.

July 30, 1828. *The Committee.*"

FOURTH COMMUNICATION.

"DEAR BRETHREN:

We acknowledge the receipt of your first proposition, and third communication; and we sincerely regret that you have been so straitened in your bowels of compassion toward us, as to make the *ungenerous* demand you have, and that you feel disposed to curtail every privilege, even such as heathens ought to enjoy, much more the free citizens of America, and the subjects of the Redeemer's kingdom; we have only to say, that we cannot submit in conscience, to such dishonorable terms. In our last address to you, we brought into view the last item of the resolution passed by the meeting of the officiary, relative to terms of friendly separation. If you have any proposition to make on that subject, we shall be happy to receive it; if you have none, you will please to answer in the negative, for we do not feel it our duty to make the first proposition on that subject. *The Committee.*

FOURTH REPLY.

"BRETHREN:

We think we have well matured the grounds of the existing difficulties, between old-side brethren and reformers, and are now compelled to say, we know of no other proposition to offer, than the one already offered, which would be likely to secure a permanent reconciliation.

As it regards a plan of separation, we do not feel ourselves at liberty to say any thing, further than to recommend that the charges preferred against certain ministers and members of our church, be withdrawn, provided they withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Committee."

The above proposition was utterly rejected, therefore the negotiation came to an end: and the committee on the part of the Union Society, sent the following communication to the preacher in charge.

"*Cincinnati, August* 1, 1828.

"DEAR BROTHER:

In accordance with the resolution passed by the officiary of this station, the committee appointed by yourself, and that appointed by the Union Society, we have had a conference on the propositions contained in said resolution, but have not been able to accomplish the desired end; and we, on our part, supposed it would be proper to make a report to you, notwithsatanding, but your committee differed with us, and supposed it unnecessary; if you concur with them, you will be pleased to advise us of the same in writing; if not, you will be pleased to notify your committee, to meet us at six o'clock, this afternoon, at Brother Spencer's office, for the purpose of making such report.

Your Brethren in Christ,
JOSEPH T. HODGSON,
WM. DISNEY,
RICH'D FOLGER,
DANIEL H. HORNE."

The following is Mr. Wright's answer to the above communication.

"*Cincinnati, August* 1, 1828.

"DEAR BRETHREN:

In answer to your communication of this day, I will just remark, that in my opinion, the resolution referred to, only contemplated a report to be made to the preacher in charge, in case the committees should agree in devising a plan of reconciliation, or a plan of separation.

Your note states you "have not been able to accomplish the desired end," from which I learn, that no plan in either case has been agreed upon by the committees; which information I deem entirely sufficient, without any further report in regard to your proceedings, and I think it will appear obvious on an examination of the resolution, that its spirit and design, in reference to your reporting to me, is already completely answered.

I remain yours respectfully,
JOHN F. WRIGHT.

To Messrs.
J. T. HODGSON,
WM. DISNEY,
RICAHRD FOLGER,
DANIEL H. HORNE."

The negotiation had scarcely come to an end, till it was rumoured abroad, that the committee on the part of the Union Society, had offered to give up as much as had been previously required of them. In order therefore, to lay the matter definitely before them, the preacher in charge sent the following communication to the accused:—

"Messrs. Young, English, Haughton, Dorman, Foster, Hall, Lee, Garrison, Snyder, Handy, Wright, Chappell, Lyon, and Ashley.

Dear Brethren, From a conversation which I had with brother Hodgson on Saturday evening last, I find on account of the ambiguity of terms, or some other circumstance, there exists a great difference of opinion between the two committees, in regard to the real meaning of the proposition made by the committee of the Union Society. It is said by some to embrace substantially the same contained in a resolution offered by brother Spencer, at a meeting of the Union Society, and as it was not agreed to by the committee that I appointed; it has been spread abroad that they demanded more, in order to a reconciliation, than ever had been previously required.

Now with a view to prevent any misunderstanding, with regard to what would be satisfactory as terms of reconciliation, I beg leave to lay before you the explicit language of the following resolution, which was proposed to the Union Society by the Rev. O. M. Spencer, viz.

"*Resolved*, That for the sake of conciliation, and with a view to the restoration of peace and harmony in the church, of which we are members, we are willing and do hereby agree, to abolish our society, and discontinue our patronage of the Mutual Rights; reserving to ourselves, however, the right of assembling at any time in a peaceable and orderly manner to express our opinions on church government, or on any other lawful subject; and reserving also, the right of publishing those opinions through such medium (other than the Mutual Rights) as we may deem proper; holding ourselves responsible therefor."

I feel myself authorized to say, that if you, as members of the Union Society, will agree to the above resolution, it will be satisfactory, and the charges preferred will be immediately withdrawn. I beseeeh you brethren, to meditate upon these things, and all the considerations connected with them. There is no wish on the part of the church to hurry the business; and in order to give you time for deliberation and consultation, all proceedings shall be suspended until Friday morning next, at which time (if not sooner) I hope you will furnish me with a definite answer to the above proposal. I remain yours respectfully,

August 4, 1828. J. F. WRIGHT."

The following is a reply to the above communication made by the Reverend Mr. Wright.

"*Cincinnati, August* 6, 1828.

The undersigned have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of a communication from brother Wright, in relation to the difficulties existing between brother Wright and certain members of the Union Society of this station. From that communication, the undersigned are of opinion that it is unnecessary to advert to any misunderstanding that may have taken place between the committees appointed to propose terms for

an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties: as conditions of reconciliation and peace, the undersigned beg leave to refer brother Wright to the proposals made by the committee appointed by the Union Society; by those conditions they wish still to abide.

The undersigned are aware that the church has no wish "to hurry the business" now under consideration; unless by the church, be meant brother Wright with his prosecuting committee, and a very few others. If however by the church, we are to understand a majority of the members; then nothing we believe is more clear, than that the church disapproves altogether of these proceedings.

J. HAUGHTON,
THOMAS WRIGHT,
ISAAC SNYDER,
MOSES LYON,
GEORGE LEE,
JOHN GARRISON,
DAVID ENGLISH,
STEPHEN ASHLEY,
HENRY HANDY,
JESSE B. DORMAN,
E. HALL,
WM. YOUNG,
JAMES FOSTER,
WM. L. CHAPPELL."

Here I will take the liberty to analize the above propositions, and try to find their true meaning, and proper application, for in my opinion, there have been many erroneous constructions put upon them: for even the Rev. Dr. ******, with many others have stated that there was no difference in reality in the first proposition made by the committee, on the part of the Union Society, and that contained in the Rev. O. M. Spencer's resolution, in regard to the abolition of the Union Society, and the privileges therein reserved.

To such, I will undertake to point out the difference; and in order to do it clearly, I here insert the proposition made by the committee—1st. "That we will abolish our Union Society, reserving to ourselves the right to assemble as a *body* of reformers, at any time for the purpose of *transacting* such *business* as in our *opinion* may be proper to promote the cause of reform."

It has been said that we were very hard and illiberal, because we did not accede to the above proposition, for it was giving up every thing that they could in conscience do: to such I will say, that their conscience operates strangely! Here I would simply ask, what more have they ever done, than meet together as a *body* of reformers? (Can any person conceive of a body, without organization?) "*To transact such business as they thought would promote the cause of reform*;" nothing more I presume!—What then, have they proposed to give up? Why! they proposed to abolish the Union Society! Yes; but did they propose not to organize it again, under some other name! Nay. Verily! they might have organized it again the next day, or as soon as they pleased, and give it some other title; which was the design, as I have understood. But we were not

tenacious about the title which they used, we would as soon they should call it "*Union Society*," as a "*body of reformers*," if they were permitted to *transact* the same *business*.

But had we acceded to the above proposition; we would have granted them greater privileges than ever they had before. Yes, unlimited privileges! For in that proposition, their *opinions* are the only restriction by which they would be bound: and in compliance with that proposition, they might take the liberty to sell all our churches, and make use of all the proceeds to their advantage; behead all our ministers, and banish all the members out of the City; and then say, that in *our opinion*, *this is* "*proper to promote the cause of reform.*" And then we would be left to lament our condition, without any possible chance of remedy. Here it may be asked, did not the Rev. O. M. Spencer's resolution guarantee the same privileges? I answer no! That would have bound them to assemble in a peaceable and orderly manner, to express their *opinions*, and that on none but *lawful* subjects.

But the former proposition would have laid them under no such restrictions, but would have given them full liberty to do *any* thing, and *every* thing which *they might think*, "*would promote the cause of reform.*" The one only contemplates *expressing opinions*, under certain restrictions; but the other contemplates "*transacting business*," under no restrictions. The candid reader will easily discover the difference between the two propopositions, and the reasons, why we did not accede to such terms.

In reference to the second proposition, made by the committee, I also must say, it differs materially from the one made by the Rev. O. M. Spencer; the more fully to show the contrast, which exists between them, I will here insert a line or two of each. The first, is an extract from the resolution of the above named individual. The second, is from the propositions made by the committee of the Union Society. "We are willing, and do hereby agree to discontinue our patronage of the Mutual Rights." 2nd. "That for the present, we will continue our patronage of the Mutual Rights."

The difference between the above extracts, is easily discovered. It is true, that in the same proposition, they pledged themselves to use their influence with the Editors of that work, to prevent the publication therein, of any matter, which is unjustifiably inflammatory, and if in *their opinion*, the matter be such, they will discontinue their patronage thereof.—But as we have said, they have reserved the right of judging themselves; and should the Editors publish, that all our ministers and members were thieves, robbers, and murderers; and we should demand of them, to withdraw their patronage; the answer might be, "*in our opinion, it is not unjustifiably inflammatory.*"

Again, in the 3rd proposition, it is said, "In case of our withdrawing our patronage from the Mutual Rights, we reserve to ourselves, the right of publishing our opinions through such other medium, as we may think proper." Not a word is said about their holding themselves responsible for what they publish: so they might publish to the world, as their *opinion*, that *Paine's Age of Reason*, was the greatest work to promote the truth, that is now extant in the world; and the church could not call them to an account for such absurd publications; because she had guaranteed to

them "*the right of publishing their opinions, through such medium as they think proper,*" (other than the Mutual Rights,) let those *opinions* be what they may.

According to the above request, or proposition, it would seem that reformers think that every man's own opinions, would be the proper criterion, by which to try his conduct: if this were the case, a lawless ambition would soon pervade the actions of men; and conviction for crime would be a strange work. Now if these are the privileges, and liberties contended for by reformers, may we be ever kept from them, both as a church, and as a nation!

Again, it is stated in the third communication made by the committee of the Union Society. "The right to assemble together in a peaceable manner, for the purpose of exchanging our views on the subject of church government, or any other lawful subject, has never been called in question, but is admitted by the warmest Old-side brethren." Neither did we call it in question. But here it is intimated that this proposition was made to us; which was not the fact, which will be easily discovered by examining the above proposition. But it is the substance of the proposals contained in the Rev'd O. M. Spencer's resolution, which was offered to them, (the reformers,) and they utterly refused to comply with such requisitions.

It is again stated in the third communication, they had conceded to every thing which was required by the preacher in charge, or the prosecuting committee; and this indeed, was the general report amongst reformers; and perhaps by some, was believed to be a fact, to our prejudice.

However, to see if their words and actions would correspond, and speak the same language. The preacher in charge, made to them the very same proposals, which the prosecuting committee had done before; and which they have stated above, they had acceded to.

But the reply to those proposals was written, as if to some private individual, respecting a communication received from him, concerning difficulties existing between *him* and "*members of the Union Society,*" and as if having no connexion with the church, whatever. What was the design of the peculiar manner of this reply, we are not fully capable of explaining. But the language speaks for itself.

However, they utterly refused to accede to the terms proposed; but stated they wished to abide by the propositions made by their committee, which was a clear evidence that they did not believe them to be one and the same in substance, although so reported. As I am not able to explain this ambiguity of conduct, I will leave it for those to do, who are better acquainted with it.

In our third reply to the committee of the Union Society, we made the following proposition to them, as terms of reconciliation, viz. If they would rescind their fourth resolution, which was passed by the Union Society, July 10th, 1828, no more to be constituted (or organized) again in any shape or form. Having in view at that time, their compliance with the resolution, offered by the Rev'd O. M. Spencer, as a substitute, instead of the one above alluded to. By constituted, in the above, we simply meant organized, and by it designed to prevent them from taking any

undue advantage of us; and organize themselves under some other title, which we have too good ground to believe was their design.

To this they replied, that we felt disposed "to curtail every privilege, even such as heathens ought to enjoy, much more the free citizens of America, and the subjects of the Redeemer's kingdom."

To this I will answer, that heathens ought to enjoy as many and as great privileges as we enjoy; and as free citizens of America, we have no right guaranteed to us in the laws of our country, to transact such business as would destroy the peace and harmony of society: and as subjects of the Redeemer's kingdom, we are no where authorized to sow *dissentions*, *strife*, and *discord* among his subjects, but the reverse is required of us.

The reply to this may be such as we have heard before, that we do not sow discord and dissention in the church. But there is discord, strife, and contention, and who are the authors of it? The cause must revert back on their own heads; for there was peace and harmony existing in the church, until they became disaffected. But more fully to show the propriety of this latter remark, we may instance a case. A vile slanderer might, (through the medium of the press, or otherwise) defame the character of his neighbour, and occasion strife and contention through all his borders, and then take shelter under the broad cloak of innocence, and say, I am doing no harm, if they would just let me alone, I would cause no contention, for I mean no harm, my designs are good, and therefore you must not disturb me. But if the civil law were put in force against him, and he made to feel its penal sanction for his conduct; he might remonstrate, and say I am a republican! I am a free citizen of America! My father fought for liberty! and now the *gag law* is about to be enforced, and I am deprived of the liberty of speech, and of the press.—This out-law would be as justifiable, as those who make the pretext under like circumstances.

But our opponents tell us, they are "for peace, upon honorable principles;" if so, why not be willing to give up the baneful source of discord? When they have it in their own hands, why cling to it, as a precious jewel, when it strikes peace almost out of existence! It cannot be honorable to any man to hold fast the bone of contention, when it neither adds to his graces, nor to his wealth.

After the preacher in charge received the above reply to his last proposal, from the accused members, he found that there was no chance of reconciliation, (for every thing had been done, that could with propriety be done, to save them, and the church also:) he caused each of the accused to be furnished with a copy of the charges and specifications as above inserted, and then notified them severally of the time appointed for their trials.

The committee appointed to examine the cases of the local preachers, were the Rev'd John Walls, John Clark, and Daniel Duvall. The two latter were taken from the country, as those in town had, in a greater or less degree, known, and disapproved their conduct. The committee appointed to try the lay members, were Wm. Armstrong, Francis M'Crackin, Wm. Lawson, Wm. Mershon, J. Brandriff, Wm. Bell, and Firman Hand.

After the accused members had been notified of the time and place of

their trial, the following notice was handed to the preacher in charge, for him to read to the congregation on Sabbath the 9th of August, which he judiciously refused to do, because the objects for calling such meeting, were carefully concealed from him. It was however, read by members of the board of trustees in both houses. It is but just to remark here, that the Rev'd O. M. Spencer, one of the trustees, was absent from the city at the time this meeting was called. I here insert the notice above alluded to.

"The members of the Methodist E. Church of Cincinnati, are hereby particularly requested to meet at the stone meeting house on Fifth-street, on Wednesday the 13th day of August, inst. at 2 o'clock, P. M. where business of the greatest importance will be submitted to their consideration. August 9th, 1828. By order of the Board of Trustees."

Accordingly there were some met, perhaps to the number of one hundred and fifty, and it may be easily determined of whom this company principally consisted. And the following is a true copy of their proceedings, which was sent to the preacher in charge.

"*To the Rev'd John F. Wright.*

The following resolutions were adopted by the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, and are hereby submitted for your consideration.

WM. DISNEY, Chairman.

JOHN TUTTLE, Secretary."

1st. That the trustees of this station have authority to call the church together on business in relation thereto, whenever they are of opinion such call is necessary, and such calls we consider legal and valid.

2d. That, at such meetings, whatever business is laid before the church, a majority shall decide thereon, and that decision shall be binding.

3d. That, as these prosecutions most clearly involve a violation of that sacred trust committed to us by our forefathers, viz : the liberty of speech and of the press.—And as they are contrary to the spirit, and genius of our holy religion,—unacknowleged by our book of discipline,—and highly dangerous to our civil and religious liberties, we hereby express our entire disapprobation of such proceeding.

4th. That, from any view we are able to take of these matters, the alledged grounds of complaint are totally insufficient to sustain the charges here preferred.

5th. That, forasmuch as some of our accused brethren have required of the preacher in charge, an investigation of these complaints before the church; and as the preacher has denied this privilege, a privilege granted by the discipline of said church, a right, for which, from the peculiar and uncommon nature of these charges, is imperiously called.—We hereby declare, that we shall acknowledge no expulsions as valid or legal, where such right has been denied.

6th. That we respectfully submit to the preacher in charge the propriety of immediately withdrawing these prosecutions, as the objects for which they were instituted, can never be accomplished thereby.

7th. That, should the preacher in charge reject our council and ad-

vice, in relation these prosecutions, we hereby *authorize and command*, our brethren, the trustees of this station, to *adopt such measures to enforce a compliance with our wishes* as above stated, *as they may judge necessary*.

8th. That, a copy of the resolutions passed by the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of this station, be presented by the trustees of said church to the Rev'd John F. Wright, preacher in charge.

9th. That the trustees be required to have the resolutions passed by the meeting recorded on the Church Book."

The following address, was sent, accompanying the above resolutions, to Mr. Wright.

"*Cincinnati, August* 13, 1828.

DEAR BROTHER:

We herewith send you a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, at a meeting held this day, agreeably to public notice given by the trustees of this station. We request you to inform us by the bearer, whether you design to act in accordance with the wishes of said church.

TRUSTEES.

Rev'd JOHN F. WRIGHT."

I here insert Mr. Wright's reply to the above.

"*To the Trustees.*

"*Cincinnati, August* 14, 1828.

DEAR BRETHREN:

In answer to your note, I beg leave to remark, that in my humble opinion, the trustees have exceeded the power vested in them by the law of incorporation, by taking jurisdiction over, and interfering with the spiritual concerns of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this station, (as trustees,) inasmuch as their office only contemplates their having control of temporal affairs.

You wish me to say whether "I design to act in accordance with the wishes of said church," to which I answer, from the smallness of the number convened together on yesterday, and as I am informed, but few of them voted, I cannot suppose the wish of the *Church* is yet ascertained—no regular investigation has yet been made, and I feel myself bound as preacher in charge, to attend to the business as the discipline of our church directs. Yours, &c.

J. F. WRIGHT."

No doubt but the candid reader has already discovered the propriety and justice of the course laid down by the preacher in charge; but suffer me, in addition to what he has said, to make a few remarks on the above propositions; which it is said, "were adopted by the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati." But this would be more fitly and justly rendered, the *disaffected members* of the Methodist E. Church of Cincinnati; for this indeed, was the fact. And into whose hands this may come, let them assuredly know, that the M. E. Church of Cincinnati never adopted such resolutions, except a few *radicals* be considered the church: for indeed, I should be very sorry for the world to believe, that the M. E. Church of Cincinnati, was so profoundly igno-

rant, as to suppose that the trustees could be invested with such authority as these resolutions contemplated, and yet, pretend to be under the jurisdiction of the discipline of said Church.

What! to have authority to call the church together upon any, and upon all occasions, when in their opinion, such call is necessary, and then, whatever business they see cause to lay before the church, (whether of a spiritual or a temporal nature,) the decision of a majority shall be binding. Then if they saw cause in their opinion, to call together the church to see whether our stationed preachers should not be expelled, and select our own preachers, then a majority in favour of that motion should be binding.

We then could not consider ourselves as belonging to the Methodist E. Church. Supposing each station and circuit should adopt such resolutions to transact their own business, in the manner above alluded to, what would be the consequence? Why! the inevitable consequence, would be a final distruction of our great *Itinerant* system, each circuit and station would be an independent church. This would afford us a new era in the history of Methodism. However, it furnishes us with some idea how reformers design to be governed, (namely, by trustees.) But my remarks must be brief.

The reader will discover, that there is something said in the third resolution respecting these prosecutions, involving "a violation of the sacred trusts and liberties, committed to" them "by" their "forefathers," &c. and then it is added "we hereby express our entire disapprobation." But, this we might expect, for it was not thought that it would meet with their approbation.

For no doubt, any criminal that was brought before a court of justice for the violation and abuse of those sacred liberties committed to him by his forefathers, would express his entire disapprobation of the proceedings against him, especially if he could escape justice thereby.

In the 7th resolution it is said, "should the preacher in charge reject our counsel and advice—we hereby *authorize* and *command* our brethren, the trustees, to *enforce a compliance* with our wishes." Here is, indeed, a stretch of power—it puts me in mind of the inquisition.

The 9th resolution says, "that the trustees be required to have the resolutions passed by this meeting, recorded in the Church Book." It is almost a wonder that they were not required to have them recorded in the book of discipline, as a rule of our faith and practice. But, to pass on.

The day arrived, on which the local preachers were to have their trials; and the committee was placed. But some of the accused supposed they had not been legally dealt with, inasmuch as the preacher in charge had not specially reproved them, (as they supposed,) according to discipline, which says, "if a member of our church shall be clearly convicted of endeavouring to sow dissentions in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrine or discipline; such person, so offending, shall be first reproved by the senior minister, or preacher in charge of his circuit, and if he persist in such pernicious practices, he shall be expelled from the church."

In reply to the above insinuations (of illegality,) the preacher in

charge, gave the following explanation verbatim, as his views of the above rule.

"The accused brethren have mistaken the manner, in which persons are to be dealt with, according to the provisions of the rule referred to. It must appear obvious to all by a fair construction of the language used, that the member suspected of such a crime, must first be clearly convicted of endeavoring to sow dissention in the church, and then, (and not until then,) it is made the duty of the senior minister to reprove him. Now I ask, in what way is the guilt or innocence of a person thus accused, to be determined? The discipline of the church, no where authorizes me, as preacher in charge, to make a decision on the case. I know of no method, legally to determine the matter, except by a regular investigation before a committee; which method I have adopted, and shall be governed by the decisions that may be had in the case."

It may not be improper here, (without any special regard to the order of time,) to remark that the same objections were urged at the trials before the quarterly conference. To which the preacher in charge, replied in effect as follows.

"That if the discipline in that rule, made it his duty to reprove them before they were brought to trial before a committee, that the same rule would deprive them of a trial by a committee, after such reproof was given; because the discipline expressly says, "if they persist in such pernicious practices after such reproof is given, they shall be expelled," unconditionally, so that it would supercede the necessity of a trial at all.—So if he had power to convict them, before they were reproved, he also would have the power to know if they persisted in it after they were reproved. The argument is conclusive, and will of itself prove to us, that an investigation must be had before a committee, or they cannot be clearly convicted."

But to return. At the time of the trial before the committee, there were certain objections made to two of them by the accused, which objections they supposed would disqualify them to set on their case, to which objections the preacher in charge made the following reply.

"I cordially admit, according to our economy, that our preachers and members when arraigned for trial, have the right to challenge (on proper principles) any person who is called to judge in their case, and it is presumed the brethren, making the objections, are of the same opinion. I do not say that this specific clause is to be found in our book of discipline, nor is it to be found in the Bible. But as the idea of trying an accused member before the society, or a select number is analogous to trying an accused member before a jury. That the trial before a society or committee was adopted in reference to that principle, and consequently, as common law, common sense, and the usage of the country, established the right of challenge, it must have been the design of the general conference, that the rule should be so understood.

Yet I cannot grant the challenge in the present case, because I consider the grounds on which it is predicated inadmisible, and I believe they would be considered so by any court. If they were admisible, no person could be brought to trial to effect, in church or state, for any crime whatever. The grounds of the challenge, is that John Clark is thought

to be so much prejudiced against reformers, as not to be able to do justice in the case. And brother Duval is objected to, because he has just said that in his opinion, the difficulties existing in the church will not be settled without a division. For a man to denounce measures, certainly does not disqualify him to set on a jury to try another who is accused of those *measures*, provided he has not previously expressed a fixed opinion of the guilt or innocence of the accused. If the constitution and the government of the United States were assailed, and the assailants brought to trial for disturbing the peace of society, and the accused should challenge every juror, who was oppposed to his measures, without prejudging whether the accused was guilty or not, would such a challenge be a good one? Or if Aaron Burr, who was accused of a conspiracy against the government, had challenged every juror who was opposed to his measures, would such a challenge have been considered valid? Certainly not! A person to be disqualified for a juror in such cases must have said that the accused is guilty or innocent. It may not be amiss to add that the committee were all asked by one of the accused, if they had not expressed an opinion on the subject to Mr. Wright, to which they answered in the negative.

No doubt the reader has already discovered that the grounds of objections to those brethren, were not admissable. The objection made to Mr. Duval, was, for saying that which had been said and believed by reformers themselves. And had the preacher in charge, suffered the objection against Mr. Clark to have prevailed, it is probable he never could have constituted a committee of trial, for nothing is more common than for them to suppose all who approve of our present system of church government, were prejudiced against them, and to have tried them before reformers would have been absurd in itself.

As an introduction to the evidence which was offered at the time of trial, the following document was read. "In the commencement of the business now before us, we wish it to be distinctly understood, that our accused brethren are not brought before you to day on account of their *opinions*, which they might hold without doing harm to any one, but for the peculiar means they use to destroy our church polity,—and for co-operating with different Union Societies or individuals to effect the above named purpose, together with that of defaming the characters of many, if not all our travelling ministry. We wish the committee on this case, to bear in mind that we, as methodists, are associated under a polity or form of church government, peculiar to ourselves, and distinct from that of other religious associations.—And that there is a provision made in our economy for the security of the same from all invasions that may arise against us."

It is well known to you also, that our economy, like that of other religious societies, provides for the displacing of members, whose conduct does not comport with the plain letter of the Scripture. Particularly such as the following, "Speak notevil one of another, brethren," James, 4th, 11th, and again, "Put them in mind to speak evil of no man," Titus, 3, 1 2. And should our accused brethren deny having been engaged in any of the above censurable acts, we shall bring before you the "Mutual Rights," &c. as evidence against them, and show that they have official-

ly made that work their own, and consequently are accountable for the matter therein contained.

It will be recollected that one of the reformers, of high standing, has laid down the followiug correct maxim, viz: For individuals to do wrong in their social or church capacity, is a greater crime than to do wrong in their individual capacity.—A. Shinn's M. R. Vol. 3, page 12.

That men are chargeable with that which others do in many cases, is evident from the following passages of scripture, and many others. "For he that bideth, him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds," 11. John 11; and again, "Neither be partaker of other men's sins;" 1. Tim. 5–22, &c. and in the language of the 15th psalm, 3 v. "The good man taketh not up a reproach against his neighbour." Dr. Clark in commenting on this text, says, "a man for instance, of a good character is reported to have done something wrong, the tale is spread and the slanderers and backbiters carry it about: and thus the man is stripped of his fair character.—The good man taketh it not up; he cannot prevent the detracter from laying it down; but it is in his power not to take it up; and thus the progress of the slanderer may be arrested. Reader, drive the slanderer of your neighbour far away from you—ever remembering that in the law of God, as well as in the law of the land, the receiver is as bad as the thief."

The following was read as evidence in the case.

Extract from the Constitution of the Union Society of Cincinnati.

PREAMBLE.

"In the Methodist Episcopal Church in these United States, we lament to see a departure from those liberal principles practised in the days of the Apostles, and a form of government established more nearly allied to monarchial principles, than to the popular institutions of our free and happy country. From the known habits and sentiments of our people, we fear such a form of government will greatly militate against the prosperity and permenancy of Methodism: and largely detract from the glory and happiness of our church. Already have we seen the bad effects of unbalanced power—strife and divisions have been generated—dissatisfaction and alarm have spread as natural and unavoidable consequences of the present order of things. Some alteration is necessary to preserve us in peace: and that alteration we believe to be equal representation. To this particular object, we call the attention of our brethren throughout the Union—for the attainment of this object, we design to exert all our energies; and more effectually to accomplish this object, we agree to form ourselves into a society, and to be governed by the following constitution."

"ARTICLE 1st. This society shall be denominated the *Methodist Union Society of Cincinnati.*

"2d. The object of this Society shall be to obtain a well balanced form of church government, and to be in joint readiness with similar societies, to address the next general conference in order to obtain this desirable object."

Extract from the resolutions passed January 10th, 1828, by the Union Society, in Cincinnati.

"1st. *Resolved*, That we cordially approve of the organization of Union Societies, and heartily recommend to our friends and members of the

Methodist Episcopal Church generally, the necessity of establishing them in every station and circuit throughout these United States.

"2d. *Resolved*, That we approve of "the monthly publication, entitled the Mutual Rights," &c. and do hereby earnestly and sincerely recommend it to the travelling preachers, local preachers, and private members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in every station and circuit of the Union, as one of the most useful publications, both as it regards facts and arguments on the subject of church government, of any periodical of which we have any knowledge; and we do earnestly request all the Union Societies to give it a speedy and general circulation."

From the above extracts, it will be easily discovered that the members of the Union Society of Cincinnati, are held responsible for the unfounded allegations against the characters of our ministers, and the abusive epithets so liberally bestowed upon them in the "Mutual Rights." Although it has been argued over and over again by reformers in this place, that they are charged with, but are not accountable for what other men have done. So we often hear it reiteratad that they "cannot help what others do." But let it be forever understood and known, that they never have been charged with, nor accused on the grounds of other men's sins, or what others have done, but on the grounds of their own personal sins. But that a man can participate in, and make that his own which originally was another's, is evident from the passage of scripture above quoted, and from the following arguments.

Suppose the Methodist Society of Cincinnati, should in the language of the above resolutions, recommend Paine's "Age of Reason," to all the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in every station and circuit of the Union, as one of the most useful publications, both as it regards "facts and arguments," on the subject of religion, of any publication of which they had any knowledge, and therefore, request all the Methodists to give it a "speedy and general circulation." I now ask, would we not be accountable for the injury produced through our influence by that work? And should many embrace the principles of infidelity, by reading the work, and it occasions contention, strife, and discord, (which would be the natural result,) and we be brought to an account for sowing dissentions in the church, I ask, would it ever enter into the heart of any candid man, to plead not guilty? Nay, verily! We would be as guilty as Thomas Paine himself! And supposing further, that we argue in favor of infidelity, and say, (as infidels do,) that the Bible is only priestcraft, designed to keep the people in slavery and fear, and ignorant of their just privileges, and should the church then take cognizance of us, could any one ever suppose that it was unjust. In order to make any work their own, it is not necessary they should write it, for it would be equally their own if they put their name to it, and gave it their sanction.

It is again said by reformers, that the discipline says nothing of, and does not forbid Union Socities, or patronizing the "Mutual Rights." In answer to this poor subterfuge, I need only say that the discipline forbids *sowing dissentions* in the church, without respect to the manner of doing it. And, as an illustration, I will suppose a person guilty of cutting off a man's head, put upon his trial for murder; he knows he depriv-

ed a man of his head, but to screen himself from punishment, urges, that the law nowhere forbids the cutting off a man's head. How foolish and unavailing would such a plea appear in the estimation of an enlightened jury?

They also declare, they did not "*endeavour*" to sow dissentions in the church, and in order to convict them of that crime, we must first know the thoughts of their hearts, and find out their secret design.—This argument is so futile that it will scarcely justify an answer; first I will say, if a man's actions are no evidence of his designs, it would be impossible to convict any man of crime; on the same parity of reasoning, a man might thrust a dagger into his neighbour's heart, and then say, I did not design to kill him; he might do this repeatedly and see that it produced the same effect, and still make the same plea, but what man of common sense would believe him. And so in respect to the Union Societies, and Mutual Rights; it is well known that they have caused dissention, discord, and strife, and with all these melancholy facts before our eyes, they will still persist in them, and if possible, use greater zeal to promote them. If they, (the reformers,) do not design to sow dissention, they design to transact such business as they are certain will produce that effect.

It may perhaps be said that my first analogy, (Paine's Age of Reason,) is too strong to be compared with the Mutual Rights. I will grant that a person may believe the contents of the Mutual Rights, and yet get to Heaven: but if their contents were generally credited, it would raise an insuperable barrier between the people and our ministers; and render it impossible for them to have access to their hearts and consciences, so as to do them real good; and though it is not generally believed, yet it is believed by some, and in the minds of such, it no doubt has a pernicious influence; but all the injury that will result from this work, can never be fully developed until the great and decisive day. But whatever evil effect is produced by the above recommendation of said work, by the Union Society of this place, will certainly stand charged against those who were actively engaged therein, except repented of.

I will now insert a few extracts from the above named periodical, (which was introduced as evidence against the accused,) in order to give the reader, who is not acquainted with that work, some idea of its contents, and of the things which the Union Society in this place so highly recommended in the above resolution.

Extract from "An Essay on Church Property, by the Rev. Nicholas Snethen."

"We have said that Mr. Wesley was rich in church property; and that he knew and felt he was so. We say the same of our superintendents, they too know and feel that they have a hold on the public property, in virtue of the absolute prerogatives of their office, sufficiently firm to enable them to dispossess *any* preacher whenever they may think proper. It is to no purpose to say, they cannot convert this property to their own private use. There is no reason to suppose they would do so if they had the title in fee. Kings are not wont to use the property of the crown for their own private benefit, or in other words, to impoverish themselves as kings, in order to enrich themselves as individuals. It is not to be sup-

posed, that the holders of absolute power will be less ambitious than prodigal or covetous monarchs. The glory of superintendents is proportionate to the amount of property they have in their possession. Every house that is built, and every collection that is made, adds to ther consequence, by increasing their influence. *Poor bishops of rich diocesses, are not common; and poor universal bishops are much less so.* The travelling preachers also, while their imaginations are dazzled with the idea of their share in the title of property, secured by deed to the General Conference, feel rich, and look down upon the poverty of local preachers; their exclusive right to seats in the conferences, is indeed, so flattering to their vanity, as, in most instances, to blind them to the actual state of things. Few of them can be brought to reflect steadily upon the fact, that they are little more than trustees for the bishops, who as soon as they are elected and inducted in office, are no longer responsible to them. The power or privilege of electing to an absolute office for life, is the most dangerous that can be vested in any body of men. The importance that such electors are prone to attach to themselves, is pleasantly ridiculed in the story of the cardinal and the pope. The cardinal, when he wanted a favour, reminded his holiness, that he made him pope; who, wearied at length with this importunity, replied, 'then let me be pope.' "—*Vol.* 1. *p.* 285.

" Our superintendents are not only chosen members of the conferences, and presidents for life, with the power of choosing the presiding elders, and stationing all the preachers; but to make them as independent as possible, they are pensioners on the book funds, to the full amount of all demands. The discipline, by putting no check upon their power, presumes they can do no wrong."—*Ib. p.* 286.

Extract from " Nehemiah, on the Expediency of allowing to the Local Ministry and Laity a Representation in the General Conference."

" Convinced, as they [the reformers] are, that they have every thing on their side that would justify them in the sight of God, in the eyes of the world, and in the demands of their own consciences, to withdraw, is it to be expected that they will continue to submit to those who withhold their rights? To remain would be hopeless. To remain in the connexion, would be to remain to be made the butt of the contumely, and insult of every one opposed to reform. If nothing be done in favour of the reformation, it will be construed into a total defeat, and will so inflame their opponents, as to induce them to add farther injuries to the grievances already felt. What, then, can the reformers promise themselves by continuing in the connexion, in the event of a total denial of their claims? Can they promise themselves peace? Peace, they will have none. Can they hope that, by continuing to suffer, justice will be done them in the end. *Alas! injustice, like death, has neither eyes to see the miseries of its subjects, nor a heart to feel for the wounds which it inflicts.* Every symptom of patience, and every returning period, will only encourage their *oppressors* to be firmer in their denial, and will induce them to augment the distresses of the distressed. Can they, under this view of the subject, calculate upon the common courtesies and civilities of life? They cannot. For, even at the present, and while the cause is depending, the shafts of reproach are frequently hurled at them, even from the pulpit.

"We will now suppose that the General Conference, rigidly adhering to the present system, with all its features of injustice, reject the petitions which may be presented for a representation. We will suppose, that those friendly to an equitable church government, based upon representation, will then proceed to take such measures as will be deemed necessary to form themselves into a church; will not many of the most intelligent and respectable laymen and their families be of the number? Will not some who are at present in the travelling connexion, and who are ground, as it were, *between the upper and nether millstones*, on account of their liberal sentiments, be of that number? We have no doubt of these things. How whole districts of country may be affected by the formation of new connexions, we cannot tell; but we shall neither be surprised nor mistaken in our calculation, if societies were to withdraw by scores from a church, whose ministers, if they speak the truth, would *rather see them go into sin, and finally go to hell*, than allow a representation in the law-making department of the church."—*Ib. pp.* 478–9.

"The power of the itinerancy in this part of the country, is already in a trembling condition. All that is necessary, is, for the people to be freed from the terrors of the gag-law. The people generally, think rightly, if they only dare to speak out. For my part, I was born in the year 1776, and a warm current of the blood of freemen runs through my veins. I delight to entertain a just sense of man's equal rights in church and state. My son-in-law, Ebenezer Hern, is now, and for several years has been a presiding elder in the Mississippi conference, and my oldest son, R. L. Walker, is a travelling preacher in the same conference. These facts serve with other considerations, as you may suppose, to make me more solicitous for a change in our church government. For I do not wish to see any of my family, have a part in holding the reins of government, which is administered in unrighteousness.

Extracts from "Luther on Representation."

"MESSRS. EDITORS,

"With much interest I have perused several numbers of your Mutual Rights. The friends of reform speak very intelligibly, the language of the American family. They reiterate the theme of those who gloriously repose in the stillness of Thermopylæ, Marathon, Charonea, Pharsalia, Monmouth. They resist the same principle which slew the martyrs, slaughtered Poland, assailed America, and was vanquished. That principle is despotism. At this plain word some will cry out treason; or what is tantamount, apostacy. Oh, Messrs. Editors! how profoundly I regret, that truth will apply this hateful characteristic to any part of methodistical polity; the searcher of hearts alone can tell. For sixteen years have the sympathies of my heart, and the energies of my mind (such as they be) been deeply interested in behalf of your Zion. During that time, I have lingered, with fond solicitude about your outer courts, (not having shared in her councils, though of her priesthood;) I have willingly hewn her wood and drawn her water; all the while hoping, that her leading chieftains would roll away this reproach from her honour, banish this cloud from her beauty, purge this poison from her vitals, dig this volcano from her foundations, and enable her to walk forth

in all her native beauty, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners; the praise of the whole earth. Until the last General Conference, I viewed this despotic trait in her polity, as the offspring of casualties; a sort of wild exotic, which by some mishap had sprung up in the garden of the Lord: *a wandering demon*, which had insinuated himself into her paradise, unobserved; and like Milton's toad at the ear of Eve, infused into the genius of our church, portentous dreams and dreary visions. I looked to that General Conference for an achievement worthy of primitive christianity and American methodists. My fond imagination displayed to my view, an august assembly of holy men, hurling this monster from the heights of their Salem, a spectacle to an admiring nation. But oh! cruel disappointment, methodism has lost one of her richest laurels: never did an epoch of her history give to her rulers, so distinguished an opportunity of shedding immortal lustre upon her own name and their own memories. But that circular, the ominous offspring of her labour, too barren to merit criticism, serves only to mortify the best friends and to legalize oppression."—*Ib. pp.* 53, 54.

"But when those representatives of the itinerancy, who alone elect them, presume to legislate for all the locality and laity of the methodist church, what assumption can be more unwarrantable! what system more oppressive? In case of grievance, where shall the locality and laity look for redress? They have no check upon their lawgivers. The members of the General Conference are all pledged to their itenerant brethren who sent them there; and the itinerancy in mass are all indirectly pledged to the episcopacy; hence the episcopacy is frequently strenghtened and the itinerancy is always guarded; but the rights of the laity and locality are trampled on."—*Ib. pp.* 55, 56.

"Oh! is the religion of Jesus with all its enrapturing joys, the soul with all its indescribable powers, heaven with all its inconceivable glories, and hell with all its unutterable horrors; are these matters so trival, that we leave them to the winds, to the speculations of self-created conclaves, while we guard the sanctuary of our civil, our momentary rights so inviolably? Illustrious prophets and martyrs, had you been thus pliant, instead of sailing through the bloody storms of time to endless rest, you had smoothly glided down to hell; instead of leaving your track to glory a living galaxy of the heavenly light, the heavy clouds of second death would now fling their thunders upon your weather-beaten spirits; instead of handing down to posterity the word of life, pure and undefiled, you had bequeathed to the world a darkness more dreary then that which fell on ancient Egypt. But, ye reverend spirits of Europe and Asia, you have fought the good fight, and laid hold upon the crown of life. It is for us American methodists, to prostrate ourselves at the foot of a spiritual aristocracy, and say, let us eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; but let us be called by your name. It is for us to cower at the foot of that principle in ecclesiastics, which was chastized by our forefathers upon the agents of a civil despot. It is for us methodists to take the humiliating responsibility, of shamelessly encouraging a spiritual domination, in the face of free America. It is for us, the emancipated sons of conquering chieftains, to rivet those chains upon our descendants, which were torn from our hands, if we only give them the name of religion."—*Ib. pp.* 56, 57.

"But Messrs. Editors, valuable as your paper is, the friends of reform must appeal to the public through other mediums in union with that.—You encounter a well organized, artful, enterprising opposition, which spreads through almost every city, village, and neighbourhood, from Maine to Georgia. Their first effort is to conceal to the utmost the disquietudes and grievances which exist in our church, and to lull a spirit of inquiry to rest. Where this is impracticable, they arraign the motives of the reformers with uncharitible, with uncivil severity. Your own paper, if I have not been sadly misinformed, having been branded as a sort of libel upon the church, published by desperate designers, has been kept out of the hands of valuable men to whom it was addressed, and left to linger in post offices. Oh! how I regret to know the men, and the character they sustain in society, who are employed in this *midnight stabbing*. Could I believe in transmigration, I might imagine that some of the Jesuits expelled from Europe, had taken up their residence in the bodies of some I..... [Itinerants] in the United States. Parsimony is a strong hold, to which very successful appeals are made. The local reformers want salaries, city settlements, &c. &c., and the great men, (in common style,) want to send the little men home, who serve cheaply, &c. To the last of these charges I plead guilty with all my heart, for I have long believed, that if the church could exercise the right of suffrage, she would sift the talents of her ministry, and secure the best for the service. But the fallacy of the other subterfuges of the anti-reformers, bears its own characteristic. The majority of suffrages will always be among the laity, they will therefore have it in their power to check abuses, and under a well balanced form of government, those presumers who grasp so greedily after power, would sink into merited contempt, while modest worth would be duly promoted. I say you must appeal to the public through other mediums; you have past the Rubicon, there is no returning without a sacrifice of principle, without abandoning your church to her degraded destiny. If you suffer another General Conference to legislate for you, I am ready to say, prepare for tame submission or banishment. Your missionaries should now be on the highways of the nation, and in the pulpits of your church; and the friends of reform should send their private communications every where. You have the prejudices of many years arrayed against you, and that still inglorious repose, which undisturbed power, *artfully administered*, gives, refuses to part with its slumbers."—*Ib. pp.* 58, 59.

"Those who are now securely enthroned on the summit of the cloudy Olympus of power, when they shall feel the mount quake and tremble beneath them, will become solicitous to know what is the matter, and not before."—*Ib. p.* 62.

Extracts from "Timothy's Address to the Junior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

"I think it is pretty clear from Moore's life of Mr. Wesley, that Dr. Coke exceeded his authority in the affair of a third ordination, and in taking to himself and Mr. Asbury, the name of bishop. The forming a church government which gives all ecclesiastical *power* to the *ministry* was a *bold step*. But bishops stop not here; the creation of presiding elders, who are the *special agents of the bishops*, has given them a degree

of power, over the *whole church*, which really looks *alarming*. And now, four of our bishops divide the whole work, of these United States, between them; and our *senior bishop is arched over the whole*. What does this look like? In fifty years, power has marched farther in the Methodist Episcopal Church, than it did in the three first centuries of the primitive church; and yet with all these facts before you, the people are admonished to abstain from reading the Mutual Rights, and to let such investigations alone!—GOD FORBID!"—*Vol. iii. p.* 112.

"We should be more inexcusable, than the members of the christian church, in the rise of popery, if we were to suffer our spiritual rulers to enslave us; we have many advantages unknown to them, particularly the printing press; what a blessing this has been to the world; what a scourge to wild and lawless ambition!—*Ib.*

"To me it does appear to be a duty, which we owe to the glorious author of our holy religion, to our fellow christians and posterity, to discuss this subject before the whole church; that the slumbering sons of our Zion may be roused, and kept awake, with an attentive eye fixed ON THE STEALING MARCH OF ECCLESIASTICAL POWER. We have seen what the christian church was in its origin, we have seen what it *grew to*, in process of time. The people trusted too much to the goodness and infallibility of the ministry; and the preachers seeing this, took advantage of it, and went on increasing their own power, until the church was ruined. Let the Methodist Episcopal Church take warning. The wreck of one fallen church now covers the world, and what has happened to the Church of Rome, may happen to us, if we are not *careful, vigilant, prayerful and resolute.*"—*Ib. p.* 113.

"Is even sober inquiry on the part of our people so *terrifying* to our junior bishop? O my dear sir, let your present *palpitations* teach you, if *nothing else will*, that all is not right in our church government, and that to assuage your fears, you must lessen your *power*; nothing is more *alarming* to men in your *situation*, than *even a just re-action of public feeling*. Still you oppose the Mutual Rights for fear of agitating our people; did *Luther and Calvin and Zuingle and their coadjutors feel the force of this argument? Did they abandon their holy enterprise, for fear of distributing his holiness, in St. Peter's chair, for fear of agitating the Church of Rome? No verily they did not; nor will we.*

"I am inclined to think that no branch of the christian church has, for several centuries, been in such a *dilemma* as ours. We are in a *strait betwixt two*. Between '*agitating*' the church, on the one hand, *(if calm discussion will agitate it,)* and the *bold march of celestial power, on the other*. If we let *power* march on, the church is ruined. If we attempt by our *investigations to arrest it in its course*, the church it seems will be '*agitated.*' Under a conviction, that there is some analogy between the natural and moral world; that as the ebbing and flowing of the tide, has a tendency to purify the ocean: and that thunder storms tend to purify the atmosphere, which surrounds our earth; so also, does the agitating of the great political, ecclesiastical, philosophical, and religious questions, by which the attention of the community has now and then been arrested, tend, more or less, to *political, ecclesiastical, philosophical and moral purity*. Under a conviction of *these things*, I have been led to adopt my

present course, with a fixed determination, to be *troublesome to lovers of power and prerogative, so long as I live.*"—*Ib. p.* 114.

"As to your advice to 'be still and say nothing, until we stand on the floor of the General Conference,' I can only say, that the delegates for that body are yet unknown, and perhaps arrangements may be made by 'caucusing' or otherwise, to leave reformers all at home. (The like has been heard of.*) In such an event, are we to be kept out of General Conference by *stratagem*, and forced into silence too? This will be very hard indeed; a few such attempts have been made. They succeeded, and a *few more* will make a *new church.* Brethren ought to be above stratagem, when they elect their delegates; surely, we are *far gone* after the *mother of harlots*, when we can practice *pious frauds! Every honest man should abandon the church, as he would abandon a sinking ship, so soon as she determines on carrying her measures by trick, stratagem, or pious fraud.* It is to be hoped, the episcopacy will have nothing to do with these things. If they do, I here advertise them, that *they*, and not the *reformers*, must bear the *blame*, if commotions shall *ensue.*"—*Ib. p.* 116.

"The bishop has some fears for his power, or why all this exertion against reform. Bishops and travelling preachers, have all the power in the government of our Zion, and this address plainly says, that by the grace of God or otherwise, they mean to keep it; a love of power always marches onward, crying give! give! And men of great prerogatives are rarely known to yield them, in order to secure the general welfare.' In short, sir, your hand seemed to be against every man whose hand might be against the episcopal and ministerial power of our church. You took your stand against all who would ask you for Christ's sake, for the church's sake, for peace sake, to let some of your ecclesiastical power fall into other hands."—*Ib. p.* 117.

"We cannot expect to succeed immediately in the great objects we have in view. I have no hope that the next General Conference will do any thing for us. *We have too many men in power, bishops and would-be-bishops, that are hovering over the nucleus of ecclesiastical aggrandizement;* and already laying their plans to prevent the eletion of reformers to the General Conference, to indulge the hope, even for a moment, that we shall be able to accomplish much in any short time. But the fact, that they are thus industrious to defeat the objects of reform, is the proof of our success. *Let them manœuvre, let them caucus, let them buy men by the "sale of indulgences,"* all will ultimately operate in our favour, and only multiply our friends."—*Ib. p.* 149.

"But Mr. Wesley seems not to have contemplated an episcopacy in any shape. It is, to be sure, asserted in the preface to our book of discipline; but the oldest preachers in the United States, with whom I have conversed and corresponded on this subject, never saw the warrant. It has been called for by friends and foes for thirty years, but it is not yet forthcoming. If such warrant exists, why is it that we can learn nothing about it?"—*Ib. p.* 152.

"But until such document or warrant from Mr. Wesley, be produced, *I as an individual, must of necessity continue to doubt the historical probity of*

* Witness the Baltimore Conference at Winchester, 1824.

the preface to our book of discipline, in relation to this particular."—*Ib.*

"What had Wesleyan methodism to do with our self-created and self-styled episcopacy? For I repeat it, Dr. Coke was only set apart as a superintendent of the American methodists, and not ordained to a third office as a prelatical bishop. The ceremony of separation was only intended to confer Mr. Wesley's authority to oversee the American methodists upon another, as Mr. Wesley could not attend to them in person. What did original methodism know of our order of presiding elders?—One man having power to appoint seventy; to overrule and remove at pleasure fourteen hundred. Where in the annals of original methodism did the framers of our discipline meet with the ceremony of ordination for a bishop."—*Ib. p.* 153.

"The improvements proposed in our present form of government, are openly denounced as 'innovations.' This is somewhat singular when every man of information knows, that our whole system of episcopacy in the United States, is to all intents and purposes, an 'innovation' upon the genius and plans of Wesleyan methodism, and one expressly disapproved and disavowed by Mr. Wesley."—*Ib. p.* 154.

Extract from "Presbyter to the Editors of the Mutual Rights."

"Now the object of these remarks, Messrs. Editors, is to show that our episcopacy has nothing to do with original Wesleyan methodism, and is disowned by it. It cannot, therefore, be in any way essential to our prosperity, for the history of the British methodists, and that of the American methodists for eighteen years, proves clearly and indubitably that its alledged importance in order to the success of christianity among us, is a perfectly gratuitous assumption, unsupported by reason, history or common sense. On the other hand, if our bishops, and their pertinacious supporters as high-toned episcopalians ill as it may look, (for such they really are,) would yield and distribute throughout the different departments of the church that part of their power, that has come into their hands 'SURREPTITIOUSLY,' it would abate the honest inquietude of thousands; it would remove the just apprehensions of the discerning, and bring worthy multitudes into the bosom of the Methodist Church, whose names, as things now are, will never adorn our calendar. Of the truth of these remarks, I have no doubt, and surely one who has travelled as a Methodist itinerant preacher, at least fifty thousand miles, may be permitted to speak on a subject that lies so near his heart, and is vitally connected with the individual and social interest of living and unborn millions! With these remarks, Messrs. Editors, I close; but as I have passed the Rubicon, you may hear from me again about the ides of March."—*Ib. p.* 232.

Extracts from "Reasons in plea for reform, in the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Neale."

"4th. From the preceding facts, it appears, that the introduction of episcopacy among the Methodists in the United States, so far from being 'recommended' by Mr. Wesley, was expressly disapproved and forbidden, and the proceedings of the General Conference of 1784, in establishing *diocesan* episcopacy among us, was in open violation of the instructions of Mr. Wesley; and, I now take the liberty of saying, to the Rev. Wm. McKendree, Enoch George, Robert R. Roberts, Joshua Soule,

and Elijah Hedding, that a statement on this subject, to which I find their names subscribed, in the preface to our book of discipline, is believed by *many* TO BE A PERVERSION OF HISTORICAL FACT, and they are hereby publicly called upon, to furnish some *evidence* of the truth of the aforesaid statement; or leave us to infer, that such evidence cannot be produced. In justice, however, to these distinguished individuals in the Methodist Episcopal Church, I would say distinctly, I believe they are all innocent of having made this statement originally, but they have made it their *own*, by giving it the sanction of their names, as I have not been able to learn, that this preface has ever been sanctioned by any General Conference, if it *has*, upon learning it, I shall make (should God preserve my life) a similar call on the next General Conference, as the proper organ of information, at present the bishops appear to be the *only* responsible persons, and on *them I call.* Should the policy of the cabinet induce them to remain silent, as heretofore on similar occasions, I shall take the liberty of thinking they cannot answer me, without damage to their own cause, which it would seem must be supported by *silence.* 5th. As it is in proof before the reader that methodist episcopacy can derive no support from the *name* or *sanction* of Mr. Wesley, *both* having been *definitely* withheld, so also, does it admit of proof, that the great body of the methodists ministers and members of the United States were not consulted at all, in the adoption of this enormously mis-shapen system of aristocratic government. It was the *undivulged* project, the favorite scheme of a few master spirits, who meeting in secret conclave, and excluding the junior members even of their own body, (as living witnesses declare) acknowledging no constitutional rights, and comprehending no legislative privileges, as belonging to any except themselves, proceeded to the hasty formation of the present plan of government among us, *and unblushingly palmed it upon posterity, as the offspring of Mr. Wesley's wisdom and experience.* 6th. The SPURIOUS origin of methodist episcopacy, is to be inferred from the fact, that those very individuals who made these pretensions, were unsettled and felt *misgivings* on the subject.

"Dr. Coke in a letter to bishop White, of Philadelphia, *doubts* the power of Mr. Wesley to confer legitimate episcopal authority; he does the same in a letter to the bishop of London, written subsequently, in both of which he *modestly* asks for re-ordination."—*Ib. pp.* 310, 311.

"But finally, Mr. Asbury pleads his authority, as methodist bishop, on the following grounds: '1st. Divine authority. 2d. Seniority in America. 3d. Election of the General Conference, 1784. 4th. Ordination of Coke, Otterbine, Whatcoat, and Vasey. 5th. Because the signs of an apostle were found in him.' See Asbury's Journal for May, 1805, 3 vol. page 168. No 'succession' directly hinted at here, no allusion to Mr. Wesley. On this *expose* of the *arcana* of methodist episcopacy, I would only say it is plain, Mr. Asbury is here speaking of himself as a bishop of the third order, and superior to presbyters. Of his 'Divine authority' we can say nothing, only we know it was not received from the scriptures. As to 'seniority' we have yet to learn that it ever creates any *new* civil or religious rights. With regard to the vote of the 'General Conference' electing Mr. Asbury, it is only necessary to observe, they might have acted unadvisedly in this vote of the conference of 1784, as

well as in others, and we know that *many* of the acts of that very conference, have been since *repealed*, as improper and disadvantageous. On the subject of 'ordination' as it was only an ordination by presbyters, we cannot admit its 'episcopal validity,' if more be meant than a presbyter. As it respects the last item, the signs of an apostle, can only be seen *in an apostle*, and of course have not been *since* the apostolic age. Thus the reader will perceive that our 'fathers' acted a palpably inconsistent part, in the introduction of episcopacy among us, and have been under the necessity (created by their own indiscretion) of acting an equally awkward, and I fear posterity will think, ridiculous part, in defending themselves against the charge of a RECKLESS USURPATION OF UNWARRANTED POWER."—*Ib. pp.* 312, 313.

Extract from "The Sovereignty of Methodism in the South, by a Virginia Methodist."

"Suppose some president of the United States should succeed to establish himself in the presidential chair for life, and should have a law enacted forbidding the citizens on pain of imprisonment, banishment or death, to 'inveigh' against the government, either by *objecting* to any of its laws, by *petitioning* for their repeal, or using any *argument*, through the medium of speech or of the press, to evince their impropriety; would not the American people find this to be a 'gag law,' a hundred degrees worse than any they have ever yet had to complain of? And in what would such a law differ from our present 'gag law' in the discipline, on supposition that it is to be so explained as to sanction the administration of Benton Field? It will require all the clerical talents of old Virginia to point out any difference, excepting that the latter only involves the church penalty of expulsion: in principle, they would be precisely the same; and this principle, with a sufficient enlargement of power in the hierarchy, would soon bring the christian community again under the penalties of corporeal punishment. Yet this tyranny is sanctioned by the Virginia Annual Conference!

"An orthodox brother took an early opportunity to give the public the following information: 'We have had a fine conference, and the appointments of the preachers you will receive in a few days. Three bishops attended—bishop McKendree, whose health and spirits are better than usual, and bishops Roberts and Soule, who are in good health.' Why, herein is a marvellous thing, that the preacher in charge had several members expelled from the church, in defiance of all law, both human and divine, and yet 'a *fine* conference,' with 'three bishops' at its head, and could not discover this to be 'mal-administration.' The next number of the Christian Advocate (the 27th) contains a more full account, in which we are informed 'the venerable bishop McKendree addressed them in a very affectionate and feeling manner. He then concluded with an exhortation to holiness,' upon which the conference afterwards 'adopted the following resolution'—'That the doctrine of holiness, recommended by our discipline, and forcibly impressed in the address of the bishop, be duly weighed and enforced by the members of this conference.'

"A keen-eyed opponent will be likely to perceive, with terrible indignation, that we are waging war against 'the episcopacy!' Yes: this absolute sovereignty is the centre point of our opposition, while it stands, in its present mighty energy, all reformation is hopeless, and an increase of moral darkness and corruption will be inevitable. We have no quar-

rel with our present bishops: we believe them to be good men; and that none of them have become, by many degress, so corrupted by this same great 'episcopacy,' as many of their tame underlings and dependants have become."—*Ib. p.* 264.

Letter addressed to the Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey by a Travelling Preacher

"My Dear Sir,

"Not knowing you *personally*, nor the *place* of your residence, I ask the privilege of addressing you through the medium of the "Mutual Rights," for *approving and recommending* of which, you now stand *suspended* as a methodist travelling preacher! The Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with three or more bishops present to direct and shape its measures, have by a solemn resolution, after several days' deliberation, *officially* decided that a presbyter in the church of God, deserves *punishment* and *disgrace*, because he adopts opinions and sentiments on the subject of church government, which are received and acted upon by a large majority of protestant christians, throughout the various divisions of the religious world! I cannot pause, my brother, to write the many denunciations that common sense, throughout an outraged community, will pronounce upon this OVERBEARING ACT OF ABANDONED TYRANNY! But I hasten to inquire why were *you selected* as the *victim*, the *sole* victim, when it was in proof before them that others were in the same condemnation! Why did not my lord of Canterbury, who 'rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm' among you, and by whom *even* bishops are tithed at will, together with the active and zealous Doctor, the principal officer in his 'star chamber,' select a goodly number of victims, and offer an *appalling* hecatomb at once! Was it because heaven had deprived you of health? Was it because you were remote from home and friends? Was it because, like your Master, you were poor, and with the humble sharer of your fortunes, 'had scarcely where to lay your head!' Did they wish, by increasing your *mental* inquietude, to strengthen the desolation *without*, and so send you to a premature grave? Or was it intended by the *horror* of the example made of you, to say to other reformers, 'if *you* have the *word*, *we* have the sword!!' I cannot refrain from asking where *three* or *four* members of the Baltimore Conference were during this LABOURED DEED OF HARD-EARNED INFAMY? Did they sit by, in inglorious silence? But, my brother, be not discouraged, recollect that the great father of us all, as methodists, was by a similar body, and in the *same* city, forty years ago, declared unworthy of name or place, in that communion, in the bosom of which you now find yourself honourably degraded. When Mr. Wesley was informed of this, he declared in a letter, now in my possession, that the American bishop had 'no more connection with him.' But I trust you will not so decide in relation to your blinded and prejudiced brethren—'yet a little while,' and this stupid, *laudean* zeal, will be cooled in the humiliation and disgrace of your persecutors; public indignation will chastise their pitiful pretensions to *lordly* inquisition over the rights and consciences of those, who have too much intelligence and too much candour to think and act by their prescriptions! To conclude, my dear sir, I beg you to accept the best wishes of a stranger, 'faint not in the day of evil,' the honorary overthrow you have sustained, for the rights of conscience, will make strangers your friends: on hearing of the treatment you and others received at the Baltimore Conference,

ten or twelve persons within my charge have declared for *reform*, and are ready to aid you with their *influence* and *purses*. Wishing the speedy restoration of your health, and that you may live to see the curse of religious oppression banished from the church and the world—I remain yours in the kingdom and patience of *Jesus Christ*. VINDEX.

"*April* 27*th*, 1827." *Ib. pp.* 270, 271.

Extract from Jeffers' Letter on Methodism.

"Fifth. We wish our rulers to do away their pretensions to infallibility, which they assume on the 91st page of the Discipline, where they say, "If any member of our church shall be clearly convicted of endeavouring to sow dissensions in any of our societies by inveighing against either our *doctrines* or discipline, &c., he shall be expelled from the church." Now the doctrine is founded upon the infallible word of God; the discipline is the work of fallible man; here they are rendered both equal, so it is as great an offence in the eyes of this law, to charge the discipline with imperfection as to deny the existence of the Deity or the Divinity of Christ; and the punishment is just the same. Now is it not evident that if a man set up his laws and attach equal importance to them as to the word of God, it is openly claiming infallibility? It is an incontrovertible fact that the legislative body of the Methodist episcopal church, which adopted this rule, has put their laws on the same basis as the laws of God; yea, they do more, for the Scriptures command us to "search and judge what is right:" (Luke xii. 567,) but here we dare not investigate, for fear of its being made out inveighing. I have myself witnessed a case of this kind. An individual was called before the church tribunal. On his trial it was asked, *whether there was any thing against him inconsistent with the word of God, or the character of a man?*" The preacher's reply was, "*No, he believed not*," but the whole charge was, he had said the Methodist government was *oppression*, and upon this it is said he was ex-communicated, (I can give the names, time, and place, when required.)

"Sixth. We wish our rulers to make no laws, which in defiance of the constitution of our country, would take from us those rights guaranteed to every man in the Magna Charta of American liberties. The general constitution ensures to us the exercise of conscience, the liberty of speech and of the press; but the Methodist Discipline, by the above rule, takes from us the right of private judgment: for, if there be a law in it of which our reason disapproves, and which our conscience cannot receive, we must believe in it as gospel. If we investigate its bearings by conversation or writing, we inveigh against an *infallible* rule *of fallible* man, and consequently must be excommunicated. Thus this sweeping rule, like an Æolian storm, bursts forth *ex cathedra*, bears down the bearrier of the American constitution, carries before it the rights of conscience, the liberty of speech, and of the press, and roars along, "we know no such rights, we comprehend no such privileges." But it is to be hoped, that Methodists with the assistance of God, will not let this burst of ecclesiastical power and usurpation, carry away their liberties.

"Seventh. We wish secret meetings done away; we don't think religion requires shut doors about any thing pertaining to it; it is either good or bad. Now if it be bad, put it away altogether; but if good, as

it really is, let the world know it, but let it be as a city set upon a hill.

"Eighth. We wish Church property placed in the hands of the church and not in the hands of the bishop; moreover, we would have no objection that our rulers would publish an account of how the profits of the book concern, and the different sums subscribed and collected by the presiding elders at camp meetings, &c. are expended. I would here state for public information, as a fact not generally known, that the meeting houses, &c. of the Methodist Episcopal church, are completely in the hands of our bishops.

"Ninth. Above all, we wish an equitable government, where exclusive privilege is done away, where the itinerant preachers and local preachers and people will be equally represented, and where their representatives shall enact laws under a regular constitution, which will guard the rights of all, and prevent any from overturning the infallibility of God, to establish their own.

"Reform consists in the above particulars. It is an easy matter for any person to determine whether it be right or wrong; it must be one or the other. Let the community judge whether it be right we should have this towering episcopacy, or its creature the presiding elder? Whether we must have this episcopacy, which has converted religeon into a torch of discord, and an incentive to war, has never ceased for fifteen hundred years to whelm the earth in blood, and spread ravage and desolation through the Christian world? Is it right that a self created, irresponsible minority should assume and hold the *legislative*, judicial and executive powers, against the consent of the majority? Is it right we should yield to ecclesiastical despotism and basely barter our religions liberty, for priestly approbation? Surely no man will say these things are right; but if any man can prove that reform is wrong by logical reasoning and plain ssripture proofs, we will then submit. But if reform be right, it follows the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church is wrong, and if wrong, its errors ought to be corrected; for error can do no church any good."—*M. R. vol. IV. pp.* 347, 348.

The above is but a small portion of the evidence, which was produced on the day of trial against the accused; but I felt it my duty to give the reader a sample of the matter contained in that highly recommended work called the '*Mutual Rights.*' And suffer me now to try the truth of the above matter; for it must be either true or false! And now let me ask, is it true that the discipline has put no check upon the bishop's power?—Is it true that they are considered infallible?—Is it true that they are pensioners on the book funds to the amount of all demands?—Is it true that the whole work is divided between four of them, and that the senior bishop is arched over the whole?—Is it true that our intinerant ministers buy men by the sale of *indulgencies*?—Is it true that they came by their power "*superstitiously*," or by fraud, or stealth?—Is it true that they make pretensions to infallibility?—Finally is is true that all our church property, meeting houses, &c., are completely in the hands of the bishops? Now to be brief, I will just say to the reader, examine the book of discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and see if there is any thing found therein, that expresses such language, or justifies such claims; and then reflect on past observations, and if you can find no examples wherein our preachers have made any such pretentions; then let the above

assertions, be pronounced an unfounded slander, maliciously palmed upon our ministry. And would not that resolution which so highly recommends the above work, "for facts and arguments, be more appropriate if it were reversed, and instead of "*facts and arguments*," rendered "*falsehoods and assertions*," for it is evidently a work that abounds the most with bold assertions, unsupported by evidence, or arguments, of any I ever read, which made any pretensions to fair investigation; as if their mere *ip-sidixit* was all that was necessary to establish any assertion they see cause to make. And the authors, in my opinion, are the most conspicuous characters for misconstruing, and exagerating small facts, of any I ever read after; and by bombastick—ranting words, they set forth matters in a horrid form. And many by looking at our ministers, and government, though this false mirror; and not viewing them in their real character, turn away from us, and are mistakingly led into error.

Such I would advise to read the rules of our church, and become perfectly acquainted with her economy, and I think in a very short time, you will discover, that if the "Mutual Rights," were to undergo a chemical process, and each part was reduced to its proper simples, or elements; that one tenth part of its cubic volume, would contain all the truth and good 'arguments' that ever was published therein. And any superstructure that is raised with so many rotten materials in the walls, must inevitably soon tumble into ruin. "And to you, O! man, I call, and my voice is to the sons of men!" who have been thus led away without serious reflection, by those cunningly devised fables; to stop and think before you farther go. No doubt by hearing the many tales of wo, and by reading the above named work, you have almost fancied in imagination, that you saw yourself hauled before the inquisition, and from thence followed by weeping friends to the burning stake—but when your affrighted imagination becomes calm, and you have discovered that those horrid pictures are but vissionary drems, you perhaps will be astonished at the hastiness with which you acted.

But to return; after the above and similar evidences were produced, and the accused had made their defence, the committee arose and separated, and met again the next day at nine o'clock, with their minds made up, and their verdict was, that the charges were sustained, and the accused found guilty; consequently, they were suspended until the quarterly conference, which was adjourned from the 20th of July to the 8th of September.

I will now return to give a short narrative of the trials of the lay-members, which took place on the 15th of August, the day succeeding the trials of the local preachers. Some time previous to the day of trial, two of the accused sent a note to Mr. Wright, stating their wishes to be tried before the whole society; in answer to which he sent the following:

"*Messrs. Lyon & Hall,*

"In answer to your note, I need only say, the privilege you ask for, is utterly impracticable; neither you nor myself possess power to compel members to attend. So that if such a course should be determined on, nothing is more certain than that no investigation could be had in the case. Yours, &c.

August 9th. J. F. WRIGHT."

The accused appeared the day of trial, and one of them read, and then

presented to the preacher in charge, the following communication:

"To the Rev'd John F. Wright: Preacher in Charge of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati.

"As accused members of the Methodist Epicopal Church of Cincinnati, we claim the privilege granted to us in the 5th restrictive rule of the discipline, page 21st, with the following words, to wit: "Neither shall they (the general conference,) do away the privileges of our members, of trial before the society, or by a committee and of an appeal.

"We do therefore, hereby protest against being tried before a committee, or select number of said church, contrary to our wishes or consent, as a violation of our privileges: and we do hereby notify you, that we will not submit to any decision in our case, unless such decision shall be made by the society, of which we are members.

"Signed by the accused.

"August 15th, 1828."

When this was read, and handed to the preacher in charge, they all arose and started to leave the house, when Mr. Wright observed, "a man should not be condemned before he is heard," at this, they stopped; and he then remarked, "that the rule referred to, was made in reference to that great privilege secured to our citizens,—'the right of trial by jury,' and whether tried by the society, or by a committee, this great privilege would be secured to our members."*

As soon as they had heard the short reply of Mr. Wright, they immediately left the house; evincing thereby, their contempt of the course pursued in their case. The preacher assured them that the proceedings should go on. The same evidence was produced as in the case of the local preachers. In the judgement of the committee, the charges were fully sustained; consequently, they were clearly convicted of endeavoring to sow dissentions in the church. And then it was, that the preacher found it to be his duty to administer reproof; which he did, by addressing to each the following note.

"*August* 18, 1828.

"BROTHER:—

"I take this method to discharge the painful duty of administering reproof which devolves upon me on account of my present situation. You have been convicted of *endeavoring* to sow *dissentions* in the society or church, of which you are a member, by a decision of the committee, appointed to investigate the charges preferred against you. You therefore plainly discover, that, the only ground on which expulsion from the church can be avoided, is an abandonment of the course you have for some time pursued; and which, according to the judgment of your brethren of the committee, is calculated to produce disagreement, strife, contention, and breach of union among the members of our church.

"As you are the arbiter of your own destiny in this matter, I hope

* In his defence also, Mr. Wright remarks "It would be singular indeed, to cede to an accused member the right in this respect of selecting his own jury, and the right of challenge also. Those brethren have as much right to form opinions on our discipline as I have; but I am held responsible to the church for my construction of the rule in the above case. Can any disinterested person seriously say that I ought to have called together four hundred men and boys to sit in judgment on ten brethren? especially when it is known to be contrary to the long established usages of our church."

you will inform me in writing by Wednesday evening next, if you should feel disposed to comply with the above condition.

"Yours, &c. JOHN F. WRIGHT."

On the succeeding Sabbath, there was a public notice read in the congregation, requesting all who were favorable to reform, to attend at the Stone Church, on the next day, at 2 o'clock P. M. Accordingly a considerable number met; and the object of the meeting was then made known, which was to withdraw from the church. And after considerable had been said, and the facts misrepresented, Mr. Baughman, the colleague of Mr. Wright, (who happened to be present,) arose, and asked permission to make a few statements; which request, on motion, was denied him by a vote of the meeting. After some time, when their *misrepresentations* became insufferable, Mr. B. again arose, and requested those present to suspend their opinion on the subject until they could hear the other side of the question, as they discovered they could not hear it there. When he commenced speaking, the chairman peremptorily ordered him to take his seat; which he did, when he had finished his sentence. He was then seriously implicated by a speaker, to whom he attempted to make a short reply, but while speaking, the chairman authoritatively commanded him to leave the house, which he prudently did. I will now ask, what does this look like? does it not appear as though they were afraid the people would hear the truth, and that they designed to keep them ignorant of the facts as they really existed?

Such are those liberal hearted reformers, who contend so earnestly for liberty of speech; but, in fact, refuse that liberty to others. If they would change the phrase a little, and instead of saying they wanted *liberty*, say they wanted *power*, perhaps it would be as applicable. Or do they mean, they want liberty to controul all others? However after they had said what they supposed necessary to serve their purpose, they withdrew to the number of about 240: but some of them not understanding the real design, when they got correct information, returned again. This proves that they were somewhat ambiguous in their phraseology; insomuch that they were not easily understood. Rumours have been circulated, that, at that time, and since, between three and four hundred have withdrawn. But a list of names was handed to the preacher in charge on the 8th of September containing only 261, several of whom have since returned.

Soon after the above sesession, reports were spread far and wide, that, those accused brethren were expelled for *reading a book* and *holding certain opinions*; and that these were the *only charges*. And indeed, we hear the same things still said, and that too by those whom we did hope had too much candour to speak such palpable falsehoods. This expression may be thought too strong; but let the reader just turn back to the charges, and read them carefully in connection with the documents which I have here laid before the public, and in particular Mr. Wright's letter of July 23d, at page 9, and then say if such reports are not utterly groundless.

Therefore, whoever shall hereafter hear such assertions made, let them be contradicted on my responsibility. Such reports as the above, caused the preacher in charge to call together the society and read to them the foregoing documents, in order that they might know the truth of the matter. After which one of the accused local preachers arose and asked the liberty to speak, to which Mr. Wright replied, "that one of our brethren had been denied that privilege a short time before in one of their meet-

ings," (alluding to Mr. Baughman,) "but notwithstanding, he felt disposed to grant him liberty;" he then went on and highly commended Mr. Wright for the candid manner, in which he had read the documents, and then insinuated that he had been brought to trial for what other men had done; but this was not correct, he never was accused for that which other men had done, only so far as he participated in their evil deeds, and certainly he that recommends wickedness, is as guilty as the actor.

I now come to give a short narrative of the proceedings of the adjourned Quarterly Conference, which took place on Monday the 8th of September, before which appeared three of the suspended local preachers, namely, William Young, John Haughton, and Jesse B. Dorman, (David English did not attend,) after some altercation, it was thought best to try them separate, although the charges against each was precisely the same.

William Young stood first on the list, so his case came first before the conference, and after the charges were read he then proceeded to make his defence, in which he undertook to prove the incompetency of the committee, which suspended him. But some of the brethren of the conference thought they had nothing to do with the committee. But the president (the Rev. G.R. Jones,) gave it as his opinion, that the accused had a right to bring such evidence as he saw proper to disprove their competency. But there was an appeal taken from his decision and it was overruled by the conference, inasmuch as the conference was not trying, and had nothing to do with that committee; and they were not present to make their defence, (two of them lived several miles in the country,) and therefore would hear no evidence to injure their characters, but thought the business came fairly before that conference.

Now, in order to prevent any misunderstanding in future, and any wrong impressions being made by hearing only part of the story told, I will say there was no evidence rejected that was designed to prove the accused innocent; but the evidence designed to prove the incompetency of the committee was rejected by the conference for the reasons above given.

The same evidence was introduced against the accused as in the former trial; and after considerable debating until all were satisfied, those who were not members, with the prosecuting committee, left the house, and by the decision of a majority of the conference, William Young was found guilty of the charges, with their several specifications. But the conference through the president, proposed to him, if he would abandon the Union Society, and cease to patronize the Mutual Rights, he might still retain his standing in the church, but this he refused to do, so the president pronounced him expelled from the Methodist E. Church.

In the next place, the case of John Haughton and Jesse B. Dorman came before the conference—the same charges were preferred against them as against the above named individual. Mr. Haughton first made his defence, and from whom the conference received some hard censures and considerable abuse; insomuch, that the president stopped him and told him that his brethren's hands were tied, and he now took that opportunito abuse them. But we should not be astonished at this, when acrimony, virulence, and scurrility, are the well known weapons of their warfare; strip them of this and you at once find them weak as other men.

Mr. Haughton informed the conference that if they found him guilty, they need not make such proposals to him as were made to Mr. Young, for he would not accede to them.

Mr. Dorman also said the same, and after he had made his defence, and declared his innocence of the charges, and the injustice of the proceedings against him—one of the prosecuting committee arose and stated that Mr. Dorman sometime previous, (perhaps two years,) in conversation with him on the subject of sowing dissentions, said he knew that the church could expel them if they would, but they dare not touch them, they were afraid. Is it not something strange how a man's mind will change? But I must do Mr. Dorman the justice to say, that he made his defence in a mild manner. After all was said that was necessary, the accused and accusers withdrew—the conference found them both guilty, and the president pronounced the sentence of expulsion. David English was not present but his case was tried and he found guilty and expelled. The three former made an appeal to the annual conference, but there they proved unsuccessful also. Let me just say here, that the lay members deprived themselves of the privilege of an appeal by absenting themselves from trial after sufficient notice was given them.

Now let the candid reader say, was it wrong to proceed against them? Seeing that peace could be had on no other terms, except we would suffer our ministry to be shamefully reproached and slandered, and our government to be trampled on, and misrepresented in the most disgraceful manner imaginable?

I will here submit a few remarks on the rights of man, but I must be very brief, as I have not room in this work to enlarge.—Then, first, it is acknowledged by all, that all men are born equally free and independent, and are in possession of certain natural, essential, and inherent rights—among which are enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of seeking and obtaining happiness. Now, although the above rights are in a certain degree, unalienable, yet when we enter into a compact or state of society, some of those rights must be surrendered to that society, and as an equivalent for the surrender made, we receive the protection of other rights, and if the equivalent received is equal to the rights which we surrender, we have no right and cannot in justice demand any more, except it be just to demand something for nothing.

There is yet one other natural right, which, in itself is absolutely unalienable, and therefore should never be surrendered, because an equivalent for it cannot be made, namely, the right of conscience: and if in our happy country, that right is sacrificed, it is by the voluntary act of the agent, at whose disposal it is. Now, a part of the above rights the laws of our country call upon us to surrender, (the last named right excepted,) and that call must be obeyed, because we are natural born subjects of those laws, and are involuntarily initiated into our great political confederation, and thereby, are recognized as the legal subjects of these United States. And after the above confederation, we have liberty to voluntarily organize ourselves into any other social or religious body which we may think proper, (provided the transactions of such body is not in opposition, and does not militate against the above named laws of the United States,) for the promotion of our own happiness; and it matters not whether we are the first and original framers of the constitution under which we are voluntarily associated, or, whether we afterwards subscribe to and become members of that body, it is equally binding and valid—and there is no man can or has any right to take with him into such voluntary or social

compact, any of the above named natural or inherent rights further than is guaranteed to him in the stipulation made in the Magna Charta of that social compact. And again the members of the last named compact should also have the right to incorporate themselves into any body they saw fit to promote the same cause for which they had previously incorporated themselves, (provided the transactions of the latter did not come in contact and militate against the former.) But for a man to connect himself with any body to transact business which would have the above named effect, whilst an incorporate member of the former body, without his membership first becoming null and void, is an act so hetrogeneous and inconsistent in its nature that we stand utterly astonished to see it done, and hear men plead for its rectitude in this our enlightened day. (Let the reader apply this to the Union Societies in the bosom of the Methodist E. Church, and I will pass on.)

There is a trait in human nature which has more or less made its appearance almost in all ages of the world, both in church and state, which has desired and sought for the benefits resulting from social connection without making the necessary sacrifices on their part, to that connection, to secure those benefits. This has been done under a pretext to obtain what they supposed to be their natural rights, and their profession was republicanism. Let me here just say that republicanism is a term that will admit of many and various definitions, and when a man tells us he is a republican, we cannot properly know what he means except he qualifies or defines the term, because absolute republicanism is nothing more nor less than anarchy and confusion, and under that government, (if government it may be called,) a man may thrust a dagger to his neighbour's heart and pass with impunity; in a word he is governed as his reason dictates or his passions direct.

But absolute monarchy is the direct opposite extreme, for in this all the power is vested in one person; but there is a proper medium between those two extremes, and to this medium the government under which we live as a nation perhaps aproximates as near as any in the world, yet this good and partially republican government claims allegiance (as above hinted) of all those who are born in its jurisdiction, and this it does without consulting our volition or choice in the matter, and our obedience to its mandates are compulsory, and we need not say that we will not comply, for comply we must without our consent or approbation.

Now when this is the case, that we are forced into measures without our consent, if those same laws did not protect, defend, and guarantee to us, rights and privileges equal to the sacrifices which it compels us to make, it would be despotic and arbitrary, and we might justly cry out usurpation and tyranny. But if we, in lieu of the sacrifices, receive an equivalent, we should be utterly ashamed to apply such phrases to the government.

But how much more should we disavow those charges against a government which did not claim our allegiance until we arrive to the years of discretion, and voluntarily entered into its pales, and if its mandates are grevious, we can at any time emancipate ourselves without sustaining any loss on our part, except the benefits received are more than the sacrifices made.

Now this in my view is the precise condition of the M. E. Church, she claims us not by birthright, nay, not until we voluntarily choose her for

our home, and then she requires the surrender of no privileges which either the laws of God or man guarantee to us. The laws of our country compel every subject to contribute to her support according to that which we possess. Not so with the M. E. Church, there is no such a thing as taxation known in her economy, a man may be a member for fifty years and never contribute one cent, if there is any thing paid for her support, it is free and voluntary donation.—In a word, pecuniary contributions are made no part of the conditions of church membership.

But, reformers often tell us that we are deprived of our just rights, and that our privileges are curtailed. Now I should like to know what rights we are deprived of, and what privileges are curtailed. To this it may be answered, that we are deprived of the right of representation and of the privilege of electing our own officers or governors. But to this, I will answer, that we have every right of representation that we had before we became members, so that we are not deprived of any thing on that ground, and as to the privilege of electing our own governers, it is not curtailed, for we have the same privilege still, for there was no necessity, either moral or physical, for our becoming methodists instead of members of any other church; and the moment we proposed ourselves to the church for membership, we showed to the world who we voluntarily elected for our governers, (namely, such as the discipline pointed out.) And we still, at least tacitly, acknowledge to the world, that they are our choice, by wishing to remain under her jurisdiction, when there is no incumberance that prevents us from withdrawing.

And to show that we have every privilege that any citizen of the United States has, I will insert a short extract from the report that was issued by the general conference last May. "Our ministers and members of every class, are entitled to the full liberty of speech and of the press, equally with any other citizens of the United States." But this appears not to be enough for some of our brethren, for after this plain declaration, we hear it still said that we are deprived of the liberty of speech and of the press; but there can be nothing more absurd, except it be used in an abusive and licentious manner.

But we are told by reformers, that the right of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church, is our right; but what the grounds of claim are to this right I have never been able to learn, for there is such a difference of opinion among them respecting it. Some say "it is our natural right." But, natural rights can only be claimed by us, according to the relation in which we stand to men and things. Thus as an involuntary subject of the United States, it is my natural right to have a voice in the law-making department and government of the same. But, as an involuntary subject of my father's family, it is *not* my natural right to have any voice in the law-making department and government of the same.

Now if the grounds of claim to representation in the above named church is founded upon our natural rights, then all men who are in possession of said rights can justly make the same claim, whether they are members or not. But some again tell us, that we, through the merits and atonement of Christ, have these rights restored to us; therefore, as christians, we claim them now. If it is a fact that those rights are founded upon the conditions above named, then all for whom Christ atoned, by becoming Christians, can claim the right of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church, upon the same principles that members can. But

some tell us that "we are republicans and free citizens of the U. States, therefore,upon those principles, we claim that righ.t" Now if the right of representation in said church, is suspended upon the conditions of being republicans and free citizens of the U. States. Then all republicans and free citizens of said states can as justly make that claim as we who are members can. Now the fact is, if we have the above right exclusively, we must have acquired it by becoming Methodists,or we have not got it at all, for we cannot find it in the former grounds of claim: and as it is not guaranteed to us in the economy of Methodism,or in those rules and restrictions under which we are voluntarily associated, I conclude, and justly too, we have no such rights. But it is again asked "is it right that the minority, should govern the majority?" I answer if any set, or number of men, voluntarily unite themselves in a positive compact, to transact any business whatever, and if in that compact, there are certain characters specified who shall have the government or rule over certain others, if those specified characters are a minority, of one to one thousand, it is then their just rights to govern the majority, according to the right stipulated to them in the compact. So in the Methodist connection, for the sake of expediency, and for the benefit of the whole,the local preachers and lay members, have submitted the principal part of the government of the church, to the itinerant ministers whose whole time is devoted to the work, and as they are entirely dependent upon us for support, we can at any time withhold our contributions, and send them all home, if the benefits which we receive are not equal to the surrender which we make. But I think there is not more than one methodist out of ninety-nine, that is not doubly rewarded for all the sacrifices he is requested to make on his part. Now it looks to me that nothing can be more unjust, than to palm upon our itinerant ministers the charge of usurpation and tyranny. But were we now to take that power from them without their consent, and govern them, this would be usurpation; and not only usurpation, but it would be a breach of that contract into which we voluntarily entered. But says one "we had no hand in the formation of those laws by which we are governed," no, but we had all the hand in subscribing to them after they were made, which is an act (as I have above shown) equally valid, and binding on us as it is on those who constituted those laws. I will say further, that they (the ministers) had no hand in governing us until we voluntarily gave them that power by becoming a subscriber to the compact entered into, and we have it in our power at any time to dissolve the contract.

I have in a brief manner, now shown that the economy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is consistent with our natural rights, and that the power vested in them is justly theirs, according to the articles of association, and this I have shown on natural principles, leaving out of the question, the different relation which the inspired minisers bear, both toward God and the church, for indeed, of late, this appears to be a tender hair to touch, lest we be branded with the black stamp of popery. But we are not to be affrighted from the truth by those odious appellations, for it is truly strange to tell, that in this, our enlightened day, our ministers dare scarcely confess that they are called of God to the work of the ministry, and we dare scarcely accord to them,any more privileges on that account, lest we should be held in derision,and laughed to scorn,even by those who themselves professed before many witnesses to be moved by the Holy Ghost, to preach or expound the scriptures; for after the general conference had issued their report, the following clause being found in it: "Of these also, viz: of gos-

pel doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline, we do believe that the divinely instituted ministry are the divinely authorized expounders," we were told "this was a new thing in methodism," thereby insinuating that they had taken another step toward popery. What is it that some men will not do to carry their point, when they get their prejudice raised, for have not those same men made the above confession may years since, and now tell us "it is a new thing in methodism." Now we are left to put what construction we please upon this incongruity.

Have not the Methodists, as a church always believed in the inspiration of her ministry, for evidently if they are moved by the Holy Ghost, they are inspired, and surely if they are thus called, they are divinely instituted, and consequently divinely authorized to preach or expound the scripture; and if so, is it not their duty to expound moral discipline, if it is found therein. Now when they are thus supernaturally called to the work of the ministry, and God through their instrumentality convicts and converts souls, is it not their duty, does not God require it of them to expound moral discipline? Is it not their right to govern them? But it may be asked what right? We say it is not their natural right, for had they not been supernaturally called, they would not have had that right; so I will fearlessly say, it is a supernatural or divine right. But this may be said to be going too far, and no doubt will be said to be popery. But call it what you please, it no doubt would have been well for the christian world, had all the ministers been clothed with divine authority, instead of human, before they went to the great work of the ministry. Yes, how many have run that God never called, how many false teachers have said, "lo! here, and lo! there, and in thy name have we cast out devils" &c. But Christ will say unto them, "depart from me ye workers of iniquity, I know you not" &c. But some vainly imagine that infallibility is inseparately connected with a divine right. But that is a very absurd idea, and I do hope that we will never hear the like from men of even common honesty, and candor. But to show the reverse I will ask, was not Moses divinely authorized to smite the rock? and yet there he transgressed, was not Peter divinely authorized to preach? and yet he erred in respect to the circumcision. I might multiply circumstances of the like nature, but it is unnecessary, for was there not some other object to be effected, the above would in my opinion not be called in question by reformers. But now it may be asked, are not our local preachers as truly called of God, as the itinerant preachers, and if they are, have they not as good a right to govern the church as the itinerants have; to this I answer, that right was originally theirs, where circumstances would permit. But as I have above said, they have voluntarily and willingly given up that right for the sake of expediency, not so much regarding the honor and applause of men, as they did the souls of their fellow beings and the cause of God, and believing the present to be the most effectual method to promote God's glory, and to save souls, they freely give up those rights which was an act worthy of the ministers of God, who felt for the interest of immortal souls, and who were willing to sacrifice all for their sakes.

As there has much been said on these subjects, I will now leave the above to the reflection of my candid readers, hoping that it may not be so shamefully misrepresented as others manifestly have been.

DAVID FISHER.

AN

EXPOSITION OF FACTS

CONNECTED WITH

THE LATE PROSECUTIONS

IN THE

Methodist Episcopal Church

OF CINCINNATI.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON A

Narrative of Facts, &c. by David Fisher.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX,

IN RELATION TO THE REV. TRUMAN BISHOP.

BY A COMMITTEE.

Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the Lord be glorified; but He shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed.—ISAIAH.

CINCINNATI:
Looker & Reynolds, Printers.

1828.

PREFACE.

David Fisher, in the preface to his book, informs his readers, that he considered it necessary that some one should "lay before the public a correct and minute account of the whole matter," in relation to the late prosecutions. We confess, for ourselves, we have been of a different opinion, so far, at least, as it related to the promoters of the late unhappy difficulties. We have thought, and continue to think, that for the honor of Christianity, or Methodism, all such proceedings had much better be buried in oblivion. But, if such a measure were necessary for the justification of those who have been the instigators and promoters of these difficulties; how much more necessary was it for us, whose characters necessarily stand impeached before the tribunal of the public, and who are therefore put on our defence. All painters have the ability of giving the most favorable representation of the object presented to public view; and of this our author, Mr. Fisher, has not been altogether unmindful. As his account is in all respects partial, and in some instances contrary to facts, we have endeavored to correct his errors, and to supply his deficiencies. Whether we have given a fair representation of the matter, we shall have to leave to the determination of our readers. That we have intended to do so, our consciences bear us witness; and that we have accomplished our object, at least in a good degree, the unprejudiced, we think, will admit. The difficulties under which we have labored, have been highly unfavorable to what may be called a finished performance,—as we had to compose our matter and arrange our materials in the midst of other engagements, and put our work to press in detached parts, without having the opportunity of reviewing each part in connexion with the whole. The experienced reader will know what allowance to make under these circumstances.

It will probably be said by some, that we have dealt somewhat harshly with some of the principal actors in those tragedies we have felt it our duty to relate. We think the candid reader will say, not more so, than the nature of the case absolutely required. Notwithstanding all this, we are unwilling to believe, the Rev. John F. Wright and his accomplices in the late prosecutions were influenced by motives absolutely wicked in their nature and design. We hope far otherwise, and would rather impute those proceedings, so contrary to any thing we have ever understood about Christianity, to the most deep rooted prejudices, and a misguided zeal for the welfare of the church. That our old side friends still continue to follow us with their reproaches and persecutions, we regret to find. We know not by what fatality their measures are directed. Can they not yet discover, that such a course, while it is contrary to every principle of Christianity, will injure themselves and promote our cause? We would, therefore, respectfully submit to those of our old side brethren, who are not too deeply prejudiced to hear, the propriety of cultivating a spirit of friendship and brotherly love; treating us no longer as "enemies," or "aliens," but as partakers with them of the "grace of life," as children of the same family, whose Father is in heaven, and as heirs of the same inheritance. And notwithstanding the wantonness and cruelty of those prosecutions, so unnecessarily instituted against us, we still hope, that ere long, our old side brethren will learn to contemplate us through a different medium to that through which we have lately been beheld, that their present hostile feelings will give place to brotherly love, and that we shall ultimately meet them in that blest region, where ever-blooming joys await the sincere followers of our Lord and Master.

THE COMMITTEE.

Cincinnati, 5th November, 1828.

EXPOSITION.

PRIOR to the year 1808, the General Conference was composed of all the travelling Elders who had travelled four years, throughout the United States. This plan, however, was objected to; inasmuch as it gave to those places situated near to, and where the General Conference held its sittings, an undue influence in the councils of the church. Hence, the plan of a delegated General Conference was introduced into the General Conference in 1808. Before, however, that question was settled, another was proposed, with which it was said to be, and was in reality closely connected. The Presiding Elders, who had been appointed by the Bishops from the origin of that office, were, according to a proposition now submitted to the Conference, to be hereafter elected. In order to carry this point, it was argued, that if the General Conference was a delegated body, the Presiding Elders, who from their office and influence would almost invariably be the delegates, ought to be elected also; otherwise, the General Conference would be a Conference appointed by the Bishops. After three days' debate, the question was lost, although ably supported by a minority, respectable as to numbers, talents and character.

In the General Conference of 1812, and also of 1816, this subject was again brought forward, and again lost. In 1820, in order to insure its passage, it was presented in the form of resolutions, which modified the original question, and carried by a majority of two thirds of the Conference. This, after a struggle of twelve years, was considered by many as a happy termination of a subject, that had given them inexpressible uneasiness. But, unhappily, towards the close of the Conference, when many of the friends of this measure were gone home, a motion was made, and seconded, to suspend the operation of these resolutions for four years, which was agreed to. Hence, they have obtained the title of the Suspended Resolutions. At the General Conference of 1824, they were again suspended. At the last General Conference, having previously made that question

a test, rather than talents and character, in electing the delegates, it was finally lost. A decision deeply to be regretted.

We have been thus particular in stating the origin and progress of the Presiding Elder question, as it is connected with the principle of lay representation, and as both probably originated with the same individual. It is true, a circular was published in Cincinnati, in which the adoption of the principle of lay representation is strongly recommended, as the only measure calculated to restore peace to the church, and to preserve her in time to come. The writer and publishers of that circular were unacquainted with the fact of its having been agitated before. It is stated, however, that it had been introduced into the Wesleyan Repository, and probably by that powerful advocate of liberal principles, Ezekiel Cooper.

To the General Conference of 1824, petitions and memorials were sent up from different parts of the United States, the object of which was to bring before the Conference the principle of representation. To the claim then set up, the Conference replied, we "know of no such rights; we comprehend no such privileges." This declaration of the General Conference was so far from discouraging the memorialists, that it only roused them to renewed exertions, as it convinced them that the measures they advocated were absolutely necessary. It was, therefore, determined by the friends of reform, that the Wesleyan Repository should be discontinued, and a periodical, to be called the "Mutual Rights," was to be substituted in its place; the principal object of which should be, to argue the principle of equal representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the same time, the formation of Union Societies was recommended. This measure was sustained, on the ground that it would prevent secessions from the church during the existence of this controversy, and also test the numerical strength of those in favor of the contemplated changes.

At the Ohio Annual Conference for 1822, the Rev. Leroy Swormstedt, and the Rev. John F. Wright, were appointed to this station. Mr. Swormstedt had the charge, and the measures he seemed determined to pursue, were such as to give almost general dissatisfaction to the friends of Episcopal Methodism. His proceedings convinced many of the oldest and best friends of the church, that irresponsible and unbalanced power was highly injurious to its posses-

sor, and often destructive of the best interests of society. Out of the difficulties occasioned by Mr. S.'s high toned measures was produced a circular letter, adopted on the 9th August, 1823, in which the plan of lay representation was recommended as the only means likely to preserve the church in peace, and insure her future prosperity. Mr. S.'s administration terminated at the close of this Conference year, when he was charged with mal-administration; but in consequence of some irregularity in the proceedings, the Conference dismissed the prosecution. Mr. S. was succeeded by the Rev. Russell Bigelow, who, although a warm supporter of our existing economy, was yet liberal and friendly; and while the subject of church government was frequently under discussion, the most perfect harmony prevailed. Mr. B. continued with us but one year; after which the Rev. W. H. Raper was placed upon this station, for two years in succession. His mild and amiable manners gave general satisfaction. During the administration of Mr. Raper, the Union Society was formed, November 17, 1825. The intentions of that Society, so extremely objectionable to the itinerant ministry, are thus pointed out, in the second article of the constitution: "The objects of this Society, shall be to endeavor by all lawful and laudable means in their power, to obtain a well balanced form of church government; and to be in joint readiness, with other similar societies, to address the next General Conference, in order to obtain that desirable object." Bro. Raper's administration terminated at the sitting of the Conference in 1826; and the Rev. Truman Bishop was appointed in his place.

During the administration of Dr. Bishop, the spirit of reform declined; for although the number of its advocates was not diminished, yet their zeal considerably abated; and had not the waning flame of reform been renewed by prosecutions in other parts of the Union, the project would probably have failed altogether. Not that Bro. Bishop was in favor of the measures advocated by reformers, especially of the principle of representation, their leading and favorite object; for this he always opposed. He never denied the *right* to representation; but argued against its expediency,—believing the present economy, in the hands of wise and good men, better calculated to promote the great end of the Methodist ministry, the reformation of the whole continent. But his mild and peaceable

manner—his friendly conduct towards the reformers—together with his general deportment, every way worthy of a Christian minister, had a tendency to dispel their fears and apprehensions, and actually rendered the measures they advocated apparently at least less necessary. Unhappily for Episcopal Methodism, few followed his example. Bro. Bishop, however, has lived to see and acknowledge the necessity of a modification of that system which gives irresponsible and unbalanced power into the hands of the itinerant ministry.

At the Conference of 1827, which sat in this city, Bro. Bishop was superannuated; and as many were afraid of violent measures, two or three of the oldest members waited on the Bishop, with a request that he would appoint a man of moderate principles,—and in the interview, mentioned John F. Wright, C. Springer, and probably some others. They left the Bishop, with an impression on their minds, that in all probability John F. Wright would be appointed. From the acquaintance they had formerly had with him, they viewed him as a decided old side man; yet moderate and prudent in his principles and proceedings; they were led to hope the ark of Methodism would be directed without producing collision between the different parties. How sadly have they been disappointed! The Conference rose, and John F. Wright was our Stationed Preacher. Mr. Wright commenced his administration by prudent and cautious measures; and for some time, the reformers were led to hope we should enjoy a year of peace and prosperity. It was soon observable, however, that in the selection of new Leaders, and in the appointments of the Local Preachers, a manifest partiality was shown in favor of old side men. On some remarks being made to Mr. Wright, in reference to the Local Preachers, he stated it was not by design, and he would avoid it in future. No amendment, however, was discovered, as to that matter; and fears were entertained and expressed, that measures were in train, unfavorable to the advocates of reformation. Late in the winter, or early in the spring, a paper was handed round among old side men, to which all that were in favor of the existing economy were requested to put their names. The signers to that instrument declared that they would support the Preacher in the administration of discipline. This, we have no doubt, was a plan recommended by some two or three old side members, for the purpose of trying the strength of the different parties.

A few years ago, by an act of our State Legislature, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati was made a body politic. The provisions of that act require, annually, in the month of May, the election of nine Trustees. To this office the advocates of reform had invariably been elected, and for this simple reason, none will deny they were the most suitable, and best qualified. This was, however, a matter of some considerable importance, and not to be viewed with any degree of complacency, by those who believed that our ecclesiastical establishment was incapable of improvement. Some time before the election came on, an organized opposition to the old board of Trustees was got up, by a few individuals, favorable to our present economy. No complaint was made against the Trustees. They had been zealous and attentive in the discharge of their duty; so much so, that on their own responsibility they had made a speculation for the church, the nett profit of which will probably be nothing short of eight thousand dollars. But they were reformers; and for this grave crime, they were to be dismissed from the office they had filled, in a manner so creditable to themselves, and so much to the advantage of the church. The day of election came; and although the old side men put forth all their strength, the "Radicals" were elected by a majority of nearly one third. This was a crime not to be forgiven.

As prosecutions had been commenced against reformers, in different parts of the United States, on the 10th of January, 1828, the reformers of this city met together, to express their sentiments and views on such proceedings. At this time, among others, they adopted the following resolution, by which it has been asserted they have made themselves accountable for all that is contained in the "Mutual Rights." "*Resolved*, That we approve of the monthly publication entitled the Mutual Rights, &c., and do hereby earnestly recommend it to the travelling preachers, local preachers and private members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in every circuit and station in the Union, as one of the most useful publications, both as it regards facts and arguments, on the subject of church government, of any periodical of which we have any knowledge; and we earnestly request all the Union Societies to give it a speedy and general circulation." No reasoning, however, we apprehend, can be more fal-

lacious; for, although it is decidedly the *best*, as it is, we believe, the only work in existence, on the same subject, yet there are certain articles in it, to which we have always objected. Although we highly approve of the work in general, we ask, who ever saw a periodical, on any subject, that did not contain more or less matter, highly objectionable to its warmest advocates. On such a point, we are aware, that to intelligent minds, it is unnecessary to offer an argument.

Prior to the sitting of the General Conference, which commenced in Pittsburgh on the 1st of last May, an address was drawn up to that body, reprehending the prosecutions in Baltimore and elsewhere, and requesting the Conference to restore all such members to their former standing, and also to adopt such measures as would, in future, prevent the recurrence of similar evils. When the General Conference rose, we were informed that a committee had been appointed, on Petitions & Memorials; and that their report would be published, with all possible expedition. On the evening of the 26th of June, the Union Society met, and appointed a committee of five members, to receive the report of the General Conference, and to report thereon. That committee was composed of the following members: John Haughton, O. M. Spencer, William Young, W. L. Chappell and E. Hall. On the 10th of July, the Society met to receive the report of that committee, which they approved; and adopted the following resolutions. Of the fourth, considerable use was made in the late prosecutions.

First. That we accept of the report of the committee, as read to the Society.

Second. That we cannot but approve of the conduct of our expelled brethren in Baltimore, in rejecting proposals evidently so partial and unjust, and so difficult to be complied with.

Third. That we feel extremely gratified at that degree of peace and prosperity with which they appear to be at present favored, and we sincerely pray that it may be long continued.

Fourth. That according to our present feelings and sentiments, we ought, and therefore design, to patronize the "Mutual Rights," and to continue the Union Society, until the meeting of the Convention in November next; and then to be governed as circumstances may seem to direct.

Fifth. That in order to prevent unpleasant feelings, we will use our influence with the editors of the above named periodical, not to

insert in its pages any matter calculated to excite the effects above stated.

Sixth. That it is our wish to promote peace and concord; and whatever we can safely surrender to our old side brethren, for peace and quietness sake, we feel disposed to do it. But the liberty of speech, and of the press, with the right to assemble peaceably and orderly, to discuss church government, or any other lawful subject we may think proper to take up, is what we cannot relinquish to any human authority whatever.

In place of the fourth resolution, Rev. O. M. Spencer offered the following, for the consideration of the Society; which was rejected, almost unanimously:

Resolved, That for the sake of conciliation, and with a view to the restoration of peace and harmony in the church of which we are members, we are willing, and do hereby agree to abolish our Society, and discontinue our patronage to the "Mutual Rights;" reserving to ourselves, however, the right to assemble at any time, in a peaceable and orderly manner, to express our opinions on church government, or any other lawful subject; and reserving also the right of publishing those opinions through such medium, other than the "Mutual Rights," as we may deem proper, holding ourselves responsible therefor.

After the passage of the above resolutions, it was stated by some, high in authority, that reformers had passed the Rubicon, and could no longer be tolerated.

On the 17th of July, fourteen members of the Union Society were waited on by a committee of the following members: Christopher Smith, Robert Richardson, Sacker Nelson and Littleton Quinton:—hence, with great propriety, denominated the "prosecuting committee." As these men have been remarkably officious in the prosecution of their brethren, some of whom are in all respects their equals, and in many far their superiors,—on their conduct and character we feel perfectly at liberty to make our remarks. Of our friends Richardson and Nelson, we apprehend, no one acquainted with them will say that they are capable of fully comprehending the principles involved in this controversy. Christopher Smith, we believe, is too deeply prejudiced in favor of the existing economy, to look fairly and impartially on each side of the controverted points; and for Littleton Quinton, some estimate may be formed of his qualifications from the following certificate.

Somewhere about the first of July, I went into the store of Littleton Quinton, on Lower Market street, for the purpose of purchasing some jelly glasses. After being in the store some time, the conversation turned on the subject of reform, and also on the subject of the late revivals among us. L. Quinton observed, in substance, that we must dissolve our Union Society, and quit taking the Mutual Rights; or we would be charged with sowing dissensions, and inveighing against our discipline. I observed to him, that the discipline did not forbid either one or the other; and that we were not interfering with the rights and privileges of any one; and no one ought to be offended at our conduct. I also referred him to Dr. Clark's closing remarks on this passage of Scripture, viz: "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no more meat while the world stands." I further observed to him, that if he intended to prefer charges against us, he ought not to do it at that time; because there appeared to be a pretty general state of good feeling, and both reformers and old side were apparently zealously engaged in the present revival; and if such a course was taken, there would be a great loss of Christian love, harmony and fellowship, which then appeared to exist. He replied—"If it destroys all love, harmony, union, communion and fellowship, (I believe all those terms were used,) and tears the broadside out of the church, you shall go out. I observed to him, that he knew that would not be right. He replied—"Yes, it would be right." After some other desultory conversation, we parted for that time.

MOSES LYON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 16th September, 1828.

JAMES FOSTER, J. P.

Having obtained not only the approbation, but also, as they stated, the authority of the Preacher in charge, they visited the following members of the Union Society, viz: E. Hall, Jas. Foster, W. Young, Moses Lyon, John Haughton, David English, Jesse B. Dorman, Geo. Lee, W. L. Chappell, Henry Handy, Thos. Wright, John Garrison, Isaac Snyder and Stephen Ashley. On these brethren they waited, (for the most part separately,) and tendered the resolution offered to the Union Society, as before stated, by the Rev. O. M. Spencer, as the condition on which church prosecutions could be avoided. To us it was a matter of no small surprise to find the resolution proposed to the Union Society, by Bro. Spencer, in the hands of our prosecutors. We could hardly believe, that Bro. Spencer was aware of the use designed to be made of that instrument; and in this opinion we have been confirmed by his own declaration, that he should have rejected it, had it been presented to him as a condition of

membership. To these degrading conditions not one of these brethren felt the least disposition to submit.

Our excellent Bro. Bishop, who was well acquainted with all the leading members of the Union Society, and to whom he has always manifested the warmest attachment, felt deeply interested in their behalf. Being of opinion that no prosecuting measures could, with any degree of propriety, be adopted against the reformers in this city, he could not be convinced, without the clearest evidence, it would ever be attempted. When he found, to his surprise and regret, that a committee, authorized by the Preacher in charge, had waited on several members of the Union Society, stating the conditions on which prosecutions could be avoided, he immediately went to Mr. Wright, for the purpose of convincing him of the impropriety of these prosecuting measures, and also of the lamentable consequences that must inevitably ensue. On his way he met Bro. Price, who accompanied him to the house of the Preacher in charge. They soon found, to their sorrow, that prosecutions were determined on, and that any arguments they could use were fruitless and unavailing. Mr. Wright stated that the intention was only to expel the fourteen complained of, and that then the prosecutions should cease. They endeavored to convince him that the matter could not and would not stop there; that the members of the Union Society, generally, would stand or fall together; and that a deep rent in the church would be the unavoidable consequence. But all this to no effect. Mr. Wright finally held out a threat to Bro. Bishop, not to interfere with his administration. Bro. Bishop replied—"I shall not interfere; but you may rest assured, that in this affair I shall oppose these prosecuting measures." Other members of the church also labored to convince Mr. Wright of the great impropriety of these proceedings; but they were equally unsuccessful.

On the 25th of July, Bro. W. Young was served with his charges, of which the following is a copy:

Rev. Wm. Young is charged with endeavoring to sow dissensions in the society or church, in this station or city, known by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and with the violation of that general rule of the discipline of said church, which prohibits its members from doing harm, and requires them to avoid evil of every kind;

and especially with violating that clause of said general rule, which prohibits speaking evil of ministers.

Specification 1. Because the said Wm. Young, while a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, did heretofore attach himself to and become a member of the society called the Union Society of the M. E. Church of Cincinnati; which Union Society is in opposition to the discipline, in whole or in part, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has arrayed and combined all the workings of the spirit of party in their pernicious and destructive forms, distinguishing its members as organized and systematic opponents of the church aforesaid.

Specification 2. Because the said William Young, as a member of the said Union Society, is, directly or indirectly, either by pecuniary contributions or his personal influence, aiding, abetting, co-operating or assisting in the publication or circulation of a work called "The Mutual Rights of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church," printed in Baltimore,—(for proof of which see Mutual Rights, No. 44, page 230, 2d resolution;) which periodical work or publication, called "Mutual Rights," &c. contains, among other things, much that inveighs against the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church aforesaid, in whole or in part, and is in direct opposition thereto, and that is abusive or speaks evil of a part, if not most of the ministers of that church; the general tendency of which periodical work has been to produce, and continues to produce, disagreement, strife, contention, and breach of union among the members of said church in this city or station.

Specification 3. Because the said Wm. Young, as a member of the Union Society aforesaid, did, at a meeting of said society, held on the evening of the 10th of this month (July,) vote for or otherwise agree to the adoption of the following resolution, viz: "That according to our present feelings and sentiments, we ought, and therefore design, to patronize "The Mutual Rights," and to continue the Union Society until the meeting of the Convention in November next, and then to be governed as circumstances may seem to direct;" which resolution, on account of the licentious manner in which the periodical called "Mutual Rights" has been conducted, and on account of the discord and strife produced by the organization and continuation of a distinct body, within the bosom of the church, called "The Union Society," is a plain violation of the existing regulations under which we are voluntarily associated as Methodists and as Methodist ministers, and is in opposition to the judgment and advice of the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and is well calculated to produce and increase the disagreement, strife, contention, and breach of union alluded to in the 2d specification. For proof of which the publication entitled "The Mutual Rights of the ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is referred to,—and particularly,

No. 19, page 162, Constitution of the Union Society of Cincinnati.
7, 261, Essay on Church Property, No. 1, 2.
25, 26, Joseph Walker's letter.
27, 53, Luther on Representation.
29, 108, Timothy's Address, &c.
30, 147, Dissenter.
32, 199, Rev. A. Shinn's Appeal.
33, 214, Granville Union Society.
34, 270, Vindex.
ib. ib. Sovereignty of Methodism, &c.
ib. 248, Address of N. Snethen.
35, 277, Union Society on Dorsey's case.
44, 230, Resolutions of the Cincinnati Union Society.
47, 338, Reasons for not complying, &c.
ib. 343, Methodism, by Jeffers.

With such other documentary or oral proof as the undersigned may deem expedient to exhibit or produce.

ROBERT RICHARDSON,
CHRISTOPHER SMITH,
SACKER NELSON,
LITTLETON QUINTON.

Cincinnati, July 23, 1828.

Rev Wm. Young—You are hereby notified to appear at the Stone Church, at nine o'clock A. M. on Friday the 1st day of August* next, before a committee of Local Preachers, to answer to the within charges and specifications. Yours, &c.

J. F. WRIGHT, *P. in charge.*

Cincinnati, July 24, 1828.

The above bill of complaints was accompanied by the following note:

Cincinnati, July 25, 1828.

Brother Young—I wish to say to you, and through you, to all those brethren complained of, that you are not charged with crime for holding certain opinions; but for the *manner* of propagating those opinions. Not for investigating the principles of church government; but for the *peculiar course* which you seem determined to pursue in that investigation, which is by means of "the Union Society," and through the medium of "The Mutual Rights;" which *course* is thought to be inflammatory and productive of harm to the church.

You are not charged with crime for defending and encouraging the liberty of the press; but for patronizing, recommending and circulating a *certain periodical*, thought to be conducted with licentiousness.

I wish these points distinctly understood in order,

1. That you may know the reason why you are solicited to abolish "the Union Society," and cease your patronage of "The Mutual Rights," for the sake of peace.

* The trial was afterwards postponed to the 14th of August

2. That you may know why I think it my duty, as Preacher in charge of this station, to have the charges investigated and decided on before the church, in case a reconciliation be not effected.

3. That you may have a clear and accurate view of the grounds of the prosecution, (if it be not stopped,) and be thereby assisted in making your defence in point.

The General Conference gave it as their opinion, that "peace can never be restored and settled on any firm and lasting basis," till what is solicited of you shall be done. There are many in this place who are of the same opinion, and some on both sides of the dividing question.

Is it considered a matter of conscience with you? If so, it cannot be expected; but if a matter of judgment, it may reasonably be expected; when such a large majority of the church think it necessary in order to peace, and when the General Conference has advised it.

I remain yours, &c.

Rev. W. Young. JOHN F. WRIGHT.

P. S. Some have expressed themselves as entirely unwilling to join our church, on account of the contentions among us; and one man and wife, I am informed, after joining, in a short time united themselves to the Baptist,—and he gave as a reason, the present agitation. Is it not time to close the disputation by amicable adjustment, or otherwise? Judge ye! J. F. W.

On the following day, the Quarterly Conference met; when the following resolution, proposed by Bro. J. T. Hodgson, was adopted:

Resolved, That it be advised that a committee of five members be appointed by the Preacher in charge in this station, and that a committee of the same number be appointed by the Union Society, to take into consideration the difficulties existing,—and that they devise a plan of reconciliation; and provided they fail in devising such plan, then that they devise a plan of separation; and that they report to the Preacher in charge, who is respectfully requested, when such report shall be made, to call together the society, to consider and decide thereon.

Agreeably therewith, the committees were appointed, and met. The following communications contain the result of that appointment.

First communication from the committtee of reformers.

With a view to conciliation, and the restoration of peace and brotherly love, which have lately been disturbed, in consequence of a difference of opinion in relation to the government of our church, &c. the undersigned, in behalf of the members of the Union Society of said church, propose as follows, viz:

1st. That we will abolish our Union Society, reserving to ourselves the right to assemble as a body of reformers, at any time, for the purpose of transacting such business as, in our opinion, may be proper to promote the cause of reform.

2d. That for the present we will continue our patronage to the Mutual Rights, pledging ourselves, however, to use our exertions and influence with the editors of that work, to prevent the publication therein of any matter unjustifiably inflammatory; but should said editors, after due representation made by us, continue to publish any thing, which, in our opinion, shall be unjustifiably inflammatory, we will withdraw our patronage from that work.

3d. In case of our withdrawing our patronage from the Mutual Rights, we reserve to ourselves the right of publishing our opinions through such other medium as we may think proper.

We respectfully request an answer to the above propositions.

JOSEPH T. HODGSON,
RICHARD FOLGER,
WILLIAM DISNEY,
JOHN WOOD,
DANIEL H. HORNE.

Cincinnati, July 29th, 1828.

First communication from the Preacher's committee.

In replying to the first report of the committee of the Union Society, we think it necessary that we come at once to the merits of the case,—that is, that we examine the *grounds* of difficulty existing between old side brethren and reformers. In the preamble of this your first communication, the ground of difficulty is stated to be, "a difference of opinion in relation to our church government," &c. In reply, we say, for ourselves, and we think, for every well informed old side brother also, that men ought to have, without molestation, the privilege of thinking for themselves. But the real grounds of difficulty appear to us to be—

1st. There is a distinct society organized within the bosom of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the transactions of which society are not in accordance with the economy of our social compact as a people; consequently party spirit is engendered among us. But how can two walk together, except they be agreed? Brethren, we must say, we do not think your first proposition, relative to the abolition of the Union Society, goes to remove the cause of complaint, at all; inasmuch as you reserve to yourselves the right of transacting the same business as before.

2d. As it respects the matter contained in the "Mutual Rights," we think much of it "unjustifiably inflammatory," and that much of said matter cannot be maintained as truth; but according to some official acts of our reforming brethren, it would seem they think very differently from us on that subject. Now, suppose we accede to your second proposition, you are nevertheless left judges of the whole

matter, with respect to its character. And on the supposition that we agree to your third proposition, we shall then grant you a privilege, by which, if you choose, you may pursue a course as well calculated to injure feelings, as by the plan at present pursued.

Our dear brethren, we entreat you at once to lay hold on the cause of difficulty, and we are ready to believe that the effects will cease.

MATTHEW BENSON,
BENJ. STEWART,
A. PEACOCK,
DAVID FISHER,
July 30th, 1828. D. S. RAYMOND.

Second communication from the committee of reformers.

Dear brethren—In our first communication on the subject of the difficulties which exist in our church, we have made certain propositions to you; but in your reply to the same, you have not said positively whether you accept or reject them. We wish you, therefore, to be more definite; and if you reject our propositions, we wish you to propose such terms of conciliation as you may think satisfactory.

JOSEPH T. HODGSON,
RICHARD FOLGER,
WM. DISNEY,
JOHN WOOD,
Cincinnati, July, 30th, 1828. DANIEL H. HORNE.

Second communication of the Preacher's committee.

Dear brethren—We did not expect to be under the necessity of telling you in plain terms that we did not consider your communication a new proposition in reality, at all, but rather a request to permit you to proceed as you have been in the habit of doing for these three or four years past; consequently we could not accede thereto. As it respects our making propositions, we did not think that our business, at present, by any means. We therefore wish you to say, in direct terms, what you will do, with a view to the restoration of a permanent peace among us.

MATTHEW BENSON,
BENJ. STEWART,
A. PEACOCK,
DAVID FISHER,
July 20th, 1828. D. S. RAYMOND.

Third communication of the committee of reformers.

Dear brethren—From the tenor of your last communication, it appears very evident to us, that you have entirely misunderstood the object for which we have been severally appointed, (you by the Preacher in charge, and we by the Union Society,) on the present negotiation. We feel satisfied, that by reference to the resolution

which was passed at the meeting of the officiary of the station, namely, that we were to confer with each other on the subject of the existing difficulties in our church on the subject of church government, for the purpose of devising some plan, by which an amicable adjustment of said difficulties may be effected, so that peace and harmony may be restored and perpetuated; and further, that should we fail in our attempt to effectuate this most desirable end, that we then endeavor to fix upon terms of friendly separation. Now, brethren, when you say to us, that you do not think it your business to make any propositions, we think that you have lost sight of the weighty obligations devolving on you, as peace makers, and are in danger of losing the blessing promised by our adorable Saviour, that such shall be called the children of God. We sincerely hope, that you will ponder the subject fully, and see if you cannot find it in your hearts to reciprocate in proposing terms of conciliation. We have made you the first proposition; it certainly devolves on you, therefore, to make the second. We can say in truth, that we are for peace, upon honorable terms. Will you suffer your conduct towards us to speak a different language, and expect to be blameless?

You say in your communication, that we have made no new proposition. In this, we think, you are entirely mistaken; for we know of none having been made before those submitted in our first communication,—therefore they must be new. And in respect to the first, we consider that we have conceded every thing which has been requested, either by the Preacher in charge, or the prosecuting committee; and of course we think in doing this, we have met you half way, at least, in relation to the existing difficulties. The right to assemble together in a peaceable manner, for the purpose of exchanging our views on church government, or any other lawful subject, has never yet been called in question, but is admitted by the warmest old side brethren. In regard to the second proposition, we think we have showed a disposition to satisfy our old side brethren; inasmuch as we have assured them that we will discontinue our patronage of the Mutual Rights, should the editors continue to publish inflammable matter therein. This, we think, is going as far as ought to be required of us, as brethren and Christians. But notwithstanding we have made the propositions above alluded to, you say we have made no proposition, but rather a request to be permitted to proceed as we have been in the habit of doing three or four years past; and then conclude by saying, as we have above stated, that you do not think it your business to make any proposition. If so, we consider the present negotiation, in relation to the first proposition in the resolution passed by the meeting of the officiary, closed.

Dear brethren, if you feel disposed to negotiate on the second proposition in said resolution, you will be so good as to open the same, by proposing honorable terms upon which a friendly separation may take place. Should you decline making any proposition on either

of the above named points, we shall consider the negotiaton at an end. Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH T. HODGSON,
WILLIAM DISNEY,
RICHARD FOLGER,
JOHN WOOD,
Cincinnati, July 31, 1828. DANIEL H. HORNE.

Third communication of the Preacher's committee.

Dear brethren—We confess, we know not of any plan by which a permanent reconciliation can take place, under existing circumstances, unless you will rescind your fourth resolution, passed by the Union Society, July 10th, 1828, no more to be constituted again, in any shape or form whatever.

MATTHEW BENSON
BENJ. STEWART,
A. PEACOCK,
DAVID FISHER,
July 31st, 1828. D. S. RAYMOND.

Fourth communication of reformers' committee.

Dear brethren—We acknowledge the receipt of your first proposition, and third communication; and we sincerely regret that you have been so straightened in your bowels of compassion towards us, as to make the ungenerous demand you have, and that you feel disposed to curtail every privilege, even such as heathens ought to enjoy, much more the free citizens of America, and the subjects of the Redeemer's kingdom. We have only to say, that we cannot submit in conscience to such dishonorable terms. In our last address to you, we brought into view the last item of the resolution passed by the meeting of the officiary, relative to terms of friendly separation. If you have any proposition to make on that subject, we shall be happy to receive it; if you have none, be pleased to answer in the negative,—for we do not feel it our duty to make the first proposition on that subject.

JOSEPH T. HODGSON,
JOHN WOOD,
RICHARD FOLGER,
WILLIAM DISNEY,
Cincinnati, July 31, 1828. DANIEL H. HORNE.

Fourth communication of the Preacher's committee.

Brethren—We think we have well matured the grounds of the existing difficulties between old side brethren and reformers, and are now compelled to say, we know of no other proposition to offer, other than the one already offered, which would be likely to secure a permanent reconciliation. As it regards a plan of separation, we do not feel ourselves at liberty to say any thing, further than to recommend

that the charges preferred against certain ministers and members of our church be withdrawn, provided they withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

MATTHEW BENSON,
BENJ. STEWART,
A. PEACOCK,
DAVID FISHER,
July 31st, 1828. D. S. RAYMOND.

At the close of these negotiations, our committee informed Mr. Wright that the effort had failed altogether; and in the evening of the same day, the Union Society met to receive their report, of which they unanimously approved.

In consequence of some conversation which took place on the following day, between Mr. Wright and a member of the above committee, it appeared there was a misunderstanding of the grounds proposed by the Preacher's committee, on which an amicable adjustment could be effected. To remove that difficulty, as we apprehend, Mr. Wright addressed the following letter to the members complained of.

Messrs Young, English, Haughton, Dorman, Foster, Hall, Lee, Garrison, Snyder, Handy, Wright, Chappell, Lyon, and Ashley:

Dear brethren—From a conversation which I had with Bro. Hodgson on Saturday evening last, I find, on account of the ambiguity of terms, or some other circumstance, there exists a great difference of opinion between the two committees, in regard to the real meaning of the proposition made by the committee of the Union Society. It is said, by some, to embrace substantially the same contained in a resolution offered by Bro. Spencer, at a meeting of the Union Society; and as it was not agreed to by the committee that I appointed, it has been spread abroad that they demanded more, in order to a reconciliation, than ever had been previously required.

Now, with a view to prevent any misunderstanding, with regard to what would be satisfactory as terms of reconciliation, I beg leave to lay before you the explicit language of the following resolution, which was proposed to the Union Society by the Rev. O. M. Spencer, viz:

"*Resolved*, That for the sake of conciliation, and with a view to the restoration of peace and harmony into the church of which we are members, we are willing, and do hereby agree, to abolish our society, and discontinue our patronage of the Mutual Rights; reserving to ourselves however, the right of assembling, at any time, in a peaceable and orderly manner, to express our opinions on church govern-

ment, or on any other lawful subject; and reserving, also, the right of publishing those opinions through such medium, other than the Mutual Rights, as we may deem proper, holding ourselves responsible therefor."

I feel myself authorized to say, that if you, as members of the Union Society, will agree to the above resolution, it will be satisfactory, and the charges preferred will be immediately withdrawn. I beseech you, brethren, to meditate upon these things, and all the considerations connected with them. There is no wish on the part of the church to hurry the business; and in order to give you time for deliberation and consultation, all proceedings shall be suspended until Friday morning next, at which time, if not sooner, I hope you will furnish me with a definite answer to the above proposal.

I remain yours respectfully,

August 4, 1828. J. F. WRIGHT.

It was a matter of surprise to us, that Mr. Wright should offer, as the condition of peace, that very resolution which we had two or three times previously rejected. Under these feelings, he was presented with the following reply.

Cincinnati, August 6, 1828.

The undersigned have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of a communication from Bro. Wright, in relation to the difficulties existing between Bro. Wright and certain members of the Union Society of this station. From that communication, the undersigned are of opinion, that it is unnecessary to advert to any misunderstanding that may have taken place between the committees appointed to propose terms for an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties. As conditions of reconciliation and peace, the undersigned beg leave to refer Bro. Wright to the proposals made by the committee appointed by the Union Society; by those conditions they wish still to abide.

The undersigned are aware that the church has no wish "to hurry the business" now under consideration, unless by the church be meant Bro. Wright, with his prosecuting committee, and a very few others. If, however, by the church, we are to understand a majority of the members; then nothing, we believe, is more clear, than that the church disapproves altogether of these proceedings.

J. HAUGHTON,	THOMAS WRIGHT,
ISAAC SNYDER,	MOSES LYON,
GEORGE LEE,	JOHN GARRISON,
DAVID ENGLISH,	STEPHEN ASHLEY,
HENRY HANDY,	JESSE B. DORMAN,
E. HALL,	WM. YOUNG,
JAMES FOSTER,	WM. L. CHAPPELL.

On the Saturday and Monday following, the remaining thirteen members complained of received copies of their charges, Mr. Young having previously been furnished with his. On examination, it appeared they had all been taken from one original copy, and that formed after the pattern exhibited in Baltimore, but a short time ago.

As the prosecutions just commenced were not of a private character, but involving interests and principles dear to every enlightened mind, the Trustees determined, that so soon as the charges were delivered to the members complained of, they would call the church together, for the purpose of obtaining an expression of their sentiments in relation to these proceedings. Accordingly, on Sunday the 10th of August, the officiating ministers were furnished with notices requiring the attendance of the members at the Stone Church, on the following Wednesday at two o'clock, when business of importance would be submitted for their consideration. In three instances, the Preachers refused to read the notices,—and in another, recalled in the afternoon what had been published in the morning. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Stationed Preachers, (as they were no doubt aware that a majority of the members would oppose the prosecutions,) at the appointed hour, a very considerable number attended. After the object of the meeting was stated, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. That the Trustees of this station have authority to call the church together on business in relation thereto, whenever they are of opinion such call is necessary; and such calls we consider legal and valid.

2. That, at such meetings, whatever business is laid before the church, a majority shall decide thereon, and that decision shall be binding.

3. That, as these prosecutions most clearly involve a violation of that sacred trust committed to us by our forefathers, viz. the liberty of speech and of the press, and as they are contrary to the spirit and genius of our holy religion, unacknowledged by our book of discipline, and highly dangerous to our civil and religious liberties, we hereby express our entire disapprobation of such proceeding.

4. That, from any view we are able to take of these matters, the alleged grounds of complaint are totally insufficient to sustain the charges here preferred.

5. That, forasmuch as some of our accused brethren have required of the Preacher in charge an investigation of these complaints before the church,—and as the Preacher has denied that privilege, a privilege

which is granted in the discipline of said church, a right which, from the peculiar and uncommon nature of these charges, is imperiously called for; we hereby declare, we shall acknowledge no expulsions as valid or legal, where such right has been denied.

5. That we respectfully submit to the Preacher in charge the propriety of immediately withdrawing these prosecutions, as the objects for which they were instituted can never be accomplished thereby.

7. That should the Preacher in charge reject our counsel and advice, in relation to these prosecutions, we hereby authorize and command our brethren, the Trustees of this station, to adopt such measures to enforce a compliance with our wishes, as above stated, as they may judge necessary.

8. That a copy of the resolutions passed by the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of this station be presented, by the Trustees of said church, to the Rev. John F. Wright, Preacher in charge.

9. That the Trustees be required to have the resolutions passed by this meeting recorded in the church book.

The requisition alluded to in the fifth resolution is contained in the following note, addressed by E. Hall and M. Lyon to the Preacher in charge.

John F. Wright, Preacher in charge of the Cincinnati station:

Dear brother—We have received the charges which have been preferred against us by Bros. Quinion, Richardson, Smith and Nelson. We have now to ask for the privilege granted in our discipline to an accused member, viz. the right of trial before the society of which we are members. We would be glad if you would send us an answer by the bearer.

MOSES LYON,
Cincinnati, Aug. 9, 1828. E. HALL.

To this Mr. Wright replied:

Cincinnati, 9th August, 1828.

Messrs. Lyon and Hall—In answer to your note, I need only say, the privilege you ask for is utterly impracticable. Neither you nor myself possess power to compel members to attend; so that, if such a course should be determined on, nothing is more certain, than that no investigation could be had in the case. Yours, &c.

J. F. WRIGHT.

To every unprejudiced mind, the fallacy of Mr. Wright's reasoning must be clear and obvious. Why would there be "no investigation in the case?" Did he suppose, that on suitable notice being given, a sufficient number would not attend to consider and decide thereon? This he did not, he could not believe. But he feared the decision

would be the very reverse of that which he most ardently desired, and which he has most industriously labored to produce.

But to return from this digression. A copy of the above resolutions was presented to Mr. W., accompanied by the following note:

Cincinnati, August 13th, 1828.

Dear brother—We herewith send you a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, at a meeting held this day, agreeably to public notice given by the Trustees of this station. We request you to inform us, by the bearer, whether you design to act in accordance with the wishes of said church.

TRUSTEES.

Rev. John F. Wright.

To this note Mr. W. replied as follows:

Cincinnati, August 14th, 1828.

To the Trustees:—In answer to your note, I beg leave to remark, that in my humble opinion, the Trustees have exceeded the power vested in them by the law of incorporation, by taking jurisdiction over and interfering with the spiritual concerns of the Methodist Episcopal Church of this station, (as Trustees,) inasmuch as their office only contemplates their having control of temporal affairs.

You wish me to say, whether I "design to act in accordance with the wishes of said church." To which I answer—from the smallness of the number convened together on yesterday, and as I am informed but few voted, I cannot suppose the wish of the church is yet ascertained; no regular investigation has yet been made, and I feel myself bound, as Preacher in charge, to attend to the business as the discipline of our church directs. Yours, &c.

J. F. WRIGHT.

On the above letter we remark—

1. That it comes with but an ill grace from Mr. Wright, to assign as a reason for not acting in accordance with the wishes of the church, the smallness of the number present, when HE HIMSELF AND HIS COLLEAGUES EXERTED ALL THEIR INFLUENCE TO MAKE THAT NUMBER AS SMALL AS POSSIBLE.

2. We affirm, that the *resolutions were almost unanimously approved, and that those in favor of them comprised nearly the whole of the members present*, Mr. Wright's informant to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. As to the obligations by which Mr. Wright felt himself bound, nothing, we believe, would ever thave been heard of these prosecutions.

had his inclinations led in a different direction. But more of this hereafter.

4. With regard to the law of incorporation, which Mr. W. supposed the Trustees had infringed, we venture to assert, that neither by the provisions of that instrument, nor in the book of discipline, are the Trustees prohibited from calling the church together, in order to obtain an expression of their sentiments on the propriety of prosecutions already commenced against several members of unexceptionable character, for no other crime than reading and recommending the writings of some of our best and ablest travelling preachers, (and in many instances signed by their own proper names,) while the writers themselves have never been called to account; and, we will add, for associating together for the purpose of promoting the principle of lay representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Under these circumstances, who doubts the authority of the Trustees to call the church together, when measures are adopted utterly incompatible with the principles under which they were originally associated? Have the members nothing at all to do or say with the acts of their ministers? If this is the fact, Heaven forbid, we say, that such an awful state of things should be suffered to continue. In these remarks, we wish not to be understood as pouring contempt upon the sacred office, or treating the ministers of Christ with disdain. Far, very far be that from us! We highly esteem and revere a faithful minister. Yes,—

> To such we render more than mere respect,
> Whose actions say that they respect themselves.

But wherever we find the assumption of powers and prerogatives at variance with the precepts and practice of our Divine Master, we must be pardoned for withholding our approbation of those who thus act like "lords over God's heritage."

5. But, lastly, we ask, why was Mr. W. dependent on others for his information, as to the character of the meeting and the nature of its proceedings? Why was he not present, to see and hear for himself? Why was he not there, to take charge of the meeting and direct its proceedings to a favorable issue? To this, we are well assured, no objection would have been offered. Instead of opposing the wishes of the Trustees, why did he not endeavor to collect

the whole church together, that he might obtain a free and full expression of their sentiments? This was the wish and desire of the reformers. They have never done any thing in the dark, having uniformly manifested a dislike to concealment. But Mr. W. was well aware that his principles and proceedings would not bear the glare of investigation. He had too much reason to suspect that his measures would be opposed by a large majority of the church; and therefore, having fixed his determination, he wisely declined the test. Then let him for ever hold his peace about the wishes of the church, unless by the church he means something very different from a majority of the members. But if by the church he meant the General Conference, then, we are assured, they had not in contemplation any such course.

But to return to our narrative. The above letter was received on the 14th of August, the day appointed for the trial of the Local Preachers. The following are their names: David English, Jesse B. Dorman, John Haughton and William Young. The charges being the same against each individual, Mr. Wright had determined to try these brethren at one and the same time; and although this course was somewhat novel, and perhaps without a precedent, yet no objection was offered.

But here, in order clearly to show the disposition and designs of Mr. Wright, it is necessary to state, that about two weeks before the trials came on, in some conversation which took place between Mr Wright and Bro. Young, relative to a committee to be procured from the country, Bro. Young observed—"There are only two men in the country, to whom I shall object as committee men to sit on my case; these are Francis M'Cormick and John Clark;" assigning as a reason, that they had entered too warmly into this controversy, to do him justice. "But," said Bro. Young, "you are at liberty to get any others." This statement the reader is particularly requested to bear in mind, while we give a few more instances of Mr. Wright's friendship and impartiality.

By an act of the General Conference of 1820, District Conferences were established. These annual meetings were designed for the benefit of the Local ministry, and probably instituted at their request. This rule we have ever considered an important appendage to Episcopal Methodism; for while it tended to exalt the character and effi-

ciency of the Local ministry, it placed a very effectual barrier against the encroachments of the Itinerant connexion on the rights and privileges of the church. No wonder, therefore, that to these institutions considerable hostility has since been made by some of the Itinerant ministry; and measures, not very creditable to the authors, have been adopted to effect their destruction. At the last General Conference, it was expected by many, that the law would be repealed. But this proved not to be the fact. A resolution, however, was adopted, by which the adversaries of this measure accomplished their object. This was by requiring a majority of the members in order to the transaction of business. To this rule we had no particular objection, if we had not had too much reason to suspect it was framed to effect a certain object, and had not some of its advocates willingly lent their influence to keep the Local brethren at home; so that the District Conferences might die, apparently at least, a natural death. The Presiding Elder of this district, contrary to the rule on that subject, appointed the sitting of the Conference at a place very unfavorable to its meeting. In addition to this, at the Ohio Annual Conference for 1827, a very considerable alteration was made in the district, eminently calculated, in our opinion, to promote the designed end.—Things being thus in train, at the Quarterly Conference for this station, which sat on the 26th of July, Mr. Wright moved that the Conference adjourn, to meet as soon as possible after the time appointed for the sitting of the District Conference; giving, as a reason, if we remember right, that there would probably be no District Conference. This motion was opposed by several of the members, who could not but see the contemplated end. But it finally prevailed; and thus Mr. Wright was provided with a court perfectly accordant with his wishes, for the trial and expulsion of his Local brethren.

When Mr. Wright came to this station, a majority of the Leaders, or official meeting, was in favor of the principles of reformation; but as he had the selection and appointment of the new Leaders, he effectually turned the scale in favor of the existing economy, by selecting such men for that office, as suited his purpose. And thus, from the commencement of his administration, he provided himself with means for the accomplishment of an object, of which, we believe, for one moment, he never lost sight.

A certain individual joining the church, was asked by Mr. Wright, "In what class will you meet?" It was answered, "In Bro. Young's class." Mr. Wright objected, and mentioned some two or three other classes. But the individual was not to be denied; and Mr. W., although very reluctantly, gave him a note to that effect. On this occasion, Mr. Wright's conduct was such as to induce the individual alluded to, to suspect that something was wrong with Bro. Young. He inquired; and lo! he found he was a reformer. This was a sufficient explanation.

With these observations, we return again to the trial of the Local Preachers. The committee appointed to investigate the correctness of the above bill of charges, they found, on entering the house, to be, Daniel Duval, John Walls and John Clark, the very same individual to whom, as we have before stated, Bro. Young had so strongly objected. On the committee we shall make a few observations, and then pass on. In Mr. Duval, as a pious and good man, we have the most unbounded confidence; but all acquainted with him will admit, that his faculties are so much impaired by the hand of time (having arrived at a second childhood) as to disqualify him for a committee man on the present occasion. The integrity of Mr. Walls we have never called in question; but revolving years have made deep inroads into both his mental and physical powers, by which the energy and vigor of his mind is considerably abated. Of Mr. Clark we have to say, that some circumstances took place on the day of trial, which considerably lessened that respect which we have formerly had for his character. After the prosecution was opened and the charges read, Bro. Young requested the privilege of asking the committee a few questions. Having obtained permission, he begun, we believe, with John Clark, who would give little or no satisfaction to his inquiries. Bro. Young then spoke to Mr. Duval,—on which the good old man rose, and commenced making some remarks; but Mr. Wright, perceiving he was about to commit himself, and prejudice the prosecution, made a sign or motion for Mr. Duval to sit down, which he accordingly did. Bro. Young objected to Mr. Clark, and observed to Mr. Wright—"*I told you this before; and I am sorry you compel me to object to Bro. Clark to his face.*" In these objections the other accused members concurred, as they well knew the deep rooted prejudices entertained by Mr. Clark against reformers in general; and

that any investigation before him was perfectly useless, inasmuch as he had previously determined their fate. To show that the objections of the accused against Mr. Clark were not altogether without foundation, we will observe, that a certain old side brother, who sat as a spectator on the proceedings, and who is well acquainted with Mr. Clark's sentiments and feelings towards those who dare advocate the principle of representation, observed, with a particular reference to Mr. Clark, "*As soon as I saw the committee, I knew you were gone.*" That this was not said without sufficient reason, will appear from the following certificate.

THE STATE OF OHIO, HAMILTON COUNTY,—*ss.*

Before me, the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace within and for said county, personally appeared John Anderson, who, being of lawful age, deposeth and saith, That about the last of April or the first of May last, I past in Cincinnati on Upper Market street. Opposite John and William Richey's door, I met with John Clark, a Local Preacher belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church. I put into his hands a pamphlet of the proceedings of the Convention of the Methodist reformers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that sat in Baltimore last November. After some previous conversation, in which this deponent had stated his opinion that some things in the book of discipline ought to be amended, said Clark replied, with considerable warmth, that he would have him, this deponent, turned out of the church; and that every one, (meaning reformers, as this deponent clearly understood,) in the Methodist Episcopal Church, ought to be expelled the church. JOHN ANDERSON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 15th September, 1828.
ADAM MOORE, J. P.

N. B. I, Adam Moore, do certify, that John Clark appeared before me, and acknowledged having had a notice to attend the taking of this deposition. ADAM MOORE.

With a knowledge of the fact this certificate substantiates, is it a matter of surprise that the accused should object to Mr. Clark? Let the candid answer.

The disqualification of Mr. Clark will be still more evident, from the following circumstance. On some questions being put to Mr. Duval, by one of the accused, Mr. Clark observed, with apparent anger—"*I would not answer their questions; for if you were as pure as an angel from heaven, they would object to you.*" This declaration alone, in our opinion, was a sufficient disqualification.—

Nevertheless, in opposition to the wishes and remonstrances of the accused, Mr. Clark was retained on the committee. And after all, Mr. Wright has the presumption to state that he knew nothing of these objections until he saw them in the public papers. The fact is, he cut the accused members short, by saying their objections could not lie, unless they were of a private or personal character; *and then took up and read, as we believe, from a paper already provided, answers to anticipated objections.*

The intelligent reader will here perceive the great injustice and cruelty of Mr. Wrigh's proceedings. The question to be determined, was not whether the accused were members of the "Union Society," and patronized the "Mutual Rights;" but whether, as such, and for no other crime, they ought to be expelled from the church. This, Mr. Clark, as we have shown, had already decided; and as *he was considered the committee in fact*, it was not without reason that objections were made. We will further remark, that setting aside the claims of justice and equity, the *wishes* of brethren, whose characters for piety and uprightness had never been called in question, ought not to have been entirely disregarded. But Mr. Wright had his object,—and that object, *as he himself had previously declared, was the expulsion of the accused.*

The evidence produced to substantiate the charges, was taken from different parts of the "Mutual Rights." The "prosecuting committee" commenced by reading detached parts from sundry articles in that periodical. To this the accused objected, forasmuch as the writer's design and object could not be clearly seen. They therefore contended, that the whole of each paper should be read on which the charges were founded. But this was objected to by the prosecuting committee; alleging, if we remember right, that it would take up too much time. Mr. Clark also made the same objection, and observed that he did not come there to be detained two or three days, *as his corn and his hay, &c. needed his attention.* And from his conduct on that day, we feel justified in saying, that these were of much more importance than the character and standing of his deeply injured brethren.

About four, or perhaps five o'clock P. M., the evidence on the part of the prosecution closed; when three of the accused made their

defence.* They dwelt at considerable length on the great impropriety and injustice of making them accountable for the writings of other men, and those men Travelling preachers, and within reach of the authorities of the church; that the point in dispute was not of a private or personal character, and could never be settled by prosecutions; that neither in the discipline, nor in the Word of God, are those things forbidden for which they contend; and that no where are Union Societies, or periodicals on our church government, prohibited. As it respected Bro. Dorman, he had never patronized the "Mutual Rights," as he had been furnished with the use of it by an old side brother.

After the accused had made their defence, they, with the spectators, retired from the house, followed by Mr. Duval. In some conversation which immediately took place, the old gentleman remarked, that he did not believe the brethren had done any harm; that he had done as much himself. For more on this head, see the following certificate.

THE STATE OF OHIO, HAMILTON COUNTY,—*ss.*

Before me, the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace within and for said county, personally came John Wood, who, being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith, That on the day of the trial of William Young and others of the Local Preachers of the Cincinnati station, Daniel Duval, one of the committee for the trial of said Young and others—that in the evening, after hearing all the evidence in the case, and after he had left the meeting house, and was standing in the yard, he said to a number of brethren there, that he was going home; that he did not see that the brethren (meaning the accused, of whom he was one of the judges) had done any harm; and that, on some of the bystanders saying he must not go, as being one of the judges, he stated peremptorily he must return, and again repeated he did not see the accused had done any harm; after which the Rev. John F. Wright came and took him, Duval, by the arm, and led him towards the door of the meeting house. And further saith not. JOHN WOOD.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 17th of September, 1828.
JAMES FOSTER, J. P.

I certify, that Daniel Duval was served with a written notice of the time and place of taking the above deposition; where he might have attended to cross-examine, but did not.
Sept. 17, 1828. J. FOSTER, J. P.

* Bro. English had previously declared, that on account of the injustice of the proceedings, he should retire from the house.

The committee retired to their homes for the night, and in the morning, as was expected, declared the accused guilty of the charges preferred against them. They were accordingly suspended from all official acts in the church until the meeting of the adjourned Quarterly Conference, which we have previously noticed.

Here we will leave the reader to make his own comments, while we proceed to take up the case of the ten lay members.

The day appointed for the trial of these brethren was the 15th of August, the day after the trial of the Local Preachers. As the accused were of opinion it was their privilege to be tried before the society, they informed Mr. Wright that such was their desire. The rule by which that privilege is secured, is a limitation of the powers of the General Conference, in the following words: "They" (the General Conference) "shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal: NEITHER SHALL THEY DO AWAY THE PRIVILEGES OF OUR MEMBERS OF TRIAL BEFORE THE SOCIETY, OR BY A COMMITTEE, AND OF AN APPEAL."

On the above rule we remark, that it was doubtless designed as a privilege to an accused member. If so, we think it must be admitted that the accused should have his choice, whether he would be tried before the society, or a committee. And this, we have no doubt, was the intention of the rule. For if the accused was to be tried before the society, or a committee, at the election of the accuser, and if the accuser had also the appointment of that committee, who does not see that the intention of the General Conference in framing the rule would be completely defeated? In the case before us, this matter is completely illustrated. John F. Wright is the accuser in fact. He determines whether the accused shall be tried before the society, or a committee. He has a certain object to accomplish,—and that object is the expulsion of the accused.* With that object in view he selects his committee. The result can be calculated with the certainty of mathematical demonstration.

As Mr. Wright had determined that the accused should not have the privilege for which they contended, at or soon after nine o'clock

* This he will probably deny; but out of his own mouth shall he be condemned.

A. M., he and his committees* were at the place appointed, waiting the arrival of the accused. They had not long to wait; the accused entered, and took their seats. Never shall we forget the scene: the impression is too deep even for the destructive hand of time to wear away. After Mr. Wright had opened the prosecution, the accused members rose from their seats, and Bro. Hall, as their spokesman, read the following note.

As accused members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, we claim the privilege granted to us in the fifth restrictive rule of the discipline of our church, in the following words, to wit:—"Neither shall they" (the General Conference) "do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by a committee, and of an appeal."

We do therefore protest against being tried before a committee, or select number of said church, contrary to our wishes or consent; and we do hereby notify you, that we will not submit to any decision in our case, unless such decision shall be made by the society of which we are members. (Signed)

E. HALL,
W. L. CHAPPELL,
H. HANDY,
S. ASHLEY,
T. WRIGHT,
JAMES FOSTER,
M. LYON,
I. SNYDER,
J. GARRISON,
G. LEE.

Having delivered the note to Mr. Wright, they prepared to leave the house, when he observed—"A man should not be condemned before he is heard. The rule referred to, was made in reference to that great privilege secured to our citizens, 'the right of trial by jury;' and whether tried by the society, or by a committee, this great privilege would be secured to our members."

Aware of Mr. Wright's design, they would hear no more, and immediately left the house. But while they were retiring, Mr. Wright remarked, with an expression of countenance and a motion of the hand which will never be forgotten—"I KNOW YOUR OBJECT, AND

*The jury in this case was Wm. Armstrong, Fras. M'Cracken, Wm. Lawson, Wm Mershon, J. Brandriff, Wm. Bell and Firman Hand. The prosecuting committee were the same as in the case of the Local Preachers.

YOU MAY GO; BUT BE YOU WELL ASSURED THE TRIALS SHALL GO ON"

Agreeably with this declaration, Mr. Wright and his committees proceeded with the trials,—if the reader will consent to call them so; and as they had none to interrupt their proceedings, the matter was soon terminated in a manner perfectly accordant with Mr. Wright's wishes and designs,—viz. by the condemnation of the accused.

Some short time after the trial, Mr. Wright addressed to each individual (as we suppose) the following note. The one we copy from is addressed to Bro. Hall.

Cincinnati, August 18, 1828.

Brother Hall—I take this method of discharging the painful duty of administering reproof, which devolves upon me on account of my present situation.

You have been convicted of endeavoring to sow dissentions in the society or church of which you are a member, by a decision of the committee appointed to investigate the charges preferred against you.

You therefore plainly discover, that the only ground on which expulsion from the church can be avoided, is an abandonment of the course which you have for some time pursued, and which, according to the judgment of your brethren of the committee, is calculated to produce disagreement, strife, contention and breach of union among the members of our church.

As you are the arbiter of your own destiny in this matter, I hope you will inform me in writing, by Wednesday evening next, if you should feel disposed to comply with the above condition.

Yours, &c. JOHN F. WRIGHT.

As no notice whatever was taken of these communications, the accused were considered finally expelled from the church.

While Mr. Wright was thus in pursuit of his prosecuting measures, the Trustees held frequent consultations on what course to pursue. By the best legal authorities the city can afford, they were informed they could compel Mr. Wright to grant the lay members a hearing before the church, or in case of refusal, by a writ of *mandamus*, commit him to jail. As the church is incorporated, and a majority of the members opposed to his proceedings, they did not at all doubt they could legally dismiss him from the station. But this could not be done without a resort to civil law,—a course deeply revolting to every pious mind. Something, however, was necessary to be done immediately, as reports were in circulation, that at a preceding meet-

ing, a number of names had been taken down for the purpose of prosecution. This number was said to be thirty, and all members of the Union Society. The Trustees, some of whom witnessed the former prosecutions, determined that no more sacrifices should thus be offered up to appease their angry and persecuting brethren. On the 16th of August, early in the day, they met together to consult on these important subjects. That was a time of deep affliction. After much consultation, it was recommended, that "forasmuch as no peace can be enjoyed in the church, reformers, in a body, had better withdraw." This measure, after some opposition, was finally agreed to. In the evening, the Union Society met at the school room, expecting to hear from the Trustees the recommendation of measures highly important at that eventful moment. After waiting some time, the Trustees entered, and their opinions and views were stated to the meeting by Bro. O. M. Spencer, in nearly the following words: "That, forasmuch as there was no peace to be expected in the church, we had better withdraw, and leave our brethren, who seem to have determined we shall no longer enjoy our rights and privileges therein." Other members of the board spoke in favor of the measure, and observed, that although we might lawfully and successfully contend against such illegal and arbitrary proceedings, yet to retire, and suffer the loss of all, would be much more accordant with the precepts and practice of our Divine Master. On motion, it was therefore determined, that on Monday the 18th of August, the reformers and their friends should meet at the Stone Church, at two o'clock P. M., for the purpose of formally withdrawing from the church. On the following day (Sunday) notices were furnished to the officiating ministers, requiring reformers and their friends to meet at the Stone Church, at two o'clock P. M. the following day. Agreeably with this notice, at the time appointed, a considerable number of reformers and their friends repaired to the church. After the meeting was duly opened, and the object clearly stated, about two hundred and forty gave in their names for the purpose and with the design of formally withdrawing from the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the following instrument, they gave the reasons for this procedure.

Cincinnati, 18th August, 1828.

Sir—We have beheld with unfeigned sorrow and regret the proceedings lately had against our brethren, by way of distinction called

reformers, in this city. These proceedings, we are compelled to say, are distinguished by cruelty and oppression in their most afflicting forms. You, sir, are not ignorant that the church in this station expressed, at a public meeting, called by the Trustees for that purpose, their entire disapprobation of these prosecuting measures. You have also been advised not to proceed, and forewarned of the awful consequences, by brethren whose judgment and opinions it was your duty to respect. Nevertheless, led on and assisted by a set of men, some of whom are remarkable for their ignorance, others for their deep rooted prejudices, and some by tempers of the most inflammatory character, you have summoned a number of our brethren before a partial tribunal, prepared to do the direful deed; and thus, by the most unjustifiable measures, you have procured the condemnation of our brethren, whose characters stand fair before both the church and the world. In these proceedings, you must be aware, you can neither be sustained by the discipline of our church, nor by the laws of our country. By an appeal to that tribunal, we can compel you to accede to the reasonable request of our brethren. Alas! we lament to prove that civil law alone will induce any Methodist preacher to accede to what religion and justice require. Oh! "tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon," lest the uncircumcised, the enemies of Christianity, triumph. But unwilling to avail ourselves of the advantages we thus possess, we have determined to secede, and leave our brethren in the quiet possession of our sanctuary—our home, for peace and quietness sake, and seek a place where a watchful Providence shall direct our way. We therefore request of you, forthwith, certificates of our good standing and character,—and pray that you, and your associates in these unhallowed prosecutions, may find mercy in the day of the Lord Jesus.

Rev. John F. Wright.

This letter, for several reasons, was not delivered to Mr. Wright until Monday the 8th of August, the day to which the Quarterly Conference stood adjourned. It was laid on the table at the commencement of the session, by one of the prosecuted members.

Among the number originally given in, were two or three individuals, who from family considerations were afterwards induced to reverse the determination they had formerly made, and two or three more for reasons with which we have never been made acquainted. But as the Preacher in charge, and some of our old side brethren, have boasted of the return of numbers within the pale of Episcopal Methodism, we should take it as a great kndness, if they would inform us who they are, that we may be certified of the fact. We are ignorant of any thing of the kind, beyond what we have stated. The number attached to the above instrument was two hundred and sixty-

one. If we put to these the fourteen expelled members, with several others that have left the church under different circumstances, we shall then have the number we have previously reported. We are thus particular, to show that we have not exaggerated in making our statements. But we wish to remark, that it is not on numbers that we rely, but rather in the correctness of our principles, the purity of our lives, and above all, THE APPROBATION OF OUR GOD.

We now return to the trial of the Local Preachers. The former court could only suspend them in the exercise of their official duties. Their proper trial came on at the sitting of the Quarterly Conference. We have seen that this court can, in a great measure, be moulded after the wishes of the Preacher in charge, and we have also seen that he was not unmindful of the advantage he possessed through this circumstance. To this we add, that almost all the reforming Leaders had been removed, some by expulsion, and others had seceded, so that but few were left to oppose Mr. Wright's arbitrary measures. Hence the reader is prepared to anticipate the result. On the day appointed, and at two o'clock P. M., three of the Local Preachers, viz. William Young, J. B. Dorman and J. Haughton, appeared before the Conference to take their trials. It was doubtless Mr. Wright's design to try them all together; but as some objections were made, the case of Bro. Young was taken up the first. Repeated and untiring efforts were made, highly discreditable to those who made them, in order to prevent the accused from having any of their friends present during their trials. Their presence was a favor desired by the accused, and it was their particular request they should be suffered to remain. Yet, nevertheless, it was again and again objected; but finally, we believe at the request of the President, certain members were induced to cease their opposition to a privilege never denied in courts of justice to the worst of criminals. It was the design of Bro. Young to prove the incompetency of the committee by which, as we have seen, they were suspended, and for this purpose was about to bring testimony; but certain members of the Conference objected. Bro. Young appealed to the Chair, and the Chair sustained him. An appeal, however, was taken from the decision of the President, and then testimony in the case was rejected by the Conference. After this, the prosecuting committee proceeded with the evidence, which, as on the former occasion, was taken from the "Mutual Rights."

When the evidence on the part of the prosecution closed, Bro. Young made a short defence, which, as he well knew, before that Conference, was fruitless and unavailing. The following note contains the decision of the Conference on his case.

Dear Brother—The Conference have made it my duty to inform you of their decision. They have found you guilty of the charge, with its several specifications; and have passed a resolution, that if you promise to desist from the course in future, for which they censure you, viz. that you withdraw from the Union Society, and that you cease to patronize the Mutual Rights, that you retain your standing in the church. Yours affectionately,

Bro. W. Young. G. R. JONES, *Pres't.*

The reader will distinctly perceive, that the sole ground of complaint is patronizing the Mutual Rights, and being a member of the Union Society. This matter we may probably have occasion to notice hereafter. To this note Bro. Young sent the following reply:

Dear Brother—As it respects the decision of the Conference in my case, which you gave me last evening, which informed me that they considered me guilty of the charges preferred against me, I expected nothing else, from a belief that the committee of Local Preachers, and a majority of the Quarterly Conference, were selected with an eye to this decision.

Concerning the proposition made to me by the Conference, viz. to withdraw from the Union Society, and cease to patronize the Mutual Rights, I have only to say, I shall reserve to myself the right to patronize and read such books as my judgment shall from time to time direct; and for the matter contained therein, I shall endeavor at all times to pass judgment with a reference to the rule of right. I shall continue to think it a right belonging to me to converse with my brethren, in society meetings or otherwise, on the subject of church government, or any other lawful subject.

I have now to say, that I consider the proceedings in my case to be illegal, and the decision unjust, and from it I shall appeal to the Annual Conference. I remain yours,

WM. YOUNG.

To the Presiding Elder I feel indebted for the disposition he manifested to do me justice in this case, notwithstanding his views were overruled.

Rev. G. R. Jones, P. Elder.

To this reply the following note was returned by the Rev. O. M. Spencer.

Cincinnati, Sept. 15th, 1828.

The Rev. William Young:

Dear Brother—The Quarterly Meeting Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of this station, having, on the 9th instant, found you guilty, on a charge of "endeavoring to sow dissention in the society or church in this station," &c., and you having refused to comply with the terms proposed to you by said Conference, as conditions of your retaining your standing in the church,—it becomes my painful duty to inform you, that you have been, by the President of said Conference, declared to be "expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church." O. M. SPENCER,

Sec'y. Q. M. Con. of Cincinnati station.

On Thursday evening the 11th of September, the Conference met for the purpose of taking up the trials of the two other Local Preachers.

It was determined that Bro. Haughton's case should be first taken up. As the charges against him were the same as those on which the Conference had already decided in the case of William Young, it was not required by the accused, nor the Conference, that they should again be read. The president, therefore, informed the accused, that they were ready to hear his defence. On which Bro. Haughton rose, and in substance made the following observations: "That any defence before that tribunal was perfectly useless; that the proceedings of the Baltimore Annual Conference, and of the General Conference, were highly censurable. On this he remarked generally, that associated bodies, in their collective capacity, would do things, which in their individual capacity they would blush to own; that the matter in dispute was not of a private character, and could never be righteously settled by prosecutions. That although the reformers had been accused of speaking hard things against the Itinerant ministry, he would prove that much harder things had been said by the advocates of the existing economy; and of this he was prepared to give evidence from a publication he then held in his hand, if the Conference would permit. But this, on their part, was declined. That a certain Presiding Elder, not very far from the place where they were then assembled, had declared that "IT WOULD BE BETTER ONE HALF OF THE CHURCH SHOULD BE CUT OFF, THAN THAT THE REFORMERS SHOULD HAVE THEIR CLAIMS." He further observed, "That inasmuch as the body of reformers had retired, it was highly

improper to press these prosecutions, as nothing could be obtained thereby; and also as it would have a tendency to perpetuate feelings of a disagreeable nature. That even then it was not too late, partly at least, to heal the wounds which had been inflicted. On this point he appealed to the conference, partial as he considered them. He concluded his defence by remarking, that it would be vain and fruitles to offer him the conditions proposed to Bro. Young, as he never would disgrace himself by submitting to such proposals." During this defence great uneasiness was manifested by the conference—the truths then stated were too galling to be endured. At one time the conference seemed to be all in motion, and some were preparing to leave the house. The speaker, however, remarked, that they had better be patient—that he himself was perfectly composed. On one occasion the president called him to order, and observed "that his brethren's hands were tied, and they supposed he took that opportunity to abuse them." He observed in his own justification, that the charge, viz. that of partiality of which he accused them, was so clear and obvious, that he supposed they would not attempt to deny it. This apology, the president observed, was rather making the matter worse.

After Bro. Haughton had concluded his defence, Bro. Dorman rose, and addressed the conference. Bro. Dorman observed that although he wished to stand or fall with his brethren, yet his case differed some little from theirs, inasmuch as he had never patronized the "Mutual Rights," but had been favored with the reading of that periodical by an old side brother. That these proceedings against him in particular gave evidence of ingratitude against a certain individual (S. Nelson) of the prosecuting committee, agreeing but little with the christian character, inasmuch as he had protected him to the utmost of his abilities against some of those arbitrary measures for which it was one principal object of the reformers to find a remedy.

As was expected, the conference declared the accused guilty of the charges preferred against them. From that decision they appealed to the Ohio Annual Conference.

Agreeably with a previous arrangement, Bro. Young was appointed to carry up an appeal in behalf of himself and his two local brethren, who for their reforming principles had with himself been expelled from the church. Brother Young arrived at Chillicothe very soon after the conference had commenced its session. The members soon

understood from whence he was, and the object of his visit. Before his case came on, some efforts were made to save him, and restore his afflicted brethren. For this purpose a resolution was got up and signed by several of the most influential members of the conference, and then presented to him as the condition on which he might retain his standing, and his suffering brethren return to the bosom of the church. But conscious that such conditions would be degrading to his character, he refused to be their bearer to this city, or sign them in his own behalf. As this measure failed, at the hour appointed, he stood before the conference, and endeavored to convince that body of the great impropriety and injustice of expelling him from the church, for reading and recommending the writings of Snethen, Timothy, Vindex, &c. while at the same time the writers were welcomed to every Methodist pulpit in the United States. After a patient and attentive hearing, during which many tears were shed, the conference confirmed the sentence previously pronounced in this city;—he was therefore expelled. He was informed, however, that the conference did not believe that he had done any thing that would disqualify him from being an acceptable member or minister in any other denomination of christians, and that this was their own opinion of his character. But owing to his peculiar views on the subject of church government, and seeing he had made some efforts in order to produce a reformation in the government of the M. E. Church, he could not be considered an acceptable member thereof.

Bro. Young, believing that a certificate from the conference, exhibiting the view they entertained of his character, would be a shield against the attacks of his inflammatory old side brethren, requested of the conference that they would provide him with such an instrument. And as he had to leave Chillicothe before the conference rose, Mr. Durbin pledged himself he would bring a resolution before the conference for the purpose of procuring Bro. Young such a certificate as he desired, and also notified the conference to that effect. Being reminded of this promise, Bro. Durbin rose and observed, that he should not now do it, as several of the members were opposed to it, suspecting that Bro. Young, as Mr. Durbin stated, would PUBLISH IT IN THE "MUTUAL RIGHTS." It is almost unnecessary to say that with respect to the other two local preachers the question was soon disposed of, and the decision of the Quarterly conference confirmed.

Here we wish briefly to remark, that it was not from any hope entertained by the reformers of a more favorable issue that this appeal was made, but from an expectation that the cause for which they have so deeply suffered, would thereby be promoted, nor has that hope proved vain.

Having thus given a brief account of these prosecutions, we return to the seceding members. Their secession from the church was something like the departure of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; they went out, not knowing whither they went. They, however, had no doubt but that an insulted community and a righteous God would undertake their cause. In these respects they feel confident they have not been disappointed. To the Ministers and members of the Second Presbyterian and Episcopal churches they are deeply indebted. Nor will the kindness manifested towards them in their destitute condition be forgotten. They have been regularly favored with the administration of the word of life by their beloved brethren Truman Bishop, John Price and others, and the divine blessing descends on their assemblies. Dr. Bishop has now taken charge of the society. In the mean time, the citizens generally have contributed liberally towards building a place of worship for their accommodation. The house is 55 feet by 70, with galleries and a basement story; and now at this date, October 29th, ready for the roof. Our old side brethren wonder what we are going to do with a house of such dimensions. To them we answer, "that God who has enabled us to build the house, will also see that it shall be filled with attentive worshippers."

Here we cannot avoid mentioning the unkindness of the leading men among our old side brethren, for we are unwilling to believe any considerable number is implicated in these proceedings. For although we were often reminded we had better leave the church, yet now that we were going, what measures were not resorted to in order to prevent our friends from going with us! Aware, as we suppose they must have been, that we should appeal to the public for some assistance to enable us to build a house of worship, they anticipated us, and although they were already rich in church property, they immediately got out subscription papers, and solicited the citizens to assist them in the erection of a new church, although as we have heard, they had no idea of building for some time to come. One individual, as we have understood, went to an eminent merchant, and

requested him to give nothing to these reformers; but there he met with that rebuke his conduct so richly merited. By some of our old friends we have been generally represented as backsliders, &c. &c. and Mr. Baughman, the colleague of Mr. Wright, kindly compared us to horse thieves. By an intelligent and impartial public those things are sufficiently understood and properly estimated. After all it remains to be proved whether our old side brethren will manifest any disposition to atone for the evil they have done. There is yet in the hands of those trustees, who on account of such arbitrary measures have seceded from the church, a considerable amount in notes, &c., in the making of which they have been the principal, not to say the sole instruments. To a part of these funds the disinterested among all classes of our fellow citizens will say the reformers may justly lay claim. It remains therefore to be proved whether they will still resist the claims of justice, and act in opposition to public opinion.

On drawing our labors to a close we will make a few general observations on the proceedings we have felt it our duty to relate. Our remarks will be weighed and estimated by men of reason and religion according to their proper merit; by minds imbued with prejudice and bigotry according to the medium through which they are beheld. With equal effect might we address ourselves to roaring winds or rolling waves, as to persons of this description.

We remark therefore

1. These prosecutions were perfectly *unnecessary*. In this we are supported, as we have understood, by the declaration of Bishop Roberts, that if he had been here or on this station, they never would have taken place. They are unnecessary for the honor of religion—nay they are in direct opposition to its clearest dictates, with its spirit and temper they are at the utmost variance. Who that witnessed the trials of the local preachers would believe that religion had any thing to do with the individuals directing those prosecutions. They were perfectly unnecessary for the honor or support of Episcopal Methodism. Never was Methodism so deeply dishonored. Never did the cause receive so dangerous—so fatal a wound. From Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, their influence will be felt.

2. They are *unreasonable*, inasmuch as it is their object to maintain power by pains and penalties; to put down investigation by proscription and prosecutions. Does history afford one solitary example

where such means, in a similar cause, have ever proved successful? Their invariable tendency is to produce the opposite effect. In such a warfare, reason and persuasion are the only weapons that will ever prove efficient.

3. We observe these prosecutions are highly *unjust*, inasmuch as they make the comparatively innocent, at least, account for the guilty; if guilt indeed there be. The authors of these objectionable papers are, many of them at least, eminent travelling preachers. Others local ministers in good standing, and all within reach of the authorities of the church. Of the unreasonableness and injustice of these proceedings, Christendom in modern times fails to furnish an example.

It is not, however, on our own account particularly, that we have regretted these prosecutions. Our individual happiness, in these respects, is a matter of comparatively little importance, when put in competition with the interests of religion and the worth of immortal souls. What an apparent advantage does it not give to those who deny the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures! But, while we cannot but regret these things, we yet believe it would have been highly improper for reformers to have abandoned their principles, and tamely submitted to the dictation of those who had both the power and the will to punish. Methodism, with all its excellencies, we fear, would ultimately have forged fetters for the inhabitants of these United States. In the natural world, it has been justly said, that the storm which shakes alike the humble cottage and the proud edifices of the city, neither rages without direction nor passes away without a blessing; it ventilates the atmosphere and scatters its noxious vapors. So in the moral world, these little difficulties tend to disseminate the seeds of truth and righteousness, and to scatter far and wide those principles on which in a great measure the salvation and happiness of the human race depend. Thus while ignorant and inconsistent man is pursuing those measures which are highly calculated to disgrace religion, and give to its adversaries an advantage they never could otherwise possess, its Divine Author is wisely overruling all for the salvation of his people and the honor of his name. He is thus

> From *seeming evil* still educing *good*,
> And *better* thence again, and *better* still,
> In infinite progression. But I lose
> Myself in HIM. In LIGHT INEFFABLE!
> Come then, expressive silence, muse HIS praise.

OBSERVATIONS

ON A

"*Narrative of facts relative to the proceedings of the Methodist E. Church against certain Local Preachers and Lay members in Cincinnati, &c.. By* DAVID FISHER, *Layman.*"

BY A COMMITTEE.

IN making our observations on the publication before us, we wish it distinctly understood, that with the writer we have no quarrel. We are willing to believe that he designed to give a fair representation of the late most astonishing prosecutions. We attribute, therefore, the errors and misrepresentations contained in his Narrative, as well as that abuse he so liberally bestows upon his reforming brethren, to a deep rooted prejudice, rather than a wilful misstatement of facts, or "design to misrepresent." It will be evident, however, to the unprejudiced reader, that while the writer pretends to be perfectly acquainted with all the designs and intentions of his reforming brethren, he is perfectly unconscious of the "beam" by which his own intellectual and moral vision is obscured.

As to the spirit and temper of the publication before us, we think it is highly objectionable; for not only does the writer manifest the utmost contempt for his reforming brethren, but also very civilly attributes all their proceedings to the most baneful passions that have ever infected the human heart. The following are a few of those very modest and christian like expressions, with which his book abounds: "*But a few years since, some again became dissatisfied with our church government, and they began to be restless because they had not power suitable to their ambitious notions, and therefore began to trouble the church by disputing with their brethren.*" On the 22d page we have the following sentence: "*For no doubt, any criminal that was brought before a court of justice for the violation and abuse of those sacred liberties committed to him by his forefathers, would express his entire disapprobation of the proceedings against him, especially if he could escape justice thereby.*" On the 42d page we read—"*Such are those liberal hearted*

reformers, who contend so earnestly for liberty of speech, but in fact refuse that liberty to others. If they would change the phrase a little, and instead of saying they wanted LIBERTY *say they wanted* POWER, *perhaps it would be as applicable. Or do they want liberty to controul all others. However, after they said what was necessary to serve their purpose, they withdrew to the number of about* 240. *This proves they were somewhat ambiguous in their phraseology, insomuch they were not easily understood.*" On the same page the words "*palpable falsehoods*" we think are far "*too strong*," and on the 43d page the words "*evil deeds*" and "*wickedness*" are also censurable. The above extracts afford sufficient evidence of the *manner and spirit* of Mr. Fisher's narrative; and such are the means he uses to injure his reforming brethren, whose characters for piety, integrity and uprightness, will not suffer even when compared with his own. Does not the intelligent reader perceive that he supposes his reforming brethren were actuated by the basest motives, while at the same time they covered up their real intentions by pretended zeal for the welfare of the church? We therefore recommend, that when Mr. F. writes again, he will be more guarded in his expressions.

In perfect accordance with what we have just been noticing, is the manner in which he speaks of those articles published in the newspapers, together with the writer of those statements. It is worthy of remark, however, that no attempt has yet been made, either by Mr. Wright or David Fisher, to disprove any thing that was there stated; although Mr. Wright took up almost two columns of a newspaper in replying to the communication of "An Accused Member." It is a very easy way to get over the difficulty, by calling them "calumnies," without even an effort to prove them such. And if the name of the writer of these "calumnies" will enable Mr. F. the more easily to accomplish that object, with that name he can be furnished on application at the office of John Wood. If no attempt is made, or if he fail therein, the reason will be evident, that they are stubborn facts.

Having done for the present with the spirit of Mr. Fisher's narrative, we proceed to notice the correctness of some of his statements. On page 6th we are informed that "*distinct bodies*," called "*Union Societies, were organized within the bosom of the church*," "*which bodies stood in direct opposition to her economy, and whose object was with their united efforts to subvert her government.*" Here we

can hardly avoid telling Mr. F. that this statement is untrue, and that he knows it to be so. That reformers have labored to effect some salutary alterations in the economy of American Methodism is not denied; but that those alterations would impede any of her movements towards accomplishing the grand objects of her institution, remains to be proved; and so far as matter of fact can be adduced, it is demonstrative of a very opposite tendency. Reformers have ever declared they are not the enemies of Methodism, but her sincere friends; and why Mr. F. refuses to believe their declarations, we have yet to learn. If sacrifices for her sake—if long continued services in her cause, are to be allowed as evidence, then we think the claim of the reformers can as easily be established as that of Mr. Fisher.

That strife has been engendered and discord sown in the church, we are willing to admit; but that reformers were the agents in this business, we deny. Who got up and circulated a paper, with a pretence to support the preacher in the administration of discipline? Are our old side friends more zealous in the maintenance of necessary discipline than their reforming brethren? Who organized the opposition to the old board of trustees, and what evidence was there that such a measure was necessary? Had not the trustees been faithful in the discharge of their duty, or would not the church have been worse by some thousands of dollars, if the aspirants to that office had directed her affairs? When all these questions are satisfactorily answered, we will then show to a demonstration by whom "*strife was engendered—discord sown*," &c.

On the report of the General Conference we have published our sentiments, and although doctrines perfectly new to Methodists are therein advanced, yet no where in that report are "Union Societies" or periodicals on our church government prohibited. If the novel and in our estimation dangerous as well as false doctrine of exclusive ministerial right, as applicable to the travelling connexion, to expound moral discipline and the word of God, is therein inculcated; yet according to Mr. Fisher's own showing, they only advised, or desired, that the "Mutual Rights" and "Union Societies" should be discontinued. What authority, then, had Mr. Wright, or any body else, to commence prosecutions, in order to put them down, until they had been declared unlawful by an act of the General Conference! If there is any law for this procedure, Mr. F. will no doubt be kind

enough to furnish us with a copy. And as to the resolution passed on the 10th of July, and which Mr. F. seems to consider as a crime never to be forgiven, we observe, that circumstances required an expression of the opinions of the society on that subject, and from any thing they had ever understood about Religion or Methodism, such an act was perfectly within their jurisdiction.

Mr. F. goes on to tell us, it was the intention of certain brethren to have the matter investigated before the CHURCH. But who, or what is the church? is a matter we should like to have determined. We know that certain individuals in Cincinnati are associated together under certain regulations, and that these people are known in law as the "Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati." Under this title they are capable of "suing and being sued," &c.; and that the acts of a majority of this body are valid, excepting the appropriation of property contrary to its original design, expressed in the deed by which such property is secured. But the views of Mr. Fisher and Mr. Wright on this subject have never been given to us in any tangible shape; and, therefore, when the church is mentioned, it is not so evident what is thereby understood. Mr. Fisher tells us, it was the intention of certain brethren to have the matter investigated before the church. This was the wish of the reformers. But Mr. Wright absolutely refused their request. We are therefore, of necessity, brought to the conclusion, that according to Mr. Wright's views, as well as those of his advocate, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Wright, and such a committee as he thought good to select, are the "Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati," common sense and common law to the contrary notwithstanding.

As to the famous resolution proposed by the Rev. O. M. Spencer, we have only to say, that those who are willing to submit to such terms as conditions of membership, are, for any thing we care, perfectly welcome to do so. For ourselves, we say, so long as reason retains its empire, we shall reserve the right to determine what books we shall read and what publications we shall patronize. Query: Has Mr. Spencer submitted to the proposed terms, as conditions of membership? Some members in the old church yet continue to patronize the "Mutual Rights;" and Mr. W., we believe, knows it. Why does he not go on and expel such refractory members? Surely he acts, in this matter, "without partiality and without hypocrisy."

With respect to the members complained of, we perceive they are charged with the grave crime of sowing dissentions in the Methodist E. Church. On examining the matter, we find that they effect this by reading and recommending the writings of some of our most eminent Travelling Preachers, in most cases signed by their own proper names. If the readers and patrons of these papers deserve to be expelled from the church, what do the writers merit? But lo! while they are welcomed to every Methodist pulpit in the United States, their comparatively innocent readers are expelled from the church. And all this in America, the boasted home of civil and religious liberty. But it is said, some of these writers have made acknowledgments. We, however, are somewhat sceptical on this point; we should like to know what those acknowledgments are,—and for that purpose, we recommend that they be forthwith published in the "Advocate and Journal." What acknowledgments has Snethen made? we should like to hear.

On the committee of pacification we remark, that the conditions they offered were such as ought not to have been rejected. We have seen that they agreed to dissolve the Union Society,—reserving the right to assemble as a body of reformers, to transact such business as they considered necessary to promote the cause of reform. And although they would not give up the "Mutual Rights," they pledged themselves to use their influence to prevent the insertion of inflammatory matter therein; and in case their instructions were disregarded, they would withdraw their patronage from said work. In that case, they reserved the right to publish their opinions through such other medium as they deemed necessary. We ask reasonable men, what more ought to have been required? Mr. Fisher, however, supposes that in agreeing to the above propositions, they would have granted reformers "greater privileges than ever they had before; yes, unlimited privileges!" The meaning of all this—the glorious privileges they had to give, we are unable to comprehend. The reformers, we are satisfied, want no privileges, but what are guaranteed to them by the laws of the country, the economy of Methodism, and in the Sacred Scriptures. If there is any thing to be found, from any of these sources, forbidding any thing they have done in relation to these matters, they hope Mr. F. will be kind enough to point it out;—to such authority they are prepared to yield. If, indeed, our old side

brethren had granted the *wonderful privileges* contended for by our committee, how the reformers could have "*sold all the churches—made use of the proceeds—beheaded all the ministers, and banished all the members out of the city*," is what we cannot so easily comprehend. On this supposition, indeed, our old side brethren might "*lament their condition*," without any possible chance of a remedy. As to selling all the churches, &c., Mr. F. knows, if he knows any thing, that this the reformers could not do, even admitting they had the disposition; for which, we suppose, he himself will not contend.

Mr. F. proceeds to tell us, that it is stated in the third communication, that reformers had conceded every thing required by the Preacher in charge, or the prosecuting committee. But we will ask Mr. F. to look again at that communication, and see if he cannot discover a most palpable error in this statement. They say, in respect to the FIRST proposition contained in that communication, they had conceded every thing required by the Preacher in charge, or the prosecuting committee. In regard to the SECOND, they had manifested a *disposition* to satisfy their old side brethren, as they had assured them they would discontinue their patronage of the "Mutual Rights," should the editors continue to publish inflammable matter therein. Who does not see the difference between this and Mr. Fisher's statements? With respect to the THIRD reply of the Preacher's committee, we observe, it is somewhat ambiguous or awkwardly expressed. Did they mean to say, "rescind your fourth resolution" only; if so, the word "*constituted*" (or *organized*) is inapplicable. If they meant thereby the "Union Society" and "Mutual Rights," then the word "*rescind*" is still less appropriate. The latter we understand to be their meaning. To such terms, as conditions of membership, what man worthy of that name would be willing to submit!

We are willing to admit that the "Mutual Rights," which we suppose Mr. Fisher means by the "bone of contention," is not a matter of such very serious importance as to justify such sacrifices, merely for its own sake; but the question involved in such requisition is of the deepest interest to every intelligent and independent mind; and few men, we rejoice to believe, in these United States, would be willing to submit to such degrading conditions. "However," says Mr. Fisher, "to see if their words and actions would correspond and speak the same language," &c. This is another sample of Mr.

Fisher's respectful manner. Will he be kind enough to point out wherein their words and actions have been at variance.

To many of Mr. Fisher's succeeding remarks, we consider our own statement of the facts connected with these prosecutions a sufficient answer.

In the second article of the constitution of the Union Society of Cincinnati, there is, as given by Mr. F., an omission of some importance. The following is a correct copy: "The object of this society shall be, *by all lawful and laudable means in their power*, to obtain a well balanced form of church government," &c. The words in Italics are those omitted by Mr. Fisher; and as this error was corrected on the trials of the Local Preachers, he is the less excusable.

As to the articles copied from the "Mutual Rights," we acknowledge our obligations to Mr. Fisher for their publication. Who, we ask, that reads these articles, considering that the writers are perfectly acquainted with the subject, but must be convinced there is much need of a reformation? READ THEM—READ THEM—ye members of the M. E. Church! and we not only recommend that you read the extracts, but that you read the whole work. Few men, we are well aware, will rise up from the reading of these publications uninfluenced by our reforming principles. But Mr. F. inquires, whether the matter contained in the "Mutual Rights" is true. To this we answer, that these statements are made by eminent ministers in the Itinerant connexion,—men perfectly acquainted with the subjects on which they write; and from their character and standing in the church, we are bound to believe them. Certainly, in these respects, their testimony is superior to Mr. Fisher's. But we will ask, what check is there to the Bishop's power, except the General Conference, the creature of his own creation? *It is true*, that they are considered by many incapable of doing wrong, and that some of them at least, it would seem, have considered themselves so.* Where is the limitation on the proceeds of the book concern? Will Mr. F. be pleased to inform us. As to the whole work being divided between four of the Bishops, and a fifth arched over the whole, we answer, it looks

* At the General Conference of 1820, Bishop M'Kendree and Bishop Soule, who was then Bishop elect, objected to act under the resolutions we have previously mentioned, although they were approved by two thirds of the Conference, after a struggle of twelve years.

like it. The whole work, we have understood, is divided into four parts, and the fifth has none assigned him. That men are bought by the sale of indulgencies, or by favors, we think there is abundant evidence. What was the language of certain eminent individuals,* but a few years ago? Let the Methodist people hear! "REMEMBER THE TENACIOUS GRASP WITH WHICH POWER IS HELD, WHEN ONCE ACQUIRED. ITS MARCH IS EVER ONWARD, AND ITS TREMENDOUS TENDENCY IS TO ACCUMULATION." But where are those individuals now. Having got good rich offices under the existing economy, they are the zealous advocates of episcopal prerogative and power. And whether the preachers acquired their power "surreptitiously" or not, it is certain the people were never consulted in the matter. That the church property is in the hands, or under the control of the Bishops, is evident from this circumstance: they are the very centre of power, and to them every thing reverts. They make the General Conference, and the General Conference makes them. The property is deeded "*for the use of the Methodist E. Church in the United States of America, acording to the rules and discipline of said church, which from time to time may be adopted by the Ministers and Preachers of said church, at their General Conferences in the United States of America.*"† After reading the above, will any man say the property is not in the hands, or under the control of the Bishops? Such an individual would be more an object of pity than censure.

In the account given by Mr. Fisher of the meeting held on the 18th of August, for the purpose of seceding from the church, we observe several misstatements. In the first place, he tells us, Mr. Baughman *happened* to be there, as though it were an *accidental* circumstance; when he must have known it was by *design*. In the next place, he tells us, M. B. asked leave to make a few statements; when at the same time we know he commenced making his statements without asking leave. By a vote, the meeting determined not to hear him. He again commenced speaking; but was called to order by the Chairman. He made, we believe, a third or fourth attempt; but the meeting still refused to hear. The Chairman finally informed

* Dr. John Emory, Beverly Waugh, and others.

† Deed of Settlement.

him, he must be still or leave the house, which he accordingly did. But how does this account agree with Mr. Fisher's? We answer, not at all. We have given, we believe, the unvarnished truth. Mr. F. has not. We were there, and saw and heard for ourselves. How Mr. F. came by his information, we know not. We believe he was not present. The reformers had good reason to be dissatisfied with Mr. Baughman's proceedings. The reader has seen how he opposed them, and the weapons he used. He had had all the opportunity he desired at a previous meeting, of which he availed himself, and spake for a considerable time. But the reformers had that day met for a special purpose, and they were not to be diverted from it by his speeches, and more especially as they had no time to spare. How ungenerous, then, of Mr. Fisher, to say "*they were afraid the people would hear the truth, and that they designed to keep them ignorant of the facts as they really existed!*"

"Soon after the above secession," Mr. F. tells us, that "reports were spread abroad, that those accused brethren were expelled for reading a book and for holding certain opinions; and that these were the only charges. And, indeed, we hear the same things still said,—and that, too, by those whom we did hope had too much candor to speak such *palpable falsehoods*." Here, we think, Mr. Fisher's zeal rather betrayed him, and got the advantage over his understanding and piety. If, however, we add to "reading a book and holding certain opinions," the *crime* of *recommending* that book and *expressing* those opinions, we shall then have nearly the sum total of all their offences. From this view of the subject, a stranger would be led to suppose this must be a very *wicked book*, and that these must be very *heterodox opinions*. On closer examination, however, we find this book is principally made up of the writings of some of our most eminent Travelling Preachers; and that of those strange and heterodox opinions these reformers have got into their heads, the principal one is—that it would be better for the Methodist E. Church to have a *representative form of government*. Our fellow citizens (being true Americans) will hardly believe, that these things give sufficient evidence that these people would be suitable candidates for a place in the Lunatic Asylum; or that, on this account, they ought to be expelled from the church.

But as we may possibly be called to order by Mr. Fisher, or some of his able coadjutors, we will, at his request, return to Mr. Wright's celebrated explanatory letter of July 23d. We are there told, that the crime does not consist either in holding certain opinions, or in investigating the principles of church government, but in the *peculiar course* pursued in that investigation, and the *manner* adopted for the propagation of those opinions. That is, by means of the "Union Society" and through the medium of the "Mutual Rights." After all, then, we perceive, even from Mr. Wright's explanation, that these "*radicals*" are expelled for reading and recommending the writings of eminent Travelling Preachers, and for associating together to promote the principle of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Thus, we lament to find, that opinions favorable to the existing economy of the M. E. Church are surer grounds of recommendation to membership, than holiness of life.

In the account Mr. F. has given us of the trial of John Haughton, we are informed, that the Conference received from Mr. Haughton "some hard censures and considerable abuse." He has not, however, told us what that abuse was. We would rather he had given us Mr. Haughton's defence in full; we should then have been better prepared to judge of its merit. As we have sufficiently proved that Mr. F. is not the very best authority on these subjects, we refer the reader to the account we have given of that matter. In that account, Mr. Fisher will hardly say we have manifested much partiality. And as to Mr. Fisher's assertion, that "*acrimony, virulence and scurrility are the well known weapons of our warfare,*" we respectfully leave to our readers, to determine to whom that charge is most applicable.

With respect to the *right* of Ministers to *rule* those that are convinced and converted to God through their instrumentality, we have only to remark, that we know no ground for such assumption any where in the Sacred Scriptures. And until some evidence is afforded from the "law and the testimony," we must beg leave to withhold our assent to such doctrines.

That Methodist Ministers have a right to expound moral discipline and the Word of God, is not denied. It is the *exclusive* right to which we object, and which, we maintain, is the doctrine set forth in the report of the General Conference.

With Mr. Fisher's "rights of man" we have little to do on the present occasion. A few remarks will suffice for all we have to say on this subject.

1. The government of the M. E. Church is exclusively in the hands of the Itinerant connexion.

2. It is believed by many, in and out of the Itinerancy, that a form of government in which the different departments of the church would be represented, would tend to promote union and harmony between the ministers and members, and prevent the evils invariably attendant on irresponsible and unbalanced power.

3. For the discussion of this subject, and the promotion of this measure, a periodical called "Mutual Rights" was published, and associations formed of the friends and advocates of these principles.

4. These measures promised to be successful towards the attainment of the object for which they were instituted.

5. Hence the holders and advocates of exclusive powers and prerogatives became alarmed, and determined to put them down by proscription—prosecutions or otherwise.

6. But as the most powerful advocates of representation were men of eminent talents in the Itinerant connexion, and dangerous individuals to encounter, the opponents of these principles, instead of attacking the writers, commenced prosecutions first against the publishers, and then the patrons of our only periodical, to prevent the discussion of those principles they were unable to overturn, and the force of arguments they could not answer.

We now ask the reader, what the proceedings we have felt it our duty to relate have to do with either *reason*—*religion*—or the RIGHTS OF MAN?

APPENDIX.

In our relation of the facts connected with the late unhappy prosecutions, we have shown that Dr. Bishop was utterly opposed to the proceedings against his reforming brethren; as he not only believed all such prosecutions were eminently unjust, but also that they would assuredly defeat the end they were intended to promote. From an intimate acquaintance with all the leading members of the Union Society, he was well aware that coercive measures would be attended with the most fatal consequences. He therefore determined, as an honest and independent man, to oppose proceedings he felt himself bound to condemn. In the first place, therefore, as we have shown, he endeavored in a friendly way to dissuade the Preacher in charge from proceeding in the prosecutions he had but just commenced. But failing in this, he exerted his talents in favor of the Local Preachers, to effect a conviction in the members of the Quarterly Conference of the injustice, impropriety and impolicy of such proceedings. On this account, the instigators and promoters of these unhappy difficulties were determined to inflict on him similar punishment to that they had prepared for those brethren whose cause he had undertaken to defend. A few days before he went to the Annual Conference, he received from the Presiding Elder the following note:

Cincinnati, Sept. 11, 1828.

Dear Brother—I consider it due to you, as a Minister and brother in the church, to inform you, that the course you are reported to have pursued in the unhappy difficulties which have existed in the Methodist E. Church in this city, and in reference to our brethren who have seceded from us in this city, has given offence to some of your brethren, and will in all probability be a subject of complaint against you at our next Annual Conference. Particularly your preaching to the brethren who have seceded from us; the general course you are said to have pursued in meeting with them publicly and privately on the subject of what is called reform, and aiding and encouraging them, and opposing improperly the administration of the Preacher in charge. The act of leaving the Quarterly Conference while a Local brother was on his trial, and communicating to him what the Conference were doing in the case, and how one or some of the members voted, and this before the case was finished by the

Conference; with perhaps other points that have not come to my knowledge or recollection.

I shall expect you, therefore, to be present at the Conference to be holden in Chillicothe, that you may give such explanation and make such defence as the nature of the case may require.

Yours in Christian friendship,

Dr. T. Bishop. G. R. JONES.

As these charges were not sustained by the Conference, or not considered as grounds of just complaint against Bro. Bishop, his troubled mind rejoiced at the prospect of returning unfettered. In this fond persuasion he was not long suffered to remain. A resolution was proposed to the Conference, by an individual of whom we had hoped better things, requesting Bro. Bishop not to preach to those members in Cincinnati, who, on account of the late proceedings, had seceded from the church. That resolution was adopted, and made a matter of record on the journals. It was now evident to Bro. Bishop, that the fatal snare was laid, and that he must either withdraw from under the jurisdiction of the church, violate his conscience by refusing to preach to his seceding brethren, or render himself liable to trial—suspension and expulsion. On his return to Cincinnati, after much reflection, many prayers and many tears, he determined to withdraw from under the jurisdiction of a church he most sincerely loved, and in whose service he had labored for thirty years. He therefore addressed the following letter to the Rev. John F. Wright, Preacher in charge:

Cincinnati, October 7, 1828.

To the Rev. John F. Wright:

Dear Brother—After much reflection, many tears and many prayers to Almighty God for direction, I have come to the conclusion that it is my duty to withdraw from the M. E. Church. And I hereby tender to you, and through you to Bro. G. R. Jones, as the proper organs, a resignation of my membership in said church, and shall from this date consider myself no longer accountable to the discipline and authorities of the M. E. Church.

It was not my design or wish ever to have dissolved my connexion with a church, for whose welfare I have felt a deep interest, and have labored to the best of my ability for thirty years; but I expected to have lived and died within her pales. But the vote of the Conference, prohibiting me from preaching to seceded brethren in this city, imposes a requisition with which I cannot comply as a conscientious man, and it involves a principle I cannot admit. I never can subscribe to the right of any man, or body of men, authoritatively to say

to any Minister, called of God to preach the gospel to dying men, You must not preach to any congregation of immortal souls who are probationers or candidates for eternal happiness or woe. I must be at liberty to follow the dictates of my own conscience in fulfilling the commission given to me by the Great Head of the church—"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature;" because I know I must give an account to Him for myself in the great day. I believe it is the will of God that I should preach to those seceders in this city,—but the Conference forbids it; for although the vote was in the form of request, yet it being a formal vote of the Conference, and made a matter of record on the journals, it amounts to an official prohibition; so that I am driven to the necessity of withdrawing from the church, or violating my conscience. And whether it be right to obey God or men, judge ye. In this matter I am not left to choose as in a matter of judgment, but of conscience. Hence my brethren have compelled me to resign my standing in the church, which I suppose is what some of them designed to accomplish; and it may be pleasure to them, but it is painful to me. It is to my wounded soul like cutting off a right arm, or plucking out a right eye. But from a conviction of duty I must do it. I do not take this step from any hostile feeling, or from the dictates of any unhallowed passion; my feelings are of a very different nature. No one circumstance of my life has ever caused me more heartfelt grief, than that in which the Conference has placed me by the above vote. I am frequently led involuntarily to exclaim, Why did my brethren do so? Surely if they had known the torture they were about to inflict on my already lacerated and bleeding heart, they would not have done it. Although the church has had many much more able Ministers, a truer or more sincere friend she never held within her pales. I have been in that church, I may say, from childhood; but I now go out like the old servant of God, not knowing whither he went. But I lean on the Divine Arm, and trust the Lord will lead and support me.

Contrary to my former calculations or intention, I now retire from under the jurisdiction of the M. E. Church, (which is near and dear to me,) for the reason already stated, that the command of the Conference and the command of Jesus Christ given to me, stand in direct opposition to each other. Christ says, Preach the gospel to every creature. The Conference says, Preach not the gospel to those hundreds of souls in Cincinnati, who have seceded from the church. So that I cannot obey one, without violating the other. And if I disobey the command of the Conference, in obeying the command of Christ, I subject myself to trial—suspension and expulsion, which I have reason to believe would be carried into execution; and I do not wish any further affliction of this kind. And if I disobey the command of Christ, in obeying the command of the Conference, I shall endanger my eternal salvation. Under these circumstances, I dare not confer with flesh and blood; I must, therefore, stand free to obey the Great Head of the church, and leave the event with him.

I shall still love my brethren who love our Lord Jesus Christ, and endeavor as much as in me lies to cultivate friendship and a friendly intercourse, and as far as possible to live in peace with all men. And should any of my brethren, through mistaken views respecting me, be led even to persecute me, I hope not to be moved from that spirit of meekness and forbearance which becomes a Christian and a candidate for a future judgment.

Yours in deep affliction of spirit,
T. BISHOP.

P. S. If you please to give me a certificate, stating the fact that I withdrew in acceptable standing in the connexion, I will thank you. I know you are not required by the discipline to do so; but as it can do no harm to any body, if it be a fact, and it may do me some good, I hope you will feel disposed to grant it.

To this communication no answer, to this moment, has ever been returned. The humble request of this aged Minister, couched in the most respectful language, it seems is utterly disregarded. How callous and unfeeling must be the heart of that individual, who can disregard a request so reasonable, and so easy to be complied with!

As Bro. Bishop will account to the religious public, in a few days, for his own conduct in relation to these matters, through the medium of the press, we forbear to enlarge.

THE END.

REPORT

OF

THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED

BY THE

UNION SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI,

TO RECEIVE THE COMMUNICATION

FROM

THE LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE,

IN RELATION TO REFORM IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AND TO REPORT THEREON.

CINCINNATI:

LODGE, L'HOMMEDIEU & HAMMOND, *PRINTERS.*

1828

REPORT.

Your committee, after carefully examining the report and resolutions of the last General Conference, in relation to reform, are compelled to say, they are any thing but satisfactory. Throughout, they perceive the language of complaint, rather than of conciliation.

As to the claim of right to representation, which the report endeavours to disprove, we can only say, at present, that we think it perfectly right, for each member of a civil or religious community, to have a voice either directly or indirectly, in the enactment of those laws by which he is to be governed. Neither are we able to conceive of any other way, in which he can be secured in the possession of his civil or religious privileges.—Where all power and patronage is in the hands of the governing party, how much is left to the governed, and what security have they that that power will not be abused. We know it is said in another part of this report, that the "right of expatriation" is not denied to any member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and therefore if the government is oppressive, we may leave it and set up for ourselves. In reply, however, to such unkindness, we will not say, in the language of this report, that such sentiments had their "origin in some distempered mind, or some perverted heart," but our brethren having embraced the idea that we are enemies to the church, are therefore of opinion, we are unworthy of a

place within her pale. It never was, and so far as we know, it is not now the intention of reformers to leave the church. It is their wish to introduce into the Legislative department, the representative principle, as the most likely means to save the church from the deleterious effects of irresponsible and unbalanced power. Power which all experience proves, can seldom be trusted, exclusively, in the hands of any order, even of gospel ministers.

With regard to the great and glorious privileges, enjoyed by Local preachers, and for which the report seems to insinuate they are very ungrateful, we confess ourselves at a loss to understand, wherein they consist. They have it is true, the privilege of riding or walking ten or twenty miles on a sabbath and preaching once or oftener without as much as the offer in some cases of a cup of cold water. They may, and they not unfrequently do go into what may be called, at least comparatively a moral wilderness, unfurl the banner of the cross, collect congregations and through the blessing of the great Head of the Church, be instrumental in the conversion of souls; yet after all this, they have no privilege to unite them together in christian fellowship, or to administer to them the ordinances, but must wait until some of their Itinerant brethren shall come round, no matter how much inferior in piety, talents or usefulness. Yes, even the hoary headed veteran whose increasing infirmities, brought on by hard and long continued labour, compel him to retire from the front ranks of Immanuel's army, is not unfrequently subjected to the controul of some beardless boy. The circumstance of a man's travelling merely confers, it seems a degree of superiority, in comparison of which neither piety, talents, experience or usefulness is of any account. The travelling preachers it would seem according to this report are alone the "*divinely instituted ministry*," and of the word of God, the only "*divinely authorised expounders.*" This we think appears to be in perfect accordance with the divine right of priests and kings. The insinuation contained in another part of the report, that some

local preachers among the reformers probably feel a desire to "participate both in the pastoral charge, and alas! in the envied pittance of those who now devote themselves wholly to the work," we might, we think say, again, in the language of the report, must have had its "origin in some distempered mind or some perverted heart," but as this, in the opinion of the General Conference would be "speaking evil of ministers," we forbear and leave them to their own reflections. So far as we are acquainted with this matter, we think we are justified in saying that local preachers, in addition to travelling and preaching without fee or reward, and paying the expenses consequent thereon, still pay their full proportion towards the support of their Itinerant brethren; who nevertheless, as in the present instance, look upon them with a jealous eye or treat them with indifference or cold neglect, and more especially if they have independence enough to oppose any of their arbitrary measures. This censure, however, is not applicable to all our Itinerant brethren, we know, and we are glad to be able to acknowledge the fact. But before we leave this part of our subject we beg leave to ask how it comes to pass that *some* of the Itinerancy, and the worthy chairman of this committee among the number, talk so largely of the labours and sufferings of travelling preachers; while with such labours and sufferings they themselves can scarcely be said to have had an opportunity to become acquainted. How many poor circuits, yea, or rich ones either, have they ever travelled, or will they travel. And is not in too many instances a good rich station made the condition of their continuing in the Itineracy. May not then some of these boasting members of the travelling connexion be chargable, rather than their local brethren, with a design to "cut up, or bring down, the Itinerant system to a nearer approximation to their temporal convenience." Thus while the Conference are impugning the motives and defaming the characters of their local brethren, they have no idea, we suppose, that they are themselves "speaking evil of ministers."

That reformers have been labouring to put the public in possession of their views is not denied, and that very many have been converted to their faith is a fact. That a majority of the whole is still in favor of the present economy they have no doubt, but that reformers have attributed this to "ignorance or want of intellect or some worse principle," they are not conscious. And whether the attachment generally to the present order of things be "increased, rather than diminished in proportion to the development of the details of any plans the memorialists may have seen fit to exhibit;" we canonly say that we have good evidence, that where there was one reformer four years ago, there are now we believe at least ten. In this statement we think we are supported by the fact, (as well as from personal observation,) that the mutual rights, has a patronage, of upwards of 1500 subscribers, and what is more, very rapidly increasing, and yet we believe that not one reformer in ten takes the work. That it would be well to divest this controversy of all "acrimony and virulence," we are willing to admit, but that it would be better for the church, that it should be totally discontinued, we are not so certain. But have reformers *only* been guilty of "acrimony and virulence?" May we not justly say to each of our brethren who charge us with these things, "first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

In passing this part of the report we are induced to pay some little attention to the address of the last General Conference to the British Conference which will meet we believe in September next. This may perhaps be said to be apart from our subject, yet we think it is by no means improper, nor yet altogether irrelevant to it. The address expresses a hope that the "decided and almost unanimous expression of disapprobation to such proceedings, by the Conference," &c. "will greatly weaken the disaffection and tend to correct the errors of the wandering." But may we not venture to ask of what materials was the General Conference composed? Were not the members of that body elected generally

with a particular regard to that express object? Were not many, superior both in talents and experience left at home merely because they can believe that some alteration in the Government would be perfectly consistent with the welfare of the church? Now we ask what could be expected of a Conference that seemed to stand pledged to do, just what they have done? Do we then suppose it will have the effect which they appear to predict? We confess we think not.

Whatever inclination the travelling preachers may feel to repel the grave charge of "wishing to suppress free inquiry," to our apprehension it would avail but little. That all are guilty we do not assert, but that many have laboured hard and long to effect its suppression, we think will not be denied. Considering the advantages we possess, the mild government under which we live, the general diffusion of liberal sentiments; considering we say these privileges, which we scarcely know how to estimate, some of our Itinerant brethren have, we think, expressed themselves in sentiments as despotic as any that have ever disgraced the Christian world. If there was no wish to "suppress free enquiry," why make the suppression of the mutual rights and a promise to promote no other work on the same subject, the condition of church membership. Would it not have been sufficient to restrain the evils, if any there were, without suppressing the work altogether?

Where and when the reformers have attempted to array against the Itinerant Ministry, the "jealousy, and suspicion of statesmen and politicians, and of the constituted authorities of the civil government," is more than we can remember. And as to the alarm which the committee appear to manifest, least the church should become assimilated to the state, it perhaps is within the recollection of some of us, that an attempt was made a few years ago, to get the New-York Conference incorporated; which, if that design had been accomplished, it would have been a very important step towards the attainment of that power, which cannot brook an equal, much less a superior.

With respect to Union Societies, we deny that they have been the cause of the excitement, and of the evils which have, of late, distracted some parts of the church. That excitement existed long before Union Societies were formed. Union Societies were instituted for the purpose of more effectually promoting the cause of reform, by opening an easier method of communication—ascertaining the number of those in favour of the proposed changes, and as a likely means to effect, in no small degree, a union of purpose and of effort; and also to prevent any secessions from taking place, during the existence of this controversy: and who will undertake to prove, that they are contrary to the laws of God or man, or inimical to the well being of the church? Who will assert, that either reason or religion require that they shall forthwith be discontinued? But on the other hand, may we not ask if the Itinerant Preachers, have done all in their power, to prevent the evils of which they complain? Have not their feelings—their influence—their patronage and power—been all enlisted, with but few exceptions, in favor of their old side brethren? Had they promoted the untrammelled, and yet temperate discussion of this subject, but few of those evils would have ever appeared.

We join with our brethren in their wishes for peace and concord, but even peace, at the expense of every just and equitable principle, would be too dearly bought.

As to the resolutions attached to this report, we cannot but think, they are so framed, as to be rendered nearly, if not altogether unavailing. Their professed design, is to provide for the return of the expelled members, on "safe and equitable principles," respectful to all parties. To Mr. Hanson, and his prosecuting committees, they are respectful in a high degree, but will any man undertake to say, that they are in the least respectful to the expelled. To them, they are but barely practicable. In the first place, they are to concede, that "publications have appeared in the Mutual Rights, which were unjustifiably inflammatory, and do not admit of vindication; and that others, though for want of proper

information, or unintentionally, have yet in fact, misrepresented individuals and facts, and that they regret these things." They are further, voluntarily to agree that the Union Societies shall be abolished, and the Mutual Rights discontinued, at the close of the current volume. Now, according to our understanding of this famous resolution, any individual who has been expelled, no matter how much he acknowledges--how much he confesses, or how sincere may be his promises of amendment, unless he can controul the Union Societies and put down the Mutual Rights, he may wish and desire in vain. And should he be so fortunate as to accomplish all this, for any thing he knows, his application may be finally rejected. Another strange item in these resolutions is, that even the females who withdrew, in good standing, are subjected to the same conditions; thus, making that strong affection, which predominates in the heart of every honorable woman, towards her husband, her father, or her friend, the ground of an unjust, and unreasonable persecution.

Such then, are the conditions proposed for conciliation, on "fair and equitable principles." We now ask, whether any men of sense and understanding, could suppose they were likely to answer the designed end?--They provide indeed, for those who were prepared to consider themselves as criminals, and for none else. Did the Conference consider the expelled members in Baltimore, in that light? Does the Christian public consider them such? We may rest assured they do not. We consider them our dearly beloved, but deeply injured brethren, in whose prosperity and happiness we feel a a deep and lively solicitude, and for whose welfare, we shall constantly offer up our prayers.

JOHN HAUGHTON,
WM. YOUNG,
W. L. CHAPPELL,
O. M. SPENCER,
E. HALL.

On submitting the above Report, the following resolutions were adopted.

First. That we accept of the report of the committee as read to the society.

Second. That we cannot but approve of the conduct of our expelled brethren in Baltimore, in rejecting proposals evidently so partial and unjust, and so difficult to be complied with.

Third. That we feel extremely gratified at that degree of peace and prosperity with which they appear to be at present favoured, and we sincerely pray that it may be long continued.

Fourth. That according to our present feelings and sentiments, we ought, and therefore design, to patronize the "Mutual Rights," and to continue the "Union Society," until the meeting of the Convention, in November next, and then to be governed as circumstances may seem to direct.

Fifth. That in order to prevent unpleasant feelings, we will use our influence with the editors of the above named periodical, not to insert in its pages, any matter calculated to produce the effects above stated.

Sixth. That it is our wish to promote peace and concord, and whatever we can safely surrender, to our old side brethren, for peace and quietness sake, we feel disposed to do it. But the liberty of speech, and of the press, with the right to assemble peaceably and orderly, to discuss Church Government, or any other lawful subject, we may think proper to take up, is, what we cannot relinquish, to any human authority whatever.

E. HALL, *President.*

John Haughton, *Secretary.*

Cincinnati, July 10th, 1828.

REMARKS

ON

A REPORT

OF THE LATE

GENERAL CONFERENCE,

IN REPLY TO

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

BY ASA SHINN.

CINCINNATI.

WHETSTONE & BUXTON, PRINTERS.

1829.

REMARKS.

A small pamphlet has been lately published in Cincinnati, entitled "A report of the committee on petitions and memorials, adopted, we believe, without a dissenting vote, by the late General Conference, on motion of the Rev. Asa Shinn." The title page of this pamphlet is so printed, as, at first view, to hold forth "the Rev. Asa Shinn" as its author. His name stands, in large letters, in the position in which an author's name usually stands on a title page, as though he had voluntarily put his name there, or that it was placed there with his concurrence, as an agent of the General Conference. This seems to call for some explanation.

It is true, that on the floor of the General Conference he moved the adoption of that report, and is glad, unto the present day, that it was adopted, and is now published, as the report of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Not that he concurred in all its sentiments, but because its erroneous doctrines are easily refuted, and because it contains some concessions in principle, of great importance, which now go abroad under the full sanction of that high authority. He knew it was to no purpose to move for any amendment in the report, or he would have made an effort to have had some of its prominent features expunged. He had become wearied with fruitless efforts of this kind, and thought it best, for the reasons just given, that the Conference should adopt the whole report without debate; and he accordingly moved its adoption. He was pleased with the temperate manner of the report, and was one in sentiment with his brethren, that it would be injudicious to pass a rule, admitting lay representation, when it was not called for by a majority of the members, and when so large a body of them were opposed to its introduction.

He intended giving his views of this document, and his reasons for moving its adoption, in a short time after the close of the Conference; but a sad and overwhelming affliction prevented the execution of this design, and left him to mourn through many days and nights of melancholy sadness and despondency. Nor does he now intend to enter into the subject with that intensity and solicitude, which accompanied his former labours, and which he views as a chief cause of his late afflictions. A wish and expectation to accomplish too much in a short time, gives rise to an extravagance of mental effort, undue solicitude for success, great anxiety of anticipation, and proportionable grief in disappointment. This has

them, your scripture proofs are to be expounded by us, and we are under a moral obligation not to permit this authority to be controlled by others; therefore no proof can be valid, but according as it may be expounded by us, who alone are divinely authorized to decide what it does, and what it does not prove.

That the ministry are bound in duty "to preach the gospel, administer its ordinances, and maintain its moral discipline," we admit; but it appears plain to us that the private members have an equal right, both to judge of the doctrines of the gospel, and to be co-workers with the ministry, in maintaining its moral discipline. As to our having natural rights, or acquiring them by becoming Christians, or Methodists, the distinction does not appear to be very essential to the subject. All christians have a right to read the Bible; and this right they have by nature and by Christianity: by nature because the Bible is the gift of God to all men; by Christianity, because our Saviour makes it the privilege and duty of all his disciples to search the Scriptures. Therefore when the Scriptures were taken from the laity, this was done in violation of the rights of nature and Christianity. So of the right to hear the gospel preached, and peaceably to assemble together to worship the living and true God. All men have a right by nature to worship God, and to do it in social assemblies; and so they have as Christians and as Methodists. Now when Christians find they need social rules to regulate their worship, unless those rules are furnished by their Divine Master, or by others acting under his authority, have they not a right by nature and Christianity, to form and establish these social rules for themselves?

If the ministry alone have this authority, whence did the ministry derive it? Do they inherit the right by nature? Did they acquire it, by becoming christians? Then all christians are sharers with them. Do they possess it ex-officio, as ministers, being divinely appointed thereto by the Redeemer, to the exclusion of all the private members of the church? This is assumed in the report, but it is not proved. And indeed the assumption appears to involve the General Conference in a fearful responsibility; for if ministers, in virtue of being moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the gospel, are bound in conscience to exercise all the rights contended for in the report, how dare the General Conference forbid three thousand local ministers to exercise their divine rights, or put it out of their power to perform the ministerial functions enjoined on them by the force of a moral obligation? If a divine call be the ground of ministerial claim to be exclusive "expounders and administrators," local ministers have it; if a regular and valid ordination be the ground, they have that also: and who will say that itinerating alone, not only gives a title to such divine prerogatives, but also gives authority to take them away from thousands of ministers, merely because they do not itinerate? What exposition of the Holy Scriptures will ever support a claim like this?

These things are stated, not in opposition to our travelling plan, but in proof that its institution was solely a matter of expediency, and that an attempt to found its existing authorities upon the claim of divine right, will involve the connection in difficulties and inconsistencies from which there will be no escaping.

It is said in the report, "We claim no strictly legislative powers; in a proper sense, they are not strictly applicable to our General Conference. We certainly exercise no civil legislation. As to the moral code, we have no power to add to, to take from, to alter, or to modify, a single item of his statutes." This is an important concession, and we are glad it has gone abroad under the authority of the General Conference. If they can neither "add to, take from, alter, or modify, a single item of his statutes," it follows, as we have before argued, that all the legislative power the church has, is to make such prudential regulations as are necessary to maintain, or carry into effect, the essential laws of Christianity. This is a truth of immense importance, and it is presumed many on both sides, in this investigation, have cause to weigh it more maturely than has yet been done. Whether the rules of the church are made by ministers or members, or by both together, they have not the nature and force either of civil or moral statutes. All their authority is derived from the laws of Christianity, and consequently, when not founded thereon, they ought to be rejected as a nullity.

Then why complain, that this small authority is exercised by the General Conference? why such zeal to introduce into that body, local and lay representatives and legislators? A high zeal on this subject has often arisen, I have no doubt, from erroneous and extravagant notions of the authority of church legislation. And it would be well for reformers to moderate and correct their notions on this subject. But it is not enough for the General Conference merely to *tell* us they do not make any higher claim, and will not exercise any higher legislation than this: the church wants some *security*, that no laws will be passed, interfering with civil liberty, or unsupported by divine revelation. If a church constitution were established, unalterable except with the concurrence of the people, binding the General Conference to the principles conceded in the report, the desire for lay representation might be greatly moderated. But there is no such constitution; and in vain may any General Conference promise not to exceed the limits specified in the report; because "they can only speak for themselves; they know not what may be the views of those who may come after them." They know not what may be the views of the next General Conference; for they have no security that any of themselves will compose it.

Their claim of being the only "divinely authorized expounders and administrators," seems to embody all legislative, judicial and executive authority in the church. If all this has been divinely ap-

pointed, and conferred on the ministry, the members of course must submit to all their expositions, and laws, and executive operations, or renounce the authority of the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls. This "claim of right, can not, we think, have been sustained."

A body of rulers disposed to make such claims, ought to have some check upon their official proceedings; and if a lay representation be thought too difficult and inexpedient, why not have constitutional provisions established, prohibiting the passage of any rule, which would "add to, alter, or modify," the standing laws of our Divine Master? Have not some such rules been already enacted by the General Conference? "Let him who has the charge of the circuit, exclude them, (in the church) shewing that they are laid aside for a breach of our rules of discipline, and not for immoral conduct." Does not this give our rules of discipline equal authority to "exclude" members from the church, that the divine laws themselves possess? and what is this, but "adding to his statutes?"

The reason given in the report, to justify the high claim of the General Conference, and to distinguish it from a despotism, is, that the members have a right to expatriate themselves. "The right of ecclesiastical expatriation, from any one branch of the Christian church, to any other which may be preferred, for grave causes, we have never denied. Nor can we keep, nor are we desirous to keep, any man subject to our authority, one moment longer than it is his own pleasure."

It is true, the private members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the dissatisfied ministers thereof, have no power, and no authority, to compel the General Conference to modify its government, either by admitting lay representation, or by consenting to establish a just constitution. We thought heretofore they might possibly be persuaded to do it voluntarily, by being convinced of its propriety; but if their answer, contained in this report, be decisive, and final, the alternative only remains, to resign ourselves to all the above mentioned claims of authority, or to take the course of "ecclesiastical expatriation." If we may withdraw from one branch of the Christian church to another, this supposes the church has authority to divide herself into different branches: of course Methodist reformers have as good a right to form themselves into a new branch, as any body of Christians had in former times, and even as the Methodist Episcopal Church had, in the days of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury. The reason we did not withdraw to another branch of the Christian church was, that the other existing branches of the church, in our country, differ from our views of doctrine, and from our views of the most excellent way of social worship and discipline. In these things we are Methodists. We long thought we might stay and labour with them during life; but the last General Conference has officially told us we can withdraw; and has officially sanctioned the administration

of inferior tribunals, who know how to show us the door, if we refuse to go voluntarily. To your tents O Israel! If you will go of your own accord, you may; if you will not, you shall be driven as far hence into the wilderness as excommunicating authority can drive you.

These things are not said with any bitterness, brethren. My mind is placid and affectionate, towards all my old friends and fellow labourers, in the membership and the ministry. This serious subject ought to be viewed with mildness. It is certain we have no right to expatriate ourselves from the church of Christ. This right the Report does not say we have; but only that of removing from one branch of the Christian church to another. Now, as there was no other branch of the church in this country, with whom we could agree in doctrine, or in modes of social and religious exercises, why should we be blamed for wishing to stay where we were, and trying to obtain what, in our view, would be wholesome and necessary modifications of the existing government? In such a case, as christians have no right to expatriate themselves from the church of Christ entirely, or abandon the ordinances and social devotions thereof, what alternative remained, but to wait until all efforts to obtain a change should be found unavailing, or until we could remove in a body, and become a branch of the Christian church ourselves? But alas! when arrangements are made thus to withdraw, we are alarmed with the cry that the wolf is coming to devour the sheep, and that souls are in danger of being lost by hundreds or by thousands. And yet the Report says "The right of ecclesiastical expatriation we have never denied—nor are we desirous to keep any man subject to our authority, one moment longer than it is his own pleasure!" In what way are souls in danger of being lost, by withdrawing from the Methodist Episcopal Church? If we are not desirous to keep them a moment longer than it is their own pleasure to stay, and if the members have a right to expatriate themselves from this branch of the Christian church, as well as from others, how are they in danger of losing their souls, by doing what the General Conference tells them they have a "right" to do? Does the danger arise from their being scattered? Then let them not scatter themselves, but use all prudential measures to become properly embodied, upon Christian principles. Does it arise from their want of the means of grace, and a pastoral oversight? Then let those ministers who are one with them in sentiment, see to it, that they shall be properly taken care of, that their souls may not be lost. Shall we urge them to withdraw individually, in a scattered condition, expel those who refuse to do so, and when they attempt to embody themselves, forbid our ministers to communicate the bread of life, by preaching the everlasting gospel to them? What course could we take that would more obviously indicate a disposition to accomplish, if possible, the eternal destruction of their souls? Will christian men and christian ministers do

all this, and then persuade themselves that the whole of the "awful responsibility" rests some where else? Will they raise a pathetic and warning voice, concerning the danger of destroying souls, and then drive souls away from the fold by dozens or by scores, and do their utmost to prevent them from ever having another fold, in which to worship their God and Saviour? How have the poor sheep been driven out of the "enclosure," both in Baltimore and Cincinnati, and what persevering efforts have been used, to hinder them from taking care of themselves as christian people, and to hinder the ministers of God from taking care of them!

As to the *cause* of their expulsion, the subject will shrink from an impartial examination. There was no law forbidding them to form Union Societies, or forbidding them to patronize a periodical, on the subject of church government; and why should they be expelled without law? And besides, if law was violated by hundreds, and violated exactly in the same way by all, why was a selection made for expulsion, and others who were known to be equally culpable, left to continue in the church, as innocent unoffending members? In Cincinnati, for example, fourteen were selected and expelled, for belonging to a Union Society, and for patronizing the Mutual Rights; when more than two hundred were passed by without arraignment, who were publicly known to be equally liable to the same charges. Those brethren acted an honorable part, in resolving to go with their associates who were thus violently driven away. This "ecclesiastical expatriation" was surely for a "grave cause" indeed. To have done otherwise than they did, would have been rather below the dignity of Christian Reformers. And what rational or religious ground there can be for the conclusion, that these people are in danger of losing their souls, by the course they have taken, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. Many of them, both male and female, are members of long and respectable standing in the church; they have long been esteemed as pious christians, and some of them have considerable weight of character and influence in general society. They are building a large commodious house of worship, which, it is expected, will be finished in April or May next; they attend to their official business with regularity; their prayer-meetings, class-meetings, and love-feasts, are well attended, and highly prized, as times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and their social and christian intercourse with each other is even more cordial than it was prior to their "ecclesiastical expatriation." Now we think it requires no extraordinary reach of charity, to believe that these people are in as fair a way for the Kingdom of Heaven, as they were when under the protection of the episcopacy. They are Methodists in every particular as they were before, excepting their having retired from under the influence of episcopal, or exclusive ministerial authority. They are a loving and an honorable society of Christian people. They possess intellectual, moral,

and religious weight of character. They are respectable for number, and have sufficient pecuniary strength to sustain themselves. I have attended several of their class-meetings, in which I found the fervent exercise of Christian piety, and the true spirit of old Methodism. I attended their love-feast, one of the most excellent of its kind, at the close of which they received into their society twenty-two new members, fourteen of whom were new converts who had never belonged to any religious denomination. Now, for God's ministers to neglect this people, and refuse to preach the gospel to them, would, I think, be barbarous and unchristian; and would evince more of the spirit of sectarian bigotry, than a true evangelical concern for the salvation of the immortal souls of men.

The next thing we bring into view from the Report has reference to liberality. It says "We have been charged with wishing to suppress free inquiry, and with denying to our ministers and members the liberty of speech and of the press. But the charge we wholly disavow. Our ministers and members, of every class, are entitled to the full liberty of speech and of the press, equally with any other citizens of the United States." This is another concession of great importance, for the sake of which the motion was made, for the Report to be adopted.

But if this liberty of speech and of the press is allowed to our ministers and members, "equally with any other citizens of the United States," how is it that ministers and members have been expelled for not giving up the Mutual Rights? Merely because the work is a *periodical?* This seems to be implied in the terms proposed by the General Conference, for the restoration of peace. But surely citizens of the United States have as much authority to issue a periodical publication, as to enjoy the liberty of the press in any other way whatever. Was it merely because this work was inflammatory, or because its name was obnoxious? Then why did the General Conference propose "that no other *periodical* publication be devoted to the same controversy." The Conference did not assume the right to require this; but what did the inferior tribunals require in their process of expulsions? And what connection has "unchristian railing and violence" with a *periodical*, any more than with any other kind of publication? If our brethren who are in favour of the present government issue periodicals, and also publish articles or essays in them that are anonymous, of which so much has been said, we can surely do the same; because they tell us we have equal liberty of the press with themselves, or with any other citizens of the United States.

The Report says the rule in our discipline, which some have called "the gag law," "never was intended to suppress such freedom of inquiry, or to deny such liberty of speech and of the press;" but to prevent "*inveighing* against our doctrines or discipline in the sense of unchristian railing and violence." Then why is not the

rule so amended as to say this in express terms? If any of our members are clearly convicted of endeavouring to sow dissentions, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, *with unchristian railing and violence*, let them be dealt with as the discipline directs. With this explicit amendment, I for one, would have no objection to the rule, or to its execution; for in this case the church would only forbid unchristian railing and violence: not the publication of a periodical, or any other publication. Nor could she demand the surrender or recantation of any matter, consistent with her articles, but that precisely which should be found to contain unchristian railing and violence. How ridiculous to condemn, and demand the surrender of, four octavo volumes, when all the matter in them which could be "clearly convicted" of unchristian railing and violence, could probably be contained on a very few pages! Why not expunge the unchristian and violent matter, and let the innocent go free? If there was not something to dread in this publication, more than its vehement railing, different measures, we think, would have been pursued by prosecutors and administrators.

As to the difficulty and inexpediency of lay delegates travelling from all parts of the continent to attend General Conference, it is owned that the objection has some considerable weight. But has it much more weight than a like objection which might be urged against our present plan? How extremely difficult and inexpedient is it, for a hundred ministers to leave their pastoral charges, for two or three months: for them to leave their circuits and stations without preaching, without the ordinances, and without a pastoral oversight, for nearly a quarter of the year; to expose themselves to sickness and fatigue, and to burden the church with the expense of their long journeys to the seat of the General Conference? If there were no local preachers to supply our lack of service in such seasons, the people would be apt to feel his burden, until they would begin to think aloud upon the subject. If half the number were lay delegates, so much ministerial service, by one half, would not be lost to the circuits and stations, at the time of General Conference. Will not this consideration almost make the balance even, with regard to inexpediency? Indeed, on either plan, if the church had a good constitution, there would be no occasion for a General Conference to meet oftener than once in seven years. Look at the new editions of the discipline; and how exceedingly small do we find the business to be, that has been done by any one General Conference since the year 1808. And why need 80 or 100 men travel hundreds of miles every four years, to look at the discipline three or four weeks, and then to go their way and leave it as it was before?

I must own, it is the settled conviction of my understanding, that a church constitution is a matter of far more importance than the subject of a lay representation; and such a constitution probably

could be formed, as would entirely supersede the necessity of such a measure. If a constitution, which the legislature, of itself, could not alter, should sufficiently guard the just privileges of every one, by rightly limiting the legislative authority, it would not be a matter of much consequence whether the General Conference should be composed exclusively of ministers or not. If the travelling preachers would attentively look into the subject, I am persuaded they would become convinced, that such a constitution could be formed, as would satisfy the people, secure the itinerancy, and maintain all the christian privileges and prerogatives of the teachers and pastors of the flock.

The Report complains, that "attempts have been made to excite against us the jealousy and suspicion of statesmen and politicians, and of the constituted authorities of the civil government. This low stratagem we have always regarded as peculiarly devouring the rebuke of every generous mind, even among our opponents: and we cannot believe otherwise, than that it had its origin either in some distempered mind or some perverted heart."

We have not represented the Methodist Episcopal church as being more liable to become ambitious, by becoming large and powerful, than other churches would be under like circumstances.—That ecclesiastical power, in all ages, when held exclusively in the hands of the ministry, has made encroachments on civil liberty, is a historical fact which will not be denied; and why men should be charged with distempered minds and perverted hearts, for regarding the warning voice of history, and for supposing that Methodist ministers are men of like passions with others, we cannot easily perceive. In a late report of a committee of the Senate of the United States, on the subject of conveying the mails on Sundays, it is said, "All religious despotism commences by combination and influence: and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequences." Now if we have sometimes said something analagous to this, when speaking of the high powers of our ecclesiastical government, and the "tremendous tendency of power to accumulation," it was not to excite the jealousy and suspicion of statesmen, farther than in reason they ought to be excited: that is, to keep a watchful eye upon the movements of all ecclesiastical bodies, and especially on those that are the most formidable in authority, influence and numbers. Would Methodists be willing that the Presbyterian church, or any other, should some time or other, by combination and influence, make the civil power bend under it? And why should reformers "deserve the rebuke of every generous mind," for supposing that Methodist ministers are not less liable to temptation than others, and that the Itinerancy ought to be kept from "operating upon the political institutions of a country," as well as any other ecclesiastical body? Cautions

of this kind, when spoken in reference to Methodists, do not deserve the name of a "low stratagem," any more than if they referred to Presbyterians or Roman Catholics. Do our opponents suppose that all generous minds will take for granted, that Itinerant ministers, in all their generations, are, and will be, essentially more pure than other ministers, and that the very possibility of their ever becoming corrupt, and forming designs hostile to civil liberty, must be denied and spurned at with indignation? This would seem to imply that they do indeed think themselves the divinely instituted, and even the infallible ministry.

The Report gives some account of our labours in the cause of reform, and exultingly observes, "Yet, after all these exertions, the great body of our ministers, both travelling and local, as well as of our members, perhaps not much if any short of one hundred to one, still oppose their wishes. This we believe to be the result of a firm and deliberate attachment to our existiug institutions and economy;—an attachment which we have the happiness of believing to be increased, rather than diminished, in proportion to the developement of the *details* of any *plans* which the memorialists have yet seen fit to exhibit."

Let not him that putteth on the harness boast, as him that putteth it off. A re-action may yet take place in the community, which our sanguine opponents never anticipated. That they have succeeded so far, in keeping the "great body" on their side, is very true; but that "great body" is not so strong, as to continue absolutely invulnerable through all succeeding years. We do not wish to control their agency, abridge their freedom of opinion, or deprive them of any good thing which they have ever received either from earth or heaven; but if we can convince them there is something wrong in their "existing institutions and economy" we are bound to do it, as a duty which "rests upon us with the force of a moral obligation."

That some, as the Report intimates, have attached themselves more firmly than ever to the existing system, we admit; and also that others, who were half reformers, both preachers and people, have now taken a very determined stand against us. Whether all this is to be accounted for, from conviction, from "ignorance," from fear, from party zeal, from our want of a "plan," or from some other cause, we need not now inquire. Perhaps all these things have had their influence, on minds of different construction. It may be reasonably supposed that many of the people cleave to the existing institutions, through fear, that we are intending to destroy the essentials of Wesleyan Methodism; but let them understand us, as they will after a while, and the soothing calculation of "one hundred to one," will probably have to be given up. Many of the pious members and ministers of our church have been standing still, and looking on;—anxious to ascertain whether the pure cause of religion is likely to be injured by the investigation. They wish

to know whether heaven will smile on the labours of Reformers;—whether we shall have any revivals, any conversions, any times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord;—and whether indeed, we are in good earnest to spread scripture holiness over these and other lands. Now such a pause as this, in the Methodist community, we deem truly honorable, and truly Christian. If Reformers have other ends in view, than those announced at the origin of Methodism, let them come to nought: but if we pursue the same ends, with truly Christian zeal, aiming only to lay aside a few maxims and rules of government, which we deem improper and dangerous, the community, after fully discovering our real objects, will be apt, we think, to sustain us; and the conclusions of our opponents will not be quite so triumphant as at present.

So much talk about the want of "a plan," seems really to imply that the Methodist Episcopal church has her foundation so ingeniously laid, that no ground can henceforth be occupied, on which to erect any other ecclesiastical edifice. Her broad foundations, it would appear, have covered the whole plat-form; and we must continue in her pales, or wander in the wilderness without house or home. Any thing like the beginning of "a plan," which we "develope," they begin to try to tear in pieces. And suppose we should set ourselves to scrutinize and criticise "the plan" laid down in the Methodist Discipline;—do you imagine we could find no weak places—no inconsistencies—no conflicting statutes, which could not be well reconciled with each other, or with the oracles of God? Alas!—let us look at home, before we say too much about the weakness and blunders of other legislative bodies.

That the Conventional Articles, lately agreed on by our brethren who assembled in Baltimore, are defective, must be admitted. Let our opponents point out their defects, as fully and intelligibly as they can:—those Articles are temporary; they are not a constitution; the authors of them were not appointed to form a constitution; they are only intended as articles of association for two years from the time of their passage.

Much rhetorical declamation has been published upon those Articles, and upon the body that formed them, as being hastily gotten up, without any proportionate representation. Look at the expulsions at Baltimore; then at the proceedings of the General Conference; then at the expulsions in Cincinnati; then at the strong and determined efforts made in all directions to crush us; and who can be surprised that the Reformers, who had not been intending or preparing for a separate establishment, and who were authoritatively taken by surprize at every point, should find themselves unprepared to devise an unexceptionable "plan," at their first hurried attempt, and in the midst of such surrounding and formidable opposition? But our opposing brethren have no cause to complain; for the first Article adopts all that is excellent in the Methodist discipline; and why cannot the Associated Churches be

governed by that excellent discipline, without being under the control of the Episcopacy? Why can they not take all that is excellent, and only leave out those authoritative principles of clerical rule, which they deem irreconcileable with the clear statements of the New Testament, concerning the ancient church government, as planted and established by the apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Will they not be as safe under this discipline as they were before? or will nothing but the control of the itinerant, "divinely instituted ministry," make their religious condition secure?

The old church, we are told, are making up their lost numbers, with great ease and complacency. "Be it so." If, however, they think to convince the community, that the Methodist Episcopal Church has really monopolized all the "effusions of the Holy Spirit," such arrogance may yet meet with a mortifying rebuke; and some unexpected reaction may peradventure turn their joy into mourning. "Be not high minded, but fear." Mr. "C." in the Itinerant, concludes his long and humorous arguments, in an exulting style; but if he and his brethren have determined, as he tells us in his conclusion, "to go back to first principles," he may probably expect to find, even after having "escaped from the storm," that Reformers are not yet done with first principles. The cause of reform, he may be well assured, is not hung upon the Conventional Articles; they may be given to the moles and to the bats, if they are good for nothing else; and it will be yet proved, that an unconstitutional and irresponsible itinerancy is not essential to a good wholesome church discipline, and even not essential to the excellency and utility of the discipline we have already. If Reformers can do no better, they can take most of this discipline as it is, only expunging a few gag-laws, and putting in a few checks upon legislative and executive authority. If nothing more was done, than to establish in the constitution, the principles conceded in the present Report of the General Conference, the improvement would be of very great importance, and would go very far towards restoring peace, and quieting the minds, even of the Radicals themselves. How much better would it be, for our opposing brethren to consider how much they could do to quiet "the disaffected," and how easily it could be done in perfect accordance with their own safety and honor, than to go on with their pitiful expulsions, and "low stratagems," to keep us from bringing our views before the Methodist public. We would rejoice to live in peace with them, and be one people with them; but they have officially said we shall either expatriate ourselves, or be expelled. There seems therefore to be no alternative; and we must do the best we can. We do not intend to be idle; but while they glory in their *numbers*, and the multiplication of their new recruits, we will still examine the principles of their government, and speak till we shall have a hearing.

The Report recommends for us either to be silent, or to withdraw from the church. "Expatriation," it says, "either civil or ecclesiastical, may be painful, and attended with sacrifices. But we should certainly think it preferable to perpetual internal war. If our brethren can live in peace with us, in Christian bonds, we shall sincerely rejoice, and be cordially happy in their society and fellowship. But we entreat them not to keep us embroiled in perpetual strife."

If by "perpetual strife" be meant angry contentions and bitter controversies, they ought indeed to be carefully avoided; whether we belong to the same or to different branches of the Christian church; but that fair investigation, or mild controversy, may be innocently carried on among christians, we presume will not be denied. And why not as well in one branch of the church as in another? Why must every difference of opinion produce a new branch of the church? The controversy will not thereby be terminated, and perhaps not become tempered with any more moderation.

However, be this as it may, our brethren have decided the matter: they have very formally, and officially, spoken to the church and to the world, that if we will not voluntarily withdraw, we shall be expelled. It only remains then for us to make up our minds, whether we will wait till we shall be arraigned, and pass through the expelling process, or peaceably retire, and search for new quarters. In such a dilemma, the latter course will probably be attended with the least sacrifice of peaceful feeling, and of Christian confidence; and therefore may be viewed as a more desirable mode of being separated from our brethren than the former; as expatriation is not likely to be attended with so great sacrifices, as transportation.

My dear reforming brethren, if we must do this, let us seriously reflect and inquire in what spirit it ought to be done. If we have to go away from our old friends and Christian associates weeping, let us look back at them with a smile of brotherly love, and pray to heaven, that our confidence in them may not be much impaired; but that we may still delightfully own them, as an elder branch of the one great family of our all sufficient Redeemer, who will ultimately cause the several branches of his church to mingle into one, that there may be one fold and one Shepherd. For them to drive us away from our old home, and then to throw every difficulty in our way they can, to hinder us from providing a house for ourselves, as too many of them seem disposed to do, is a course of conduct not easily reconciled with Christian dignity; but we may expect it to be persevered in, and we have great cause to guard against the spirit of retaliation and animosity. They say go your way; but go empty handed: you shall have no share in any of those houses which have been built with your own money; and if you build houses of worship for yourselves, our ministers shall not

be allowed to preach the gospel to you: you shall be represented as anarchists, restless spirits, and back-sliders; and if abuse and injustice can accomplish it, you shall be made to back-slide, that you may be scattered to the ends of the earth, and no longer stand in the way of "the divinely instituted ministry," lest peradventure you should hinder the Episcopal Methodists from "taking the world." This appears to be the practical language of their course. They first tell us we ought to expatriate ourselves, and when we do so, they immediately cry out come back; and if multiplied efforts can discourage a few, and cause them to come back, lest the new church should come to nothing, and they should lose their souls, this circumstance is magnified and published abroad with great triumph and exultation. Prophecies abound, that we shall all "soon come to nothing;" and these things are said on purpose to bring about the event that is predicted, by discouraging the minds of reformers, whether in or out of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and causing them to act upon the implied assumption, that out of this branch of the Christian church, there can be no salvation.

These things ought not so to be. But we must pray for patience, Christian charity, and resignation. If they can sustain themselves in such a course, and keep the community in their favour, "one hundred to one," they will have exhibited an example of singular ingenuity, and will have given a new practical demonstration, that man is not as capable of self-government as we once imagined. The plain reason why thousands upon thousands are so easily kept firm in the old ranks, is because they are so easily kept from inquiring into the subject. Some thousands of them have probably never read the Methodist discipline itself, since they were born into the world; and who can suppose they will be at the trouble, and expose themselves to the hazard, of reading the Mutual Rights, or any other publication of the restless and back-sliding Radicals.

We also, as well as the General Conference, "confess ourselves among the number of those, who, with statesmen and jurists, as well as divines, maintain that even a despotic government is preferable to a state of unbridled anarchy." That the Reformers, or Radicals, are in danger of indulging loose notions on the subject of government, is very probable, from the constant tendency of human nature to run from one extreme to another; and I heartily wish that the admonitions of their opponents may set them on their guard. If they should establish a loose democracy, they will come to nothing; and I for one would sooner live under a despotic government, than under a wretched system of confusion and anarchy. But to represent that there is no medium between the two, or that all attempts to find that medium, are "visionary and impracticable," we must view as a "low stratagem," intended to serve certain sectarian and party purposes. We have eighteen months before us, in which to mature the subject; and it is hoped

that in the year 1830, something more generally satisfactory will appear, than the present Conventional Articles. These Articles, however, are far from sanctioning a state of unbridled anarchy; for they have adopted most of the rules now contained in the Methodist Discipline. Doctor "C's" flourish upon the subject is not deserving much attention: his fears, which he tells us "were instantly dissipated" upon perceiving the "anti-republican" appearance of the Articles, may possibly be roused into action again, after all the exulting placidity of his conclusions.

Three things especially deserve the attention of our reforming brethren every where. First, the necessity of maturing constitutional principles, in view of the Convention to be held in the fall of 1830. This subject should be well considered, that all may have just views of what they ought to do as delegates, or to sanction as constituents. And let it never be forgotten, that two extremes are to be avoided; that of despotism on the one hand, and that of anarchy on the other.

Secondly, the necessity there is, for us carefully to guard against a sectarian spirit. We ought to love every branch of the church of Jesus Christ, and take pleasure in owning them as fellow disciples of our one only Lord and Master. Ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church particularly, should have our special regard and confidence: not only on account of our general agreement in sentiment, worship and discipline, but on account of their great zeal and activity in the cause of our gracious Redeemer. If they cast us off, and withhold their confidence from us, may God help us to walk humbly and lovingly in their presence, until we shall convince them that we do not deserve such treatment at their hands.

Thirdly, we should well consider that the great end of all Christian discipline, of all forms and rules of church government, is the promotion of pure and undefiled religion. We should keep the subject always connected with its end, that our studies thereon may not be injurious, but beneficial to our spirits, in our journey to our Heavenly Father's kingdom. Discipline is necessary to promote social devotion, and this contributes to an increase of every grace and fruit of the Spirit, and to our fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. If reformers and anti-reformers labour to be a holy people—if they worship God in the spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh—if they are led by the Spirit of God into all truth, and into all joy and peace in believeing—if they labour for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life, leaving the things that are behind, and striving to go on unto perfection—it will be impossible for them to continue far apart from each other. They will joyfully discover that their different views on church government, have not hindered them from striving together for the faith of the gospel, and for the recovery of lost sinners, unto Him who died the just for

the unjust, that he might bring us to God, and replenish the many mansions of his Father's house.

In conclusion, I have two requests to make of my beloved friends of all sides, and in all places: first, to join with me in offering up unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, for my happy recovery from my late sad afflictions. Secondly, to pray for me, that He may abundantly sanctify the events of his providence to my spiritual good, that I may be a more humble, holy christian, and a more faithful minister of Jesus Christ, than I have been in any former period of life.

A. SHINN.

Cincinnati, February 28, 1829.

APPENDIX.

As the General Conference has now recommended, and the inferior tribunals have resolved, that there shall be two Methodist churches, it becomes necessary to inquire how they ought to act towards each other. They so exactly agree in doctrine, worship and moral discipline, that they might be expected to love as brethren, and rejoice in each other's success in cultivating the vineyard of our one common Saviour, and in promoting the common salvation. This would be the case if the seed of the serpent had no influence among us, and if we had no other end in view, than to watch over one another in love, that we might help each other to work out our salvation. If this pure principle of old Methodism were held sacred, and if we had no by-ends to accomplish by our sectarian operations, what occasion should we have to quarrel with each other, because we cannot see alike upon principles of government, and the mode of its administration? Some say, the nearer two churches are alike, the more they will oppose each other. Lord pity human nature, if this be the truth! for it can only be accounted for by supposing the churches are governed by some selfish sectarianism, instead of keeping singly in view the glorious end announced by Mr. Wesley, at the origin of our societies. We ought to rejoice and give glory to God, that we agree in all essential points; and each society should try to come nearer and nearer to the other, in matters of government, until we shall be prepared to become one people again, and fully unite our energies to oppose the common enemy.

But our brethren appear to have different views of the subject. They have expelled local preachers and private members, by a very singular kind of process; they have expelled also, two travelling preachers; they have publicly accused other travelling preachers for their writings; and when we appealed to the public in self-defence, the Baltimore Annual Conference, it is said, refused to receive the defence when it was offered to them, gratis; and, to prevent our having any hearing, enjoined on their members not to sanction or spread "those pamphlets" among the people, but on the contrary to suppress them, and have us condemned without a hearing. If the "divinely instituted ministry" think all this is honorable for their cause, and well calculated to please the people, we must leave them to enjoy their conclusions, and the community to judge and act concerning them, according to its views of justice and propriety.

They seem very confident of the public patronage, and even publish it abroad, that our expulsion and secession has contributed to their success. In Baltimore it is said vast numbers have joined the society, and with all the expulsions and expatriations, there has been an increase of members in the Methodist Episcopal church. It is said also that she has a neat increase in Cincinnati. And lately a feminine argument has gone abroad, in proof that nothing was wanting in Zanesville, but for the Radicals to be removed out of the way, in order for souls to be converted, and for great accessions to be made to the old establishment in that place. Now if all this be so, one would suppose none of them would wish any of the Reformers ever to "come back again," but rather that they would be urgent for them all to leave the church in every direction, that new revivals might be multiplied, and souls by hundreds be gathered into the fold. Yet we find they rejoice whenever they see a few Radicals "come back," and complain greatly, at the time of their departure, that we are scattering the sheep, and rending the flock of Christ. They say it is right for Christ to have several branches to his church; that our making a new branch actually is a means of increasing their numbers; and yet we hear "loud complaints," on account of our using the liberty of speech and of the press, and acting upon the "indefeisible right of ecclesiastical expatriation." Whereunto shall we liken the men of this generation? Are they not like children sitting in the market place? According to their account of the matter, it would appear, that whenever they grow languid in their religious operations, we ought if we can, to prevail upon two or three hundred Reformers to withdraw, and then they will soon be roused to action, have abundant revivals, and add to the church daily such as shall be saved.

Whether all who are added, are in a fair way to be saved, may however be justly doubted. The Methodist doors were standing wide enough open, for the reception of members, before the secessions began. It is probable our brethren will now be tempted to open them still wider, that they may keep in possession of the favorite argument, that *numbers* are an indubitable proof of heaven's "seal" upon their Episcopal government. They would do well to be careful, however, lest some of their new recruits should prove to be no advantage to their church, and no honor to the Christian name.

Far be it from us to discourage revivals: but the practice of making them a sectarian handle, and an excuse for bigotry, we cannot admire. To say with one breath, that there are several branches of the church of Christ, in any of which the members may find their way to eternal life, and with the next to say that souls are in danger of being lost, merely by leaving the Methodist Episcopal establishment, to go to another branch of the Christian church, is a selfish inconsistency which ought to be indignantly rejected by an enlightened, religious, and Protestant community.

A FEW REMARKS,

IN DEFENCE OF PERSONAL CHARACTER, PRINCIPALLY.

BY JOHN P. DURBIN.

PREFACE.

THE following pages are not intended to discuss the controversy, between Reformers and the M. E. Church. They are principally devoted to the defence of my personal character, in reference to two publications, in the "Mutual Rights," Baltimore: the one written by Mr. JOHN HAUGHTON, lumber-merchant,—the other by Mr. WILLIAM YOUNG, shoe-maker; both resident in Cincinnati; and both preachers in the Associate Methodist Church, which has lately seceded from the Methodist E. Church in that city. Mr. Haughton publishes me, *indirectly, and by inference*, as being the cause of the death of the late Dr. BISHOP. Mr. Young publishes me, INDIRECTLY, *for a breach of promise*. The reader will see these charges in the pieces which follow this preface. I feel deeply mortified, in being under the necessity of thus appearing in my own defence; and the more so, since I am compelled to make a defence in reference to *such* humiliating charges. By this necessary defence of my personal reputation, and, by consequence, the reputation of the church to which I belong, I hope, and presume, I shall not alienate, in the least, my former friends in general, and scarcely Messrs. Haughton and Young. They themselves will allow, that I ought to take care of my character, since they have been zealous for their own. As the *boldness* of Mr. Haughton, in thus publishing these things to the world, may induce some readers to suppose, that Dr. Bishop gave some occasion for his remarks, I think it necessary to apprise the reader, that Dr. Bishop and myself were *constant friends*, and we never had a jar in word or feeling, to my knowledge. The reader will better understand this, from the following fact: In a conversation, between Mr. Haughton and myself, March 12th, at Mr. John Wood's, in the presence of Miss Maria Wood; I asked Mr. Haughton, among other questions, *who* gave him his information, which he published in connexion with my name? He answered, Dr. Bishop. I asked him, if Dr. Bishop gave him to understand, that he imputed any evil intentions to me, as the mover of the motion? He answered, he did *not:* but remarked, that you had no ill motives in offering the resolution; but *you* did not see its bearing: others did, and caught it immediately. I was quite surprised at the frankness of Mr. Haughton's answer. But I presume he was aware that Dr. Bishop had uniformly stated the affair in the same way, and to different persons, as the reader will see. I also asked Mr. Haughton, if he had read the remarks to his society before he published them? He answered, he did. At this I was very much astonished; for I feared they had approved them *unwittingly*.

I stated to Mr. Haughton, during the conversation, that if I were to act from the *impulse of feeling*, from such treatment, I should from that moment be an enemy to Reformers. But that I did not, and should not so act. I was still, *in principle*, what I always had been. That he knew I could not justify the *measures* which were used to obtain a reform; and that this was my constant declaration, and the principle on which I had always acted.

From the few remarks which I could hear in Cincinnati, I had reason to believe, *that Dr. Bishop did not blame the* MOTIVES *of the Conference*, in passing the resolution, mentioned in his letter to Mr. Wright, and in the following pages. I, therefore, called on a particular friend of Dr. Bishop, a gentleman of unquestionable respectability, for information. (☞ If the gentleman's name is demanded, by denying the facts *publicly*, I am ready to give it.) He gave me the following statement,—viz: "That he had heard Dr. Bishop say repeatedly, he did not impute any improper motives to the mover of the resolution,

mentioned in his letter to Mr. Wright; nor did he impute any ill design to the Conference, in voting the motion. He said the Conference intended the motion *to amount only to an expression of their wishes*, AS A REQUEST, AND NOT AS A PROHIBITION. That they did not see its bearing at the time of passing it, or they never would have passed it." I then requested the gentleman to give me this statement in writing. He felt a little delicacy, and declined, until he should see Mrs. Bishop, and procure her consent. He called on Mrs. Bishop, and she willingly gave her consent to the above statement; as she had repeatedly heard the Dr. say the same. The gentleman then called on me, and gave me the account, which I wrote down in his presence, and read to him, in the presence of another gentleman, and he approved it. This information is very important to the people in Cincinnati. It may surprise them; but it does not surprise me. It is what I always believed, but could not procure proof of it before. The public from hence will see, that there was no foundation for publishing to the world, that the conference had laid a snare *knowingly* for Dr. Bishop. *Dr. Bishop did not so understand it.* He did believe that the resolution involved him in difficulty; but he did NOT believe that the CONFERENCE, *as a body, intended it to do so.* It is certain they did not. Dr. Bishop has stated that the *resolution afflicted him, from the bearing it had on him;* but he also admits *the Conference did not intend it to have such a bearing, nor to afflict him. Individuals* might have had such intentions, as Dr. Bishop repeatedly said to some friends; but not the Conference.

From my knowledge of Dr. Bishop, I am induced to believe, that the public is not in possession of his views, on the subject of Reform in the Methodist Church. I was intimately conversant with him on that subject, while I resided in Cincinnati, and since also; and I am assured that he did *not agree* with Reformers, *mainly, in sentiment.* He and myself never differed on the subject, upon a comparison of our views. He may have changed his views during the last few months of his life; but I have no *direct evidence* of it. I think it is due to the public to know directly *from him*, whether he *was one with Reformers, or not, in principle?* Is there any evidence, of this kind, which can be produced? Who ever heard Dr. Bishop say, that he agreed with Reformers in his views of church government. Until such evidence is produced, it cannot be certain that he did agree with them in sentiment on church government. Now, if he did not state distinctly, that he had changed his views, so as to accord with those of Reformers, the strong presumption is that he did not become a reformer *in principle.* I am aware that publications have appeared, which produce the impression, that Dr. Bishop agreed with Reformers in his views of church government. But these publications do not affirm, *directly*, that he did; they leave the reader *to infer* it from their statements. I should not be surprised if Dr. Bishop did change his opinions at the last, induced to do so by his peculiar feelings and situation. For he has frequently said to me, as many Reformers also, that *mal-administration* of our discipline was the cause of reform, and not a deficiency in our plan of government. This may be the fact. If so, we ought rather to correct the administration, and not reform the government? The *genius* of our government is good and correct. It may not be perfect in all its provisions. But its deficiencies will be remedied as time and occasion shall require. Let us then be patient and peaceful. Let us use all expedient means to find out, and remedy the defects in our government. But let us not forsake the fold, in which our forefathers and ourselves have been trained up for heaven.

AUGUSTA, KY. MARCH 24, 1829. J. P. DURBIN.

P. S. The prefixing the occupations of Messrs. Haughton and Young as lumber merchant, and shoe-maker, is intended entirely to distinguish them from others of the same name, and not as a term of reproach, as some might suppose. It occurred to me to write it in this way, because a gentleman in Cincinnati asked me which Mr. Young —the tobacconist? What Mr. Haughton —the lumber merchant? Far be it from me, to reproach any man for his occupation; in so doing I should also reproach myself.

J. P. D.

THE LATE DR. TRUMAN BISHOP.

John P. Durbin respectfully addresses the following remarks to his friends and acquaintances in the city of Cincinnati.

To do justice, and to give satisfaction, are the two principal duties we owe to our fellow men. Believing I have acted correctly, in reference to the transactions I am about to detail, it is now incumbent on me to make it appear to the satisfaction of my friends. This is imperiously necessary, because my name has recently been brought before the public, by Mr. John Haughton, in connexion with the lamented death of the late Dr. Bishop, in such a manner, as to produce a conviction, (as far as the statement is believed) that I was the cause of his death. This has been circulated in this city, in the village where I reside, and through most of the States of the Union. The statement is so manifestly incredible, that some of my friends have advised me not to notice it. I sincerely wish I could take their advice. Probably I could have done so, if I had not been accosted by an individual in the city thus: *I have just heard that you killed Dr. Bishop.* Another individual, I am informed, made the same remark in the church last Sunday evening. And a citizen in this place stated, that I was published all over the continent as the *cause* of the Doctor's death. After the circulation of this report, how odious must I appear to my former friends, and indeed to all who read it? Of all this I heard nothing distinctly, until I arrived in this city last Sabbath. Had Mr. Haughton, or any of Dr. Bishop's friends, asked of me an explanation of the transactions, how many pangs and mortifications would it have saved our common friends? What an occasion would it have cut off from our common enemies? Did not Christian charity require Mr. Haughton to give me notice of his intended publication, and thus afford me an opportunity to explain? I never gave Mr. Haughton cause of offence. I thought him a Christian brother, and held him as such. What then was his motive in making this public and personal attack on me? Was it to serve the cause of Reform at the expense of my reputation? I leave him to explain, and the reader to judge. But Mr. Haughton is not alone in this matter. A committee on the part of Reformers, in one of their publications, (in allusion to the resolution to which Mr. Haughton attributes, "mainly," Dr. Bishop's death) says, "A resolution was proposed to the Conference, by an individual of whom we had hoped better things," &c. Here, it appears to me, is an explanation of the whole affair. The Reformers in Cincinnati, knew that I had never taken sides with either party; that I had uniformly endeavored at reconciliation; that I had frequently defended their intentions, as being good, when I heard their motives questioned; that I had repeatedly stated, that I would concede many of their requests for peace sake; nay, so far did I go in my endeavors at reconciliation, that I was considered, by my brethren of the other side, as a *radical.* And it is known that I continued my endeavors at peace even when the last annual conference met. But when the rupture had taken place in the church here; when each member of the conference was bound to vote on the one side or the other, or shrink from his responsibility, I had the courage to vote according to my conscience. In the part which I took at the last Conference, they were disappointed; ("we hoped better things," say they,) and to this disappointment I attribute the attack and reflections.

As the resolution, which I offered at Conference, has been the ground of the report circulated to my injury, by Mr. Haughton;—and also was considered as a *snare* laid to entrap Dr Bishop—and as Dr. Bishop has stated in his letter to Mr. Wright, that it was the cause of his separation from the Church, I will here give the circumstances which led to the resolution, together with a copy of it. The reader then can judge of its propriety or impropriety. It is known to most readers, that the character of each member of an Annual Conference is submitted to an examination every year before the Conference. When Dr. Bishop's name was called, and the *common* question was asked by the President, "Is there any thing against brother Bishop?" the presiding Elder stated, that some of his brethren were grieved at the course he had pursued in Cincinnati, in respect to the rupture in that city; and considered it as a subject of *complaint*, and that they expected to hear something from brother Bishop on that matter, of which he had been notified. [Here, I wish the reader to recollect distinctly, that the Reformers are *incorrect* in their statement.

that *charges* were brought against brother Bishop. They certainly knew better. Some of his brethren *complained* of his course. The reader will recollect that *complaints* are not *charges* in the Methodist Church. *Charges* are proper subjects of formal trials. *Complaints* are subjects of explanation, brotherly advice, admonition, or reproof.] Brother Bishop then proceeded to make his statements at length. After he had done, the President asked the Conference, if brother Bishop should retire, in order that the vote might be taken on the *common* question—"Shall his character pass?" At this moment Mr. John Meek rose up and requested the privilege of asking brother Bishop one question. It was granted. He then asked brother Bishop, whether he intended to continue to officiate for the seceding brethren, *as a Body of Reformers*? (Mark the question, and then mark the reply.) He replied: "As to that matter, I shall be governed entirely, by the course of my brethren of this Conference." Brother Bishop then retired. After which a member of the Conference observed, that he had stated his intention to be governed by the course of his brethren, in respect to his officiating for the Reformers, and then asked, how he could know the course his brethren would pursue? In order, therefore, to put Dr. Bishop, and all others, in possession of the wishes of the Conference, Mr. G. R. Jones, and Mr. Russel Bigelow, offered the following resolution, in substance: Resolved, that this Conference, disapprove of brother Bishop's preaching for the Seceders in Cincinnati. [I make this statement of the resolution on the authority of a letter now before me from Mr. G. R. Jones, secretary of the Conference, dated January 8th, 1829. He examined the Journals at my request.] This resolution I *opposed* strenuously and constantly. I opposed it, because it was not sufficiently clear. It did not state *who* the Seceders were. It did not give the reason *why* the Conference wished brother Bishop not to serve them; and under this view seemed to forbid him to preach to his fellow men; which I well knew was not the intention of the movers. In my opposition to the resolution, I stated, that there was a wide difference, between a member of this Conference preaching for a congregation of his fellow men, *as fellow sinners;* and preaching for a *body of Reformers, associated together with the avowed intention to bring about a radical change in the government of the Church, of which the officiating minister was a member, but the body to which he preached were not.* I objected to the resolution, also, because in its face, it ascertained the body, (to whom the Conference did not wish Dr. Bishop to preach) under the title of "Seceders." I maintained, that any person or persons had a right to secede from any church, of which they were members, and embody themselves *for their religious instruction and edification*, under such regulations as they thought proper; and that when so embodied and organized, and *in peace and fellowship* with the sister churches in the country, they ought to be received and held as a branch of the general family of Christ, and any minister would do well to serve them when he could. I stated on the conference floor, that I would delight to preach for my seceding brethren, *so soon as they ceased their organized opposition* to the church of which I was a member. That I would be glad to do them service *as a body of Christians*, but that I could not preach for them, while seceding from the Church, *as a body of Reformers*, and making every effort to take with them all they could persuade. The Conference was informed, that many were inclined to go with the Seceders, *because* brother Bishop officiated for them. And they very justly concluded, that if Dr. Bishop served them, *under present circumstances*, it would have a tendency *to increase the rupture.* They, therefore, wished to express their desire to Dr. Bishop on this point. And I cannot believe that any one thought of laying any injunction on him, *by way of prohibition*, as the Reformers have published. The Conference did not think that he needed to be prohibited. I, however, thought that the resolution was expressed in language too strong, and not sufficiently explicit. The resolution above, therefore, was laid on the table, and Dr. Bishop's character passed. I then stepped to the secretary, and observed to him, if he would allow me a few minutes, I would produce a resolution which would be satisfactory to all, and would need no discussion. I then wrote the following resolution, and offered it to the Conference. "*Owing to the present state of excitement*, Resolved, that the President be requested to express to brother Bishop, the desire of this Conference, that he would not officiate for those who have lately seceded from the M. E. Church, *as a body of Reformers.*" It was distinctly stated on the Conference floor, that the resolution did not contemplate a *prohibition* at all. It only intended to put brother Bishop in possession of the wishes of the Conference, and leave him to act as he chose. And it was as distinctly stated, that the wishes of the Conference were found-

ed on the *present state of excitement*, and on the fact, that they were *a body associated, avowedly to change our church government.* The Conference thought, to officiate for them under these circumstances, was to assist their plans of reform. And does not every one see it in the same light?

The only question that remains, in order to show the propriety of the resolution, is this: Ought a minister, or member, of a church, to assist an opposite party, in pulling down the government of the Church to which he belongs? Certainly no more than the member of a family should assist his neighbour in destroying his own household. To this resolution there was no opposition. Those who spoke at all, said, they only wished brother Bishop to know the views of the Conference, and they were not particular in what way these views were communicated. Of course the resolution passed. Supposing that the secretary might record it, I rose, and asked—If it were necessary to put it on the journals; and added, that I did not intend it to go there, but only to be a VERBAL REQUEST, and that I hoped it would not go on the Journals. This is the true history of what Mr. Haughton calls the *fatal resolution.* I intended it as an act of friendship. The Conference intended it kindly. I never knew that Dr. Bishop was embarrassed by the resolution, until I saw his letter to Mr. Wright. And here let me ask the reader, if he can see in this *fatal resolution*, a ground for circulating, as Mr. Haughton has done, the following paragraph?

"But in an evil hour, a resolution was offered by Mr Durbin, and adopted by the Conference, in the form of a request, prohibiting Dr Bishop from preaching to those who on account of the late prosecutions in this city, had seceded from the church. To this fatal resolution was mainly attributable that result we so deeply deplore. In the opinion of both his friends and physicians, his mental sufferings largely and principally contributed to that entire prostration of his physical powers, which terminated in what may be partially considered an untimely death." This quotation is from the "Memoir of the Rev. Dr. T. Bishop," signed, JOHN HAUGHTON; and published in the Mutual Rights, Baltimore, February 5th, 1829. On this paragraph was founded the slanderous reports, mentioned in the commencement of these remarks.

I was very much surprised, that Mr. Haughton should produce, as collateral evidence in confirmation of this unprovoked aspersion of my character, "the opinion" of Dr. Bishop's physicians. I could not believe that they had authorized such a use of their "opinion," if they had indeed ever expressed it. I therefore called on Dr. Ramsay, and Dr. Smith, to learn from them, whether they had said any thing, respecting Dr. Bishop's afflictions, that would authorize the insertion of "the opinion of his physicians," as it stood in connexion with my name, and the resolution in the above paragraph. The following are some minutes of the conversation which passed between us. We were all three together at Dr. Smith's. I read the paragraph, and made the following remarks upon it:—You see, gentleman, that my name is placed at the head of this resolution, as its author. To the resolution, Mr. Haughton says, "was mainly attributable the result we so deeply deplore;" i. e. his death, certainly. I remarked, that the resolution could not affect Dr. Bishop in any other way than by producing *mental sufferings.* Hence, Mr. Haughton refers his mental sufferings to this resolution,—the resolution to me,—and his death to his mental sufferings. And thus, by a very easy transition, induces the reader to draw the conclusion, that *I* was the *cause* of his death. Here, "the opinion of his physicians" is introduced as collateral evidence; intended, evidently, to make their opinion and weight of character the means of stabbing my reputation more deeply. To my remarks both the physicians replied, that the writer has stated it in such a *manner* that it (meaning "the opinion of his physicians") might be interpreted differently; but that the natural inference, and plain construction of the remarks, taken in connexion as they stand in the paragraph, were as I stated: and that most readers, not in possession of the circumstances, would naturally draw the same conclusions. I then asked them, if they had made any statement respecting Dr. Bishop's illness, which would authorize the insertion of their "opinion," as it stood in connexion with the resolution and my name, in the paragraph? They both answered, unequivocally, NO. They both remarked, that they did not know, at the time of his illness, nor indeed until several weeks afterwards, that there was such a resolution. Dr. Ramsay stated, that he had not ascribed his mental sufferings to any *particular* circumstance; but, as far as he thought of it at all, to the interest he took, *in a general point of view*, in the late difficulties and agitations in the church in this station. Dr. Smith made the same statement, with this addition: That *any* subject, which agitated

his mind intensely, might have equally afflicted him, owing to the frail state of his health.

From the above conversation, it is evident, that "the opinion" of Dr. Bishop's physicians, as it stands in the paragraph, was inserted by Mr. Haughton without any warrant whatever. His physicians did believe, that his mind was agitated by the interest which he took in the affairs of the church in this city; and so much so as to contribute, materially, to the progress of his disease. I presume all who knew him, believed the same; I am sure I did. But did this warrant Mr. Haughton to fix the cause of his death on the resolution, and thus refer it directly to the Methodist Church? Every reader certainly, must say, NO. Why then did Mr. Haughton do this deed? Was it because he was a leading Reformer—and wished to aid his cause by such unhallowed means? His own brethren cannot, certainly, approve his course. If I were compelled to refer Dr. Bishop's death to any *particular* cause, I could, certainly, find one, without charging it on my fellow men. He himself named to his physicians, (Dr. Smith,) and his friends, several exposures of his health, as immediate causes of his illness. Ought not this to have satisfied Mr. Haughton? But if Mr. Haughton was determined to fix his death on somebody, *why did he not look to his own doings for a cause?* Every reader must see, that the agitations and difficulties in the Methodist Church, *growing out of the subject of reform*, were the real causes of Dr. Bishop's solicitude. In these agitations and difficulties, Mr. Haughton was a *principal*. Have not the Reformers contributed to these difficulties? It is known that the Methodist Church was in peace and prosperity in this city, before they began their plans of Reform;—before they formed their Union Society, the avowed intention of which, was to change the government of the Methodist E. Church. What irreparable injury have their operations done to the character and cause of vital religion in this city? See the fact, in the following extract from a letter now before me, written by a gentleman of unquestionable piety, and general information, and who is a Reformer in principle.

"Alas! I fear no good will result from the past or present controversy. I have seen broils engendered, confidence lost, friendship sacrificed, in a manner that disgraces the Christian name. I see much lost, and nothing gained. My heart is sick, and I have come to the resolution to let church politics rest forever."

Reader, weigh these facts well. They are obvious. Many in this city have, with my late friend, (and I am compelled to say, my friend, *whose memory is deeply injured*,—I weep while I write it,) Dr. Bishop, mourned over the difficulties in our Zion, and probably felt as deeply as he. They still mourn. And I have heard some say, that they would purchase peace at any honorable price. But our Reforming friends continue their publications against us.—Though they have left us, still they continue to assail our church government, and her ministers and members. At this very moment, I am informed, their missionaries are travelling to proselyte our people. If they would only cease their opposition to a church, of which they are not members, how quickly would former friendships and confidence return. Though they would not be *of us*, as a people, still we and they would live in Christian fellowship. They would then have no cause to complain of our coldness and opposition. They say, *we ought to rejoice in their success*, as a branch of Christ's Church. Alas! brethren, against whom do you principally direct your efforts for success? Is not your principal success among *our church members?* And do you ask us to rejoice at our *own loss?* Direct all your efforts to reform the wicked, and get sinners converted from the error of their ways, and we will then hail your success with gladness, and meet in your courts with delight.

I think it highly probable, that I have wearied the reader with these remarks. I have made them in defence of my own character, and that of the church to which I belong. They were necessary, though painful. And the more so, because Mr. Haughton endeavors to produce an impression, that I was an enemy to Dr. Bishop. He certainly could not have known, that Dr. Bishop and myself were warm and constant friends. We never had a jar, either in word or feeling, to my knowledge. If the Dr. could speak from his cold grave, *he would attest the injury done me.* He knew I never designed to injure him. He gave brother Arnold Treusdell the same views of the subject, that I have given above, *as it regards myself*, in a long conversation, a few days after he returned from Conference. I must now leave the reader to judge for himself of this matter.

CINCINNATI, MARCH 13, 1829.

CASE OF MR. WILLIAM YOUNG,

AT THE LAST OHIO ANNUAL CONFERENCE, AT CHILLICOTHE.

Mr. Young has published an account of his *case* in the "Mutual Rights," Baltimore, Oct. 29, 1828. In this account, he plainly insinuates, that I broke my "premise" to him, even though I was "pledged" to perform it. In this affair, Mr. Young has stated *a part of the truth*, but not the *whole truth*. And in one or two instances, his statement is *certainly incorrect*. Mr. Young, (if he say any thing,) may say that he *was so informed*. But I would ask Mr. Young, if he ought to have ventured to publish me on the score of a *breach of promise*, barely on *vague information?* Why did not Mr. Young write to me for an explanation of the affair? This would have been the part of a Christian, and a gentleman. But it is incumbent on me to state Mr Young's reproach against me, and then defend myself. Mr. Young says: "Having to leave town before the Conference rose, and believing a copy of the good opinion they entertained of my standing in Christian society, would be a safe guard to my character,—I was about to make the request—when the Rev. J. P. Durbin notified the Conference of his intention to bring a resolution before them on that subject—My friend, Dr. Bishop, seeing it was about to be neglected, informed the Conference that I left town under the impression of receiving the certificate, which Mr. Durbin had pledged himself to offer a resolution to procure, when Mr. D. arose and acknowledged his promise; but stated he should decline it, assigning as a reason, that he found some of the members were opposed to it, apprehending I might publish it in the Mutual Rights." That the reader may understand this *unguarded* statement to my injury, I wish him to recollect, that I was considered as Mr. Young's *personal friend*. I was such in my own intentions. We had ever been such, and the sequel of these remarks will shew, that I acted as a friend. In the *character of a friend*, therefore, I made the promise of a resolution, intending to do Mr. Young a service. But I will ask any gentleman this one question: If I promise to perform a certain act for my friend, FOR HIS BENEFIT, and when I go to accomplish my promise, I find, instead of doing my friend good *service*, I shall do him an *injury*, am I then, and in that case, bound to perform my promise to my friend? Every intelligent man will say, the same friendship which *impelled me to make the promise, will impel me to desist* in such a case. Because, to perform it, would be *to do my friend an injury*. Now, reader, this was precisely the case in respect to Mr. Young. I did promise to offer the resolution to the Conference, and gave them notice, that they might act on it readily, when it was offered. But when I came to make interest with the members in favor of my resolution, I found them generally opposed to it; and several remonstrated against it. I became perfectly convinced that I could not procure the passage of *such a resolution* as I would be willing to have sent Mr. Young, and, therefore, notified the Conference that I should not offer it, because I found the opposition to it too great to be carried *in a respectable manner*, if indeed it could be carried at all. I did state at the time, that some had expressed their apprehension, that it might be published to their disadvantage; but I did not offer it as a reason why I declined the motion. And here let me ask the reader, if their apprehensions were not well founded, since he sees the account Mr. Young has published of the affair? Mr. Young is entirely incorrect in his statement, when he says, that Dr. Bishop seeing it (the motion) was about to be neglected, mentioned it to the Conference, and that *then* I rose, and acknowledged my promise, but stated I should decline, &c. The fact is this: As soon as I was convinced that I could not procure the passage of the motion, in such a manner as to be a *favor* to Mr. Young, *I voluntarily* notified the Conference that I should not offer it. THEN it was that Dr. Bishop made the remarks. I gave this early notice, (and so stated it at the time,) that if any of Mr. Young's friends thought they could procure its passage, they might have an opportunity to offer the motion. I will now ask, if Mr. Young was warranted to publish me for a breach of promise, in the above case? Was he justified in saying (as he actually did) to a gentleman in this city, that I had acted in an ungentleman and unchristian manner towards him, and that he had exposed me in the Mutual Rights? It seems that Mr. Young was determined to have me in the Mutual Rights. And it would seem that the Mutual Rights

was glad to have such a thing to circulate. I hope, if the Mutual Rights professes to do *right mutually* to both parties, it will do me the justice to insert this correction of Mr. Young's statement.

I notified the reader that I was desirous of doing Mr. Young any service in my power, consistent with my conscience. In order, therefore, to restore him to the church, and all his brethren who had been separated from it, I joined with brother William H. Raper in the following plan of reconciliation. Brother Raper dictated the plan, and I drew it up, designing it as a compromise between the parties in Cincinnati. We procured the signatures of so many and such members of the Conference as would ensure its passage, provided brother Young would agree to it. He would not. We both begged him to agree to the compromise, and he would not. He said he could not agree to such terms on the part of Reformers. We then begged him to accept them for himself, and he would not. I will now insert a copy of the plan, forwarded to me by Mr. W. H. Raper, which is now before me. I do not insert the *whole* of the language; but only so much as will give the whole plan.

CHILLICOTHE, SEPT. 23, 1828.

Whereas, it is grievous to the Conference to see the divisions in our church, on account of difference of opinion respecting the government; and because they specially regret the secession at Cincinnati; therefore, for the purpose of opening a way to a reconciliation among our brethren, and at the same time preventing divisions hereafter: Resolved, that all proceedings, respecting the persons concerned in any way in this secession, or considerations connected therewith, be laid over by this Conference until its next annual meeting.

Resolved, that, (though we, as a Conference, have no right to restore the members,) we request, and insist, that the society in Cincinnati, admit of the voluntary restoration of any individual, who may have been expelled, or may have withdrawn, in the late secession, into their former standing, on the following conditions,—viz:

1. They shall cease to be members of any Union Society.

2. They shall cease to patronise the Mutual Rights, or any periodical of the same character or design. *But by this condition it is not intended to prevent any individual from receiving and reading such periodical, if he wish so to do.*

3. They shall cease to write or circulate pieces or essays against the discipline or usages of the M. E. Church. *By this condition it is not intended, that any individual shall be prevented from writing, reading, or approving any temperate essay on church government, &c.; but from writing, or actively circulating such pieces, or essays, as tend, not to investigate principles, but to inflame the public mind, and bring our discipline and usages into contempt, by inveighing against them, and misrepresenting them.*

These were the conditions Mr. Young rejected. I regret that they could not have been known to this community before. Reformers have published, and republished, for the last eight years, that the church wished to deny them the liberty of speech, and of the press. In this they certainly mistake, and the General Conference has officially shown it. The church, indeed, has objected to the *licentious* use of language, and of the press. But more than this they certainly have not done.

By this time the reader will understand the affair, respecting which Mr. William Young has made such an unfriendly attack on me, when at the same time I was his personal friend.

Cincinnati, March 12, 1829. **JOHN P. DURBIN.**

THE REFLECTOR OFFICE, AUGUSTA, KY.

A

REPLY

TO

A PAMPHLET,

BY THE

REV. JOHN P. DURBIN,

CALLED

A DEFENCE OF HIS

"PERSONAL CHARACTER."

BY JOHN HAUGHTON.

CINCINNATI:

WILLIAMSON & STRONG, PRINTERS.

1829.

REPLY, &C.

THE Reverend John P. Durbin, Professor of Languages in Augusta College, Kentucky, has just printed, and procured the circulation, in this City, and elsewhere, of a pamphlet, which he says "is principally devoted to the Defence of his Personal Character, in reference to two publications in the 'Mutual Rights'; one written by Mr. John Haughton, Lumber Merchant, the other by Mr. William Young, Shoemaker, both resident in Cincinnati, and both Preachers of the Associate Methodist Church, which has lately seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church in that City." Had Mr. D. confined himself to that particular object, without endeavoring to injure the characters of others, no reply would have been necessary. By this necessity Mr. Durbin will be still more "deeply wounded."

If it would not be considered very great "*boldness* of Mr. Haughton," he would attempt to show what a very weak defence Mr. D. has made. If it had been the production of a "lumber merchant," or a "shoemaker," (no offence was taken at these expressions,) it would not have been surprising, but to come from the pen of a "Professor of Languages," in the "rising college" of Augusta, is not a little wonderful.

But as Mr. Durbin seems to think it was very great "boldness" of Mr. Haughton in publishing a fact which was no secret, and which he had no evidence Mr. D. wished to conceal, I would ask wherein that "boldness" consists? Is the "professor of languages" so very far elevated above a "lumber merchant," or "shoemaker," that his public acts are not to be mentioned in the gentlest manner? We beg pardon of the professor for having taken such unwarrantable liberties.

As Mr. D. is very anxious to convince his readers that he and Dr. Bishop were warm and constant friends; having *twice* made that assertion in the course of his remarks, I shall make no attempt to disprove his assertion; of such friendship however, as it respects Mr. D. some may be induced to exclaim,

"Oh! what is friendship but a name,
A charm that lulls to sleep—
A shade that follows wealth or fame,
And leaves the wretch to weep."

Why Mr. D. should have required the presence of a third person as a witness to the conversation, in connection with which Miss Wood's name is mentioned, I cannot so clearly perceive. Did he suppose I would afterwards deny what I then admitted? When have I been known to do this? Some people will probably think that Mr. Haughton's veracity is as much to be depended on as even that of the "professor." As Mr. D. has made honorable mention of my candor, it certainly would be ungrateful in me not to acknowledge his kindness, and especially as he

can account for it no other way, but on the supposition that I knew no other course would answer any valuable purpose, Dr. Bishop, as Mr. D. declares "having uniformly stated the affair in the same way." Whether such insinuations are not calculated to increase the "pangs and mortifications of our common friends," and add to the triumphs of our "common enemies," I shall leave my readers to determine, while I ask Mr. D. when and where Mr. Haughton manifested any thing else but "frankness." Notwithstanding these insinuations, Mr. Haughton may fearlessly say that whatever may be the number and magnitude of his transgressions, duplicity will never be reckoned among the long catalogue of his offences.

While individuals act from the clear convictions of an enlightened understanding, whether they advocate or oppose our principles, they always command our respect, if honesty and candor mark their course. But what if Mr. D. were to be governed by the "impulse of feeling," a course utterly inconsistent with the character of a christian or christian minister, and immediately become an enemy to reformers, what have we to fear, should even his powerful eloquence be brought to bear against us? We rejoice to know that our cause is not dependent on human aid alone. If it is not of God, even Mr. D. cannot support it, if it is, his opposition could do it no serious injury. In Mr. D's reforming principles we have little or no interest, seeing they embrace in their provisions none but "the divinely instituted ministry," at the same time excluding the local preachers, and lay members, even by representation, from the councils of the Church. That Mr. D. does not justify the "*measures*" adopted to obtain reform is not so wonderful, seeing they did not consult the "divinely authorized expounders of the doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline of the Gospel" as to the course they ought to pursue in reference to this subject. But why a periodical, to advocate the principle of representation in the M. E. Church, and associations, to test the number of its advocates, should be so objectionable, the writer of this article cannot so easily comprehend; unless it originate in the fact, that in proportion to the diffusion of light and knowledge, especially in this free and happy country, all irresponsible powers and exclusive priviliges, are beheld with jealousy and distrust.

That Dr. Bishop did not blame the motives of the conference in passing the resolutions so fatal to his peace, we willingly admit; for how was he to know what their *motives* were; that he *blamed* the *act*, we have abundant evidence. As to the statement made by the gentleman of "unquestionable respectability," the very least we can say of it is, that he has unquestionably been mistaken. For not only is it in direct opposition to the Doctor's recorded sentiments, both in his letter to Mr. Wright, and in what will shortly be issued from the press, but also, to Mrs. Bishop's declarations; as she positively asserts, she made no such admissions. To correct this statement, Mrs. Bishop furnished the writer of this article, with the following certificate, in her own language and from her own pen.

"*Cincinnati, April 6th,* 1829.

"I do hereby certify, that I never stated to any person or persons, that

my late dear husband, Dr. Bishop, considered the vote of the conference to amount only to an expression of their wishes, as a request, but I very well know that he considered it as a prohibition, as the public will soon hear from his own pen.

"I very much regret being under the necessity of making the above statement; but consider it a duty I owe to my own character, and that of my late deceased companion.

"MARY BISHOP."

"This information is" also "very important to the people in Cincinnati. It may surprise them, but it does not surprise me." I was too well acquainted with Dr. Bishop's sentiments not to know, that the statement made by the "gentleman of unquestionable respectability," could not be correct. That Dr. B. did not see the *necessity* of representation in the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, until a very short time before his death, is freely admitted; but that he considered the claim sustained on the ground of *right*, is abundantly evident. But of the *necessity* of the measure, he acknowledged before his death, he had lamentable proof, not from his "peculiar feelings and situation," but by those high and unscriptural doctrines assumed by the late General Conference, and the unjust and cruel prosecutions carried on in Baltimore, Cincinnati, and elsewhere, in support of those high-toned principles. To use his own words—he saw, and felt the necessity of a *check* on the powers held by the travelling ministry. How good and correct the *genius* of the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is, I shall leave my readers to determine from the fact, that the legislative, judicial, and executive authority are exclusively in the hands of the Itinerant Ministry. That over three thousand local preachers, and about 400,000 members, they hold unbalanced rule; and what is worse than all, these "tremendous" powers, whose continual "tendency is to accumulation," they claim to hold by DIVINE RIGHT. To be consistent, infallibility must be added; and then what an admirable system! How much higher can they climb on the ladder of clerical usurpation?

"The right of ecclesiastical expatriation," they tell us, from one branch of the Christian Church to another, they have never denied. But since a number of the members have determined to expatriate themselves, rather than submit to the requisitions of the travelling ministry, what measures have not been adopted to prevent any of the brethren, both in and out of the Itinerancy, from preaching to them the word of life? And even Mr. Durbin, with all his professions of friendship, could offer to the Conference, a resolution, evidently bearing on the same point. It seemed not enough to abridge us of our unalienable rights and privileges, while in the Church, but even when we were gone, still to follow us with their reproaches and persecutions, to create and rejoice at our difficulties, and to triumph in our distress, certainly manifests a disposition, for which I am unwilling to find a name. Yes, the sighs, the tears and groans of our late departed brother, will long attest the injuries thus wantonly inflicted on us.

Mr. Durbin complains that I did not give notice of my intended publication, and thus afford him an opportunity to explain. If Mr. Durbin

thought explanation necessary, why did he not attempt it? Why did he not call on the injured parties, Dr. Bishop and the Reformers, and offer an explanation? Did he suppose a public act, especially like the one alluded to, could possibly be concealed? But why did not Mr. Durbin see, in substance, the same statement from Dr. Bishop's pen, in his letter to Mr. Wright? Is it not equally clear and obvious? Is it possible that he could read that affecting letter, and yet not see himself the leading cause of all these sorrows? The principal difference is, in Dr. Bishop's letter the name of the author of the *fatal* resolution is concealed. This reminds me of the conduct of a certain king who, after perpetrating the most abandoned crimes, lived perfectly unconscious of their enormity, until a faithful prophet thundered in his ear, "thou art the man." So Mr. Durbin, easy and unconcerned, could read Dr. Bishop's letter, wherein the cause of his mental sufferings is clearly pointed out, and yet be perfectly unconscious of the injury he had done; but when he finds himself announced as the author of a resolution, the procuring cause of all this mischief, he immediately becomes alarmed, lest this should sink his character in public estimation. It appears he was not at all concerned at the consequences likely to result from the adoption of this FATAL measure to his afflicted and suffering brethren. In their spiritual and eternal welfare, he seems to have felt no interest, unless, indeed, they could have been willing to submit to terms for ever degrading to an independent mind. But, thanks to our departed brother, he was not thus to be driven from the path of duty. Hail! noble spirit; how deeply is thy worth engraven on thy suffering brethren's hearts!

Mr. D. proceeds—"I never gave Mr. Haughton cause of offence. I thought him a Christian brother, and held him as such." I am indebted to Mr. Durbin for this acknowledgment. But mark, while he "thought me a CHRISTIAN brother, and held me as such," he exerted himself, and I am assured, all out of kindness, to procure my expulsion from a CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

> "If this is love, what then is hatred?
> Hear it not, ye stars! and thou, pale moon,
> Turn paler at the sound."

With these remarks, I shall now proceed to notice the ground of complaint. As I was expected to write an account of Dr. Bishop's death, for publication in the Mutual Rights, I judged it proper to mention the principal cause which led to that lamentable event. The following is the objectionable part:

"But in an evil hour, a resolution was offered by Mr. Durbin, and adopted by the Conference, in the form of a request, prohibiting Dr. Bishop from preaching to those, who, on account of the late prosecutions in this City, had seceded from the Church. To this fatal resolution, was mainly attributable that result we so deeply deplore. In the opinion of both his friends and physicians, his mental sufferings largely and principally contributed to that entire prostration of his physical powers, which terminated, in what may be partially considered, an untimely death."

I will now ask the candid reader what there is truly objectionable in this

paragraph. Here is no colouring. No insinuations of evil design, or bad intention. This I could easily have added, but did not do it. This Mr. D. calls an "attack" upon his character. If it is, it certainly is a very singular kind of an "attack." A guilty conscience is its own accuser. But Mr. D. is displeased because I did not become his apologist. Because I did not say that Dr. Bishop did not impute to Mr. D. any ill design against him. I never for one moment thought it was *designed* by Mr. D. to injure Dr. Bishop. But who can avoid seeing its bearing on the reformers? Who does not see, that it was designed to prevent Dr. Bishop from preaching to us the word of life? It seems it was not sufficient to expel us from the Church with which some of us had been connected from our youth; for whose welfare we had both laboured and suffered much; but as if determined to effect our everlasting destruction, the very sound of salvation, if he could prevent it, should never again salute our ears. In Mr. D's tender mercies, what refined cruelty appears. But Mr. D. is not "alone in this matter;" too many of our old side friends, manifested the very same disposition; and even those who profess to be called to preach the Gospel to sinners of every description, have yet no message of mercy for the "miserable radicals." As it cannot be supposed, they are too *good* to need salvation, the inevitable conclusion is, that they are so *bad* as to be beyond the reach of mercy. What wonderful kindness! and yet we are assured they hold us as Christian brethren. What astonishing inconsistency!

In the paragraph so objectionable to Mr. D. there are two points we shall attempt to prove, and

1*st.* Mr. Durbin's resolution was the cause of Dr. Bishop's mental sufferings, and

2*nd.* In the opinion of both his friends and physicians, his mental sufferings largely and principally contributed to that entire prostration of his physical powers, which terminated in what may be partially considered an untimely death.

In proving my first position, I shall rely solely on Dr. Bishop's own testimony.

1*st.* In his letter to Mr. Wright, which Mr. D. had before him, he says "my brethren have *compelled* me to resign my standing in the Church, which I suppose is what some of them designed to accomplish; and it may be pleasure to them but it is painful to me. It is to my wounded soul like cutting off a right arm or plucking out a right eye." "*No one circumstance of my life has ever caused me more heartfelt grief than that in which the Conference has placed me, by the above vote.* I am frequently led involuntarily to exclaim, why did my brethren do so? surely if they had known the TORTURE they were about to inflict on my already lacerated and bleeding heart, they would not have done it." "I have been in that Church I may say from childhood; but I now go out like the old servant of God, not knowing whither he went." I now ask every intelligent mind, yes I ask Mr. D. himself, if we are not forcibly conducted to Mr. Durbin's resolution as the FATAL cause of all this mental suffering? He cannot, he dare not say otherwise.

2*nd.* After the Conference had determined that the complaints or

charges, no matter by which name we call them, Dr. Bishop as we shall see, considered them of similar import; were not sustained, he says in an article now in the press, in reference to this subject, "I felt pleased that the conference had thus acquitted me and placed me as I supposed, on proper ground again, and with a cheerful heart, stated that I wished to retain the same standing I had occupied, that of a superannuated relation. This was soon fixed by the Conference according to my desire, and I thought my difficulties were all over. *But how soon were my happy prospects blasted, and I plunged in to a most distressing situation.* The Bishop then informed me that the Conference had directed him to desire me not to preach, any more to the seceded brethren in Cincinnati. This was altogether unexpected, and took me by surprise." "At night" he continues, "I went to the Bishop's room and asked if the request made of me, was by an *official* vote of the Conference; he said it was, or he should not have said any thing to me. I told him it placed me in a very narrow corner, and in a very unpleasant situation, and was sorry I had not known that, before my relation to the Conference had been fixed. I told him, while a member of that body, I was bound to abide by it's decisions, and I was confident they would expel me, if I should preach to those people. I should therefore be obliged to change my relation to the Conference; and should ask a location. He said he would not advise me as to this course, but said he, Bro. Bishop, if you should not locate, and should preach to those people, I expect they will expel you, for I perceive that some of the brethren are determined to push the matter through. I told him I was aware of that, but I did not intend to commit myself. I now saw the full extent of the object of the above vote, and of the difficulties I was involved in. Next morning I examined the journals and found the vote of request there entered, different from what the Bishop delivered it to me, which, was in accordance with the vote passed by the Conference, I do not know; but instead of the word preach, used by the Bishop, the broad term officiate, was recorded on the Journals, which made the request not to officiate any more for these seceders. This is drawing the fetters very close, for if I should pray in one of their prayer meetings or in their families, or attend a funeral among them, it might be considered to be a breach of this law, couched in a request; I SAY A LAW COUCHED IN A REQUEST, FOR THIS IS ITS TRUE CHARACTER, as every one knows, who is acquainted with the understanding and usages of an annual Conference, as to an official request it makes of its members. *I wish this to be distinctly understood, because it is of vital importance in the present case.* Some have already said, O! it was only a mild request, as though I had been frightened at a shadow. This is unfair, and an entire misrepresentation. This vote was to me, as a member of that body, *a law* imposing an obligation, and had I transgressed it, it would have been sanctioned by whatever penalty, either a committee, at any time, or the Conference, at its next sitting, might think proper. And it must be seen, from what had appeared and from what the Bishop told me, as above related, that I had every reason to believe that I could not officiate for these people, whom I esteemed, and loved as brethren in Christ, but on the pain of excommunication from the Church."

These proceedings determined Brother Bishop to locate, that he might be at liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience; therefore, says he, "on the next morning, I asked and obtained from the Conference a location." After the Conference had closed he says "I started for home with feelings such as I never left an annual Conference with before; and no one, who has not experienced a similar scene, can form an idea of the sufferings of mind I endured for near two weeks." Speaking of the trials occasioned by the understanding he had of this vote, he says, "they have seriously affected my health and my spirits, and they have been of such a nature, that under them nothing but an experimental knowledge of the reality of religion, and of the Divine presence, could have saved me from infidelity or scepticism." "I sincerely hope, that no other child of God, may ever be plunged into such trials as I have waded through, by conscientiously endeavoring, like me, to oppose what he believes to be wrong, and to do what he believes to be right."

Will any one doubt after this, that the *vote of the Conference, was the cause of his mental sufferings?* I shall now prove,

2*nd*, That in the opinion of his friends and physicians, his mental sufferings largely and principally contributed to that entire prostration of his physical powers, which terminated in what may be partially considered an untimely death.

On this point, little proof is necessary. That it was the opinion of Dr. Bishop's *friends*, Mr. D. does not attempt to controvert; and as to his physicians, Mr. D. says, "his physicians *did* believe that his mind was agitated by the interest he took in the affairs of the Church in this City; *and so much so, as to contribute materially to the progress of his disease.* I presume," says Mr. D. "*all* who knew him, believed the same; *I am sure I did.*" This admission abundantly proves the correctness of my statement. It is sufficient to admit, that his mind was *agitated so as to contribute* MATERIALLY *to the progress of his disease.* Let it be observed, that I have not stated, that his physicians *knew* the *cause* of that mental agitation; that has nothing to do with my statement, but, that they knew that mental agitation actually existed, and that it existed to such a degree as *seriously to affect his health.* Was it not the opinion of his physicians, that he had comparatively little disease about him, but that it was his mental sufferings chiefly, which brought on that state of weakness and debility from which he never recovered. But why did not Mr. D. tell his readers, that one of Dr. Bishop's physicians, (Dr. Ramsay,) advised him to let the matter rest—that he would only make it worse; that Mr. Haughton could prove all he had written. I regret that he did not take this advice, it would have saved me the necessity of replying, and himself much mortification. But why did not Mr. D. call on Dr. Slayback? did he not believe that Dr. Slayback was sufficiently acquainted with the nature and cause of Dr. Bishop's disease? or did he fear his opinion would not answer his purpose? He probably did not know that he and Dr. Bishop were "warm and constant friends"—that he visited him frequently during his illness, and sometimes in his professional character. To Dr. Slayback's opinion, I had particular reference, when I wrote the article for the Mutual Rights; in which, I understood, Dr. Smith concur-

red, so far as it related to the principal cause of Dr. Bishop's afflictions. How far I was correct in my statement, may be seen from the following certificate.

"I do hereby certify, that from a long and intimate acquaintance with the late Rev. T. Bishop, and from the frequent visits paid him during his last illness, do firmly believe, from what I have heard him relate after his return from Conference, and from his letter to Rev. J. F. Wright, that his mental sufferings occasioned by the proceedings of Conference, was the principal cause that produced his last illness.

"April 7, 1829. A. SLAYBACK."

It will now be seen, by every candid mind, whether "the opinion of Dr. Bishop's physicians, as it stands in the paragraph, was inserted by Mr. Haughton, without any warrant whatever." When all these circumstances are considered, was it wrong to fix the *cause* of Dr. Bishop's "death on the resolution, and thus refer it directly to the Methodist Church? Every reader certainly must say, 'NO!' Why then did Mr. Haughton do this deed?" I answer, for no other reason but because I considered it necessary to mention the principal cause of our beloved brother's death, and I was not disposed, so far as I knew it, to write any thing but the TRUTH. "Every reader must see that the agitations and difficulties in the Methodist Church, growing out of the subject of reform, were" NOT "the real causes of Dr. Bishop's solicitude," but the "FATAL RESOLUTION," in the passing of which Mr. Durbin was the "principal" "Why then did" Mr. D. "do this deed? Was it because he was a leading" supporter of the Episcopal powers and prerogatives, "and wished to aid his cause by such UNHALLOWED means? His own brethren cannot certainly approve his course," as some of them, and even those who yet advocate and approve the existing economy, could account for it in no other way, than that he wanted to "NUZZLE ROUND THE KNEES OF POWER." "What irreparable injury" then has Mr. D. done by his *fatal* resolution. Of this injury, the writer of this article can make no calculation, but the tears of the widow and fatherless, the sorrows of our particular society, and the deep regrets of a whole community, attest the irretrievable loss.

"Reader weigh these facts well. They are obvious. Many in this city have, with my late friend Dr. Bishop, whose memory is deeply injured, mourned over the difficulties in our Zion," occasioned by prosecutions unparalleled for injustice and absurdity in the history of modern times.

As to our "missionaries travelling to proselyte their people," the writer of this reply declares so far as he knows any thing about it, it is not a fact. But when we receive constant and pressing invitations to preach to those who advocate and approve of the principles for which we have been expelled, and who are consequently partially subjected to the same difficulties, ought we not to attend to them? What RIGHT has the Methodist E. Church to a single reformer? To be consistent they ought to rejoice whenever such individuals expatriate themselves, and leave them in the undisturbed possession of that unlimited authority to which they cling with such amazing tenacity.

Equally unfortunate is Mr. D. in the case of Brother Young. He admits his obligation, but refused, or neglected to comply with it, because, as he says, he saw the motion he promised to bring before the Conference could not "be carried in a *respectable manner*, if indeed it could be carried at all." This is the excuse Mr. Durbin offers for not complying with his promise. But is this excuse satisfactory? Did the opposition manifested by some of the members release him from his obligation? Certainly not. And especially as Mr. Young had left Chilicothe with the expectation that Mr. D. would attend to this business. But what a bearing has this act on the conference. They admitted its justice and propriety, but-yet refused to grant it, lest it should be published to their injury. Lest the TRUTH should operate to their disadvantage. What an admission is this! Does Episcopal Methodism require the aid of "such unhallowed means?" If it does, it is essentially different from the religion of the New Testament, or the writer of this article has never understood it. If they thought Mr. Young "a Christian brother, and held him as such," was it any thing more than just, that the Christian community, of which he was a member, should know from those who pronounced the sentence of expulsion from that community, that it was not for any *immoral* act, but for a *difference of opinion* on Church government. Surely every principle of justice and equity required such an acknowledgement. Were they aware that the Christian public would not sustain their decision? Have they not, by this act, condemned their own proceedings? for how could the publication of their decision injure them, unless their decision was in opposition to the spirit and general tenor of the Divine Oracles.

I agree with Mr. D. that "If I promise to perform a certain act for my friend *for his benefit*, and when I go to accomplish my promise, I find instead of doing my friend good service, I shall do him an injury," I am not then bound to fulfil my promise, "because to perform it would be to do my friend an injury." But how I ask was it possible for Mr. D. to injure Mr. Young by keeping his promise? They had already expelled him from the church. What more could they do? As I can see no injury that could possibly result to Mr. Young, so I can see none likely to befall Mr. D. unless a manifestation of that independence of mind, so becoming a gospel minister, should block up his way to Episcopal patronage. Mr. Durbin asks, "why did not Mr. Young write to me for an explanation of the affair?" But why did not Mr. Durbin write to Mr. Young, and state the reasons which induced him to break his promise? "This would have been the part of a Christian and a gentleman." But this Mr. Durbin did not do. This matter was not published on "vague information as it was recieved from a Gentleman of "unquestionable respectability," of a most tenacious memory, and of inflexible integrity and uprightness. As to the trifling difference in Mr. D's statement, from that given in the Mutual Rights, it is of no importance, the fact is admitted, and now the reader is left to judge.

As to the service Mr. D. was disposed to do Mr. Young and the reformers, it will be best understood by inserting the conditions on which he proposed they should return to the Church. It is of importance to re-

member that Mr. D. admits he does not give the whole, and also that that which is kept behind, as Mr. Young states, is the most objectionable. That which is given is sufficient to deserve the "contempt of every generous mind."

"1*st*. They shall cease to be members of any union society.

By this it is understood they shall cease to organize themselves into associations for the purpose of promoting the introduction of the principle of representation into the government of the M. E. Church.

2*nd*. They shall cease to patronize the Mutual Rights, or any periodical of the same character or design. *But by this condition it is not intended to prevent any individual from receiving and reading such periodical if he wish so to do.*"

By this article we were to be prohibited from patronizing, that is subscribing to any periodical on the subject of Church Government, but more especially on the Government of the Methodist E. Church. That being a subject too sacred for any to touch, unless indeed it be the "divinely instituted ministry," of whom Mr. D. is one.

"*But*," we are informed, "*by this condition, it is not intended to prevent any individual from receiving, and reading such periodical, if he wish to do so*." But how I ask are they to *receive* and *read such periodical* unless they *patronize* it? Are they *allowed to borrow* it of their neighbours. Will these "divinely authorized expounders" be pleased to explain this matter so as a "Lumber Merchant" or "Shoe Maker" may be able to understand it. This will certainly rest on them with the force of a moral obligation.

"3*d* They shall cease to write or circulate pieces or essays against the discipline or usages of the M. E. Church. By this condition it is not intended that any individual shall be prevented from writing, reading or approving any temperate essay on Church Government, &c but from writing or actively circulating such pieces or essays as tend not to investigate principles, but to inflame the public mind, and bring our discipline and usages into contempt by inveighing against them and misrepresenting them."

"These were the conditions Mr. Young rejected. I regret that they could not have been known to this community before" for if I have not greatly overrated the citizens of these United States for intelligence, independence and firmness of character, they will, they must approbate Mr. Young and condemn the Conference. "Reformers have published and republished for the last eight years that the Church wished to deny them the liberty of speech and of the press. In this they certainly" have made no "mistake," for "the General Conference has officially shown it" as every one will see by their last report, and if the above is not denying the liberty of the press, I must be for ever content to relinquish all claims to intelligence or rationality. "By this time the reader will understand the affair respecting which Mr. Durbin has made such an unfriendly attack on me, when at the same time" I have never to the best of my knowledge spoken disrespectfully of either his talents or character.

To conclude, should any of our old-side friends think there is too much sharpness in this reply, I wish to remind them that the strongest language is from Mr. D's own pen. Towards him I have not one unkind, or improper feeling, "I think him a Christian brother, and hold him as such." Of his talents and piety I have always entertained a very favourable opinion, and have frequently sat under his ministry with both pleasure and profit. But the production by which he has condescended to notice the humble writer of this reply is not calculated to raise his reputation for either learning or wisdom. On his enlightened mind, as well as on many others in the Itinerant connexion, the unparalleled prosperity of the Church with which he is connected, has had, in my opinion, an unfavourable influence, and has induced him to embrace and support those unscriptural and high-toned ministerial rights and exclusive privileges held forth in the report of the last general Conference; and which has also led him to defend prosecutions at once the disgrace of Christianity, and the wonder and astonishment of the age in which we live.

As to this writer, conscious integrity and uprightness, prevents him from looking back on the part he has taken in this controversy with any thing but composure and placidity of mind. Self crimination has never for one moment occupied his thoughts, since peace could only be purchased at the expense of virtuous principle. His present situation in the Church is principally attributable to measures over which he had no control, he therefore contemplates the past with satisfaction and the future with hope.

JOHN HAUGHTON.

Cincinnati, 16th April, 1829.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

ADOPTED BY THE

ASSOCIATED METHODIST CHURCH,

IN

SPRINGFIELD.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE AGENTS, BY
MOSES M. HENKLE.

1829.

RULES & REGULATIONS,

Adopted by the Associate Methodist Church of Springfield, and approved by the Conventional Agents of Ohio, as suitable to be adopted by the Societies generally, for their Government, until the organization of a State Conference.

I. There shall be a general meeting of the Society, or Church on the of each month, which shall be called the Monthly Business Meeting of the Society.

II. The Officers of the Society shall be a Moderator, a Secretary, and a Treasurer; all of whom shall be elected by the Society, or Church, and shall hold their offices for one year, and until their successors are chosen.

III. The Moderator shall preside at the Monthly Meetings of the Society, and shall also preside at all trials which may be had in the Church, in the absence of the Circuit or Stationed Preacher, (except in cases where he may be interested, in which case the Society shall choose a person to preside,) but when present, the preacher in charge shall preside at all trials.

IV. The Secretary shall keep a faithful record of the proceedings of the Society, and also of the names of the Members, and of the Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, which may occur in the Society.

V. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society, and pay them out on the order of the Monthly Meeting, and render an exhibit of the state of the funds, whenever called for—at least once a year.

VI. The Monthly Meeting shall decide on all cases of application for membership; and when a majority of all the members present at a Monthly Meeting shall approve a candidate, he shall be admitted to the privileges of membership among us as a probationer, and, if at the end of six months, no fault be found with such probationer, he shall be admitted to full membership, by a vote of the monthly meeting. But if the Monthly Meeting shall not be prepared to act finally upon an application, the case shall be laid over until the next Monthly Meet-

ing, and in the interval, the applicant shall be allowed to meet in a class.

VII In the recess of the Monthly Meetings, any person wishing to become a member, may be admitted by a leader, to the privilege of class meetings, and it is recommended to all candidates, to meet for a time in class, previous to applying for membership. And any serious, well-disposed person may, by the vote of a class, be allowed to meet therein, so long as the class may be willing to grant to such person that privilege:—*Provided*, that every three months the class shall take a vote, by which they shall determine, whether or not the privilege shall be continued to such person.

VIII. Persons not residing in the vicinity of this Church, and who have not the opportunity of belonging to a similar Church at their respective places of residence, may, by a vote of the meeting, be admitted to the fellowship of this Church; and, when present, to all its privileges; and may, by order of the Church, receive a suitable certificate signed by the Moderator and Secretary, in behalf of the Church.

IX. Persons in acceptable religious standing in other Churches, who may be candidates for admission into this Church, may be admitted to full membership, by a vote of the Church, without being required to stand a term of probation.

X. There shall be elected for each Class a Steward, who shall receive quarterly at least the contributions of the members for the support of the Gospel, and for other necessary purposes, and pay them over into the hands of the Treasurer: but where there is but one class in a place, the Treasurer shall act as Class Steward.

XI. There shall be elected, by the Society, not less than three, nor more than nine, Trustees, to hold and manage the property of the Church, for her use and benefit; which Trustees shall be taken from among the male members of the Society, or Church, over the age of 21 years: and all vacancies occurring in the board of Trustees shall be filled by the Monthly Meeting of this Society.

XII. These Rules may be altered at any Monthly Meeting, (provided the same have been proposed in writing, at a previous meeting,) if a majority shall decide in favor of such alteration.

REPLY

Of the Reformers' Convention, to the General Conference Report, on the subject of LAY DELEGATION.

"The Committee to whom was referred the Report of the committee of the General Conference, in answer to the petition of Reformers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, having examined the same with much care and attention, offer the following report:

In order to a proper understanding of the subject, it was deemed necessary to refer to the memorial prepared by a Convention of Reformers, which was held in this city, the 15th November last; that document being more particularly alluded to, in the report under consideration; from which we ascertained, that four distinct objects were presented to the consideration of the General Conference. A lay representation in the law-making department of the church—a modification of the rule respecting "endeavoring to sow dissensions"—an alteration in the mode of trying members, so as to secure to them the right of a fair trial: and lastly, to vest in the Annual Conferences the right of electing their own Presiding Elders. Two of these points only—the two first, were noticed by the General Conference. Why the others were not, we will not presume to offer a conjecture.

It is due to the importance of the subject to say, that our minds have been arrested, and most solemnly impressed with some of the sentiments contained in the report referred to us; a candid examination of which, must awaken in the minds of every unprejudiced individual, the most alarming reflections and forebodings.

Whilst a representation in the General Conference was opposed by those in power, on the ground or expediency alone, we had no cause to fear the consequences of their uncontrolled prerogatives, as such a defence was an acknowledgement in fact, that the modifications asked for would be granted, when the voice of the church should demand it. But the sentiments avowed by the last General Conference assumes so much the air of infallibility on their part, if we understand the terms they use, that the local preachers, and the laity, must be considered as sinning highly, to oppose their decisions, whatever they may be.—That we do not err in this matter, we think it will be plainly seen by the following quotations from this very extraordinary document: "The great head of the Church himself, has imposed on us the duty of preaching the Gospel, of administering its ordinances and of maintaining, properly,

its moral discipline, among those over whom the Holy Ghost in these respects has made us overseers. Of these also viz: of gospel doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline, we do believe, that the divinely instituted ministry are the divinely authorized expounders; and that the duty of maintaining them in their purity and of not permitting our ministrations in these respects to be authoritatively controlled by others, does rest upon us with the force of a moral obligation." And in the next paragraph, it is declared,—"we arrogate no authority to *enact* any laws of our own, either of moral or civil force. We claim no strictly legislative powers; although we grant, that the terms legislature, and legislative, have been sometimes used even among ourselves. In a proper sense however, they are not strictly applicable to our General Conference."

These extraordinary sentiments being advanced in answer to a memorial of the local preachers and lay members, for only a moderate share in the enactment of those rules and regulations by which they are governed, it must be apparent to every one, that our itinerant ministers, claim a divine and exclusive right, to govern the church according to their own views, a right which is not contended for by the ministers of any other church in the protestant world.

This opinion has not been formed in haste, but after the most mature reflection. It will not be denied we presume, that the phrase, "divinely instituted ministry," is used as synonymous with, and intended to apply particularly to, the itinerant ministry: it can mean nothing else.

The last sentence of the quotation when first read, having excited in our minds a considerable degree of astonishment, we have deemed it proper to notice it out of its regular order. "We arrogate no authority to enact any laws of our own, either of moral or of *civil* force. We claim no strictly legislative powers." This, we confess, is as new as it is surprising, and affords additional proof that we live in an age of *improvement*.

Our discipline however, says, "The General Conference shall have *full powers* to *make* rules and regulations for our church;" under which authority, it has uniformly acted, and the "rules and regulations" thus formed, have always had, and still have, the binding effect of laws, as much so as the laws of any community. And yet our brethren say, they have no "strictly legislative powers." There is but one meaning, therefore that can be given to their present claims, which is, that the Great Head of the Church, in giving a code of laws, both moral and civil,

conferred upon the itinerant preachers divine authority to expound them, and under the sanctions of a "moral obligation," to enforce their own decisions. If this be a fair interpretation, which we think cannot be doubted, the prerogatives now assumed, being of a judicial character, are more dangerous by far to Christian liberty, than the right to legislate without responsibility. The General Conference, therefore, in attempting to escape from what they themselves *appear* to have considered objectionable and dangerous—(the power to legislate for those who are not represented,) have claimed powers no less at war with the practice of the apostles and early Christian Ministers, than they are with all those feelings which characterize us, as American republicans, and enlightened Christians.

We will next call your attention to that part of the report in which our itinerant brethren declare themselves to be divinely authorized to ordain what are "gospel doctrines and ordinances," and what is its "moral discipline," and consequently to fix a standard of faith, and rules of practice in all their variety of form and modification.

As the reformers have not in any respect, controverted the present doctrines of the church, nor any of its rules for the promotion of piety and morality, we should have considered it useless to say a word upon this subject, if it were not necessary to shew, that such prerogatives are highly dangerous, and that they lead to an entire, unlimited control, over the conscience and judgment of every individual under the pastoral care of the itinerant ministry.

If they really possess, by divine right, these powers, they may ordain their own infallability to be a "gospel doctrine," and that all their decisions must be according to truth. They may ordain, that those passages, "let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things," and, "the workmen is worthy of his meat," mean, that every member shall give a tithe of his substance for the support of the ministry. They may decide, that the sacraments of "confirmation, penance, and extreme unction," are duties which must be attended to. They may prescribe a rule of civil and political conduct, for the members; and ordain that a non-compliance with any of these injunctions shall constitute an offence requiring the exercise of "moral discipline." They may place the property of the church (have they not already done so?) under their own control, though built by the people or their own benefit; and, in short they may do any thing, and

every thing, which their own judgments, or even caprice may suggest; all which, the local preachers and lay members are bound to believe and obey, at the risk of their eternal welfare: for it would be an absurdity to say, that the people have a right to refuse obedience to their authority, if it be of divine origin.

We have the evidence of history for saying, that an older church than ours, (using that term in a familiar sense,) was corrupted by an improper exercise of the powers, now for the first time claimed by the Methodist itinerant ministry. But how far they will follow this example, or with what pace they will travel into those errors and improprieties, which brought about this melancholy state of the church, is beyond the ken of mortals: but we may be permitted to draw conclusions from that kind of philosophy which "teaches by example," so sure as the time to fulfil prophecy must arrive: so sure as every effect is produced by a cause—so sure in our opinion, must the Methodist ministry degenerate, if they are permitted to exercise the powers which they now hold, and with which they declare themselves to be vested by divine appointment:—powers so contrary to reason, and so hostile to those opinions which have for centuries been the glory of protestants, that nothing short of the most unequivocal language of scripture should have induced any body of men to lay claim to them.

We do not wish to be misunderstood upon this point. We mean then, that where the ministry are vested with great power in any church, allurements are held out to seek clerical employment therein, from motives of ambition, and the love of control;—the natural tendency of which is, to jeopardize the best interests of the church of Christ, lower the gospel standard of ministerial piety, and introduce into its general administration, either laxity or oppression, as interest or ambition may suggest. For, in the language of a late distinguished Methodist preacher, "as the prerogatives of the laity were diminished, and priestly assumption succeeded, corruption of Christianity obtained." That our itinerant brethren, have no "intention or desire" to bring about such unfavorable results, we charitably hope: "they can, however, only speak for themselves. They know not what may be the views of those who may come after them; and in any event our argument is," that the powers claimed and exercised by them, must, in their "very nature, and from the inevitable connexions of causes and effects, tend gradually perhaps, yet not less uncontrolably, to the results which we have mentioned." For, as expressed by the Rev. John Emory,

Beverly Waugh, Gerard Morgan, and Alfred Griffith, we should "remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired. Its march is ever onward, and its tremendous tendency is to accumulation:" and as we are acting, "not only for the present age, but for posterity," we would entreat our brethren, both ministers and laymen, to look with calmness and candor to the influences which these "tremendous" powers may have upon them and the church, "and to the aspects with which they will be exhibited upon the page of future history," if supported and encouraged much longer.

These being some of the dangerous consequences of clerical domination, we may fairly infer, that it cannot be of divine appointment. But we are not left to our own imperfect reasonings upon this interesting subject. We have the light of revelation, which has conducted us to conclusions very different from those of the General Conference.

The first Christian assembly ever held to decide upon points of religious duty and belief, is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles; and we have the authority of ecclesiastical history, as well as Mr. Wesley and Mr. Benson, in their commentaries, for saying that that Conference, or Council, was composed of both ministers and people. And we have the further authority of the former for saying, that, "in those early times, every Christian church consisted of the people, their leaders and the ministers. The *people* were undoubtedly the first in authority; for the apostles shewed by their own example, that nothing of moment was to be determined without the consent of the assembly," who enforced "moral discipline," by excommunicating "profligate and unworthy members, and restored penetents to their forfeited privileges."

Is it not, therefore, more rational to conclude, that the form of church government just referred to, being approved of and sanctioned by the example of the apostles, should be esteemed of divine institution, than that a part of the ministry alone, should be considered divinely authorized to act in their own right for the whole church, in opposition to apostolic example? Our right, therefore, to representation, though not "*acquired* in consequence of our becoming Christians," is clearly "illustrated and enforced by the sacred scriptures," of which we cannot divest ourselves by becoming Methodists." This is sufficient for our present purpose, without attempting to prove that we have this right by the laws of nature.

The question of expediency might be argued at much length;

but on the present occasion, it is not considered necessary to do so, but merely to submit a few reflections, which we think will be sufficient to place this subject in a proper point of view.

We have proved, we think, that the local preachers and laity, have a right to representation. Our first reflection, therefore, is, that it was not expedient to deprive them of the exercise of this right; because, in the first place, withholding representation must have the inevitable tendency of creating dissatisfaction in the minds of those who believe that they have this right; and, secondly, because the granting it would have the effect of strengthening the itinerant system;—the opinion of the General Conference to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is universally admitted by the people, that their spiritual good is promoted by this system, and they have no temptations whatever to induce them to desire its destruction; which cannot be said of the travelling preachers, who, independent of other considerations, may have strong inducements of a domestic kind, to do so. We consider this part of our system highly important, if not absolutely "essential to the accomplishment of the great original design of the economy of methodism, to spread scriptural holiness over these and other lands;" and upon its continuance, we believe, the prosperity of the church very much depends. So far, therefore, from there being any danger to be apprehended in this respect, by a participation of the people in the government of the church, we believe its continuance depends in a great measure upon their having a voice in its legislative councils. It is a point pretty generally conceded, that not a great number of our preachers are, or have been well qualified for permanent stations; and this may be the reason why no attempt has yet been made to do away this feature of our polity. But we know not what may happen, in the course of time, when the General Conference, in the plenitude of its powers and influence, shall patronize collegiate education and a majority of those thus educated shall come into power, what changes in the itinerating system may take place, unless the laity shall have a voice to prevent them; for as before observed, we do believe there is more danger in this respect from the itinerant preachers, than from the people.

A brief notice of the claim of the itinerant ministry to be the "divinely authorized expounders" of "moral discipline," the enforcement of which they will not permit to be authoritatively controlled by others," will, it is hoped, be sufficient. This we consider the most dangerous doctrine in the report: and its

natural results, either oppression, or favoritism. In opposing it however, we can confidently say, that the truths of revelation are the "weapons of our warfare;" and wherever the gospel is believed, they will prevail over all claims of clerical right to rule. Were the claims of our brethren once admitted by the members to be correct, the necessary consequences must be obvious to every observer. Instead of the word of God being the rule of their lives, they must submit implicitly to the decisions of their spiritual teachers, however adverse they might be to their own judgments of right & wrong. The propagation of these principles, and a submission to them, were the original, and prolific source of that moral darkness, which for ages spread desolation over the intellectual world.

That the ministry are not divinely vested with any such powers, we think most certain; but on the contrary, it is evident, that the right to excommunicate, or otherwise punish for immorality, is vested in the church, and *not* in the ministry alone. In order to prove the correctness of this opinion, it is only necessary to refer to a single passage of scripture. It is to be found in the 5th chapter of 1st Corinthians, 11th, 12th, and 13th verses. In these verses, St. Paul, acting under divine inspiration as an apostle, informs the Corinthian church, (not its ministers alone,) that it was their duty, not to keep company with wicked and profane persons, and to excommunicate them from their society. This instruction was not given to that church only, but intended as a rule of conduct for the members of the church of Christ, in all future ages, both personal and official; and in relation to the punishment of two persons, who, it appears, had acted wickedly, one a member of the church, the other not, he remarks, "What have I to do, to judge them that are without? Do not ye judge them that are within?—Therefore, put away from yourselves, that wicked person."—Upon this passage Dr. Clarke makes the following paraphrase: "Pass ye sentence on them which are within, which are members of the church. Those which are without, which are not members of the church, God will pass sentence on, in that way in which he generally deals with the heathen world. But put you away the evil from among yourselves."

From this short and imperfect view, it has, we hope, been satisfactorily shown, that the General Conference have committed a great error in supposing that the "divinely instituted ministry," have a divine right to exclusive government in the church.

And here we would add a few remarks, to prove the unsound-

ness of their views, by their legitimate and necessary consequences. First, if their opinions be correct, the local preachers are not a part of the "divinely instituted ministry," or our travelling preachers must be inexcusable for keeping them from the enjoyment and exercise of their rightful prerogatives and responsibilities, which, it is said "rests upon the divinely instituted ministry with the force of a moral obligation." And, secondly, as the ministers of no other protestant church have assumed these powers, *they* must be considered entirely out of the pale of the "divinely instituted ministry," or to have been most shamefully negligent in not attending to those duties which are said to be imposed upon them "with the force of a moral obligation."

A single remark appears to be sufficient in relation to "the privileges and advantages" of the local preachers, which the report says, "have much rather exceeded than fallen short of what was contemplated in their institution." What are their "privileges and advantages?" They may be summed up in a few words. They have the privilege of preaching for nothing, and of supporting themselves by their daily labour, and further, whilst they contribute their means for the support of the gospel, they frequently fill appointments for which the intinerant preachers are paid; and all the seals to their ministry are placed to the credit of the preacher in charge, and his colleague, [if he have one,] at the Conference. These are their advantages:—These are their privileges. We would then appeal to the justice and common sense of the community.—Do these privileges *equal*, much less *exceed*, what they are justly entitled to, when it is known, that they planted the first seeds of Methodism in America, and have always been, not only the active, but the efficient coadjutors of the itinerant ministers, in "spreading scripture holiness over these and other lands?"

However painful it may be, duty requires that we should notice a subject, which has been so repeatedly forced upon the public attention, and with such appearance of confidence, as to have acquired strength by its repetition. We mean the assertion, "that our present economy bears with peculiar severity upon the personal and domestic comforts of the itinerant ministry." So far from this being the case, we are confirmed in the opinion, from long observation, that the personal situation of our itinerant brethren, with but few exceptions, is much improved in their "domestic comforts" and associations, by entering the travelling connexion.

In concluding this report, we cannot but express our surprise, that the General Conference, after having called upon the Reformers to show the right of the local preachers and lay members, to representation in that body, and "to prove that this right is conferred by the holy scriptures," should themselves have laid claim to a divine right, to exclusive and unlimited government, without attempting to support it by a single passage of scripture, or the least authority from ecclesiastical history. If they had shewn their authority from revelation, it would have put an end to all strife. We would have confessed an error, and submitted with cheerfulness; but this they have not even attempted. But instead of this, under their assumed right to expound the scriptures, they have declared what are *their rights*, and what are *our duties*. But we cannot in conscience admit the correctness of their claims, nor recommend the Reformers to abandon the prosecution of an object, which we consider of vital importance to the future welfare of the church. Yet, whilst we would exhort them to prosecute, with zeal and firmness, their claims to representation, we would at the same time entreat them, in their exertions, to "let their moderation be known unto all men."

GIDEON DAVIS, *Chairman*

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

TO BE OBSERVED UNTIL THE NEXT CONVENTION.

ARTICLE I. The articles of Religion, General Rules, means of grace, moral discipline, rites and ceremonies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are hereby declared to be rules of faith and practice for those Societies which may unite in this Association; and the mode of administering the same is hereby adopted, except where contravened by some other article.

ART. II. Each society, or church, shall have the sole power to admit serious persons into full membership, and to regulate its own temporal concerns, in accordance with these articles. The stewards to be elected by the male members, over the age of twenty one years, and the leaders by the respective classes.

ART. III. The right of property is declared to be vested in the respective societies, or churches, who shall elect trustees for the purpose of holding the same for their benefit.

ART. IV The trial of members shall be conducted according to the 7th section, 2d chapter of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church: Provided, however, that nothing

therein contained shall be so construed as to deprive an accused member of the right to challenge; and provided further, that the accused shall have the right to appeal from the decision of the committee, to the next Quarterly Conference: and no member of that Conference who shall have set on any case as a committee man, shall be permitted to vote on the appeal.

ART. V. There shall be a Quarterly Conference in each station and circuit, composed of all the ordained and licensed preachers and exhorters, belonging thereto, and of all the stewards and leaders. The preacher in charge shall be President of the Conference. The Conference shall elect its own Secretary. The business of the Quarterly Conference shall be, *first*, to enquire into the official and religious characters of all its members; *secondly*, to license exhorters and suitable persons to preach the Gospel, and to recommend to the Annual Conference, preachers for ordination, or to travel. They shall also hear and decide upon appeals from committees.

ART. VI. There shall be in each State, so soon as may be, one, or not exceeding two, Annual Conferences, to be composed of all the ordained ministers, and an equal number of lay delegates; but until such time, Conferences may be formed where it shall be most convenient. The lay delegates to the Annual Conferences shall be chosen by the licensed preachers, and lay male members over the age of twenty-one years, at the Quarterly Meetings next preceding the sitting of the Annual Conferences.

ART. VII. Each Annual Conference shall elect a President and Secretary.

ART. VIII. Each Annual Conference shall provide the mode of stationing its own preachers.

ART. IX. It shall be the duty of the Presidents of the Annual Conferences, to travel through their respective bounds, to fill vacancies, and to make such changes in the circuits or stations, as may be deemed absolutely necessary. The President shall have the right of the pulpit in whatever place he may be, but shall not supercede the prerogatives of the minister in charge.

ART. X. Each Annual Conference shall have power to make such rules and regulations for its own government, and the government of the stations and circuits within its bounds, as may be necessary for the promotion of the spiritual interests of the community: Provided, nevertheless, that no rule shall be binding on the preachers or people, which shall contravene the provisions of these articles.

ART. XI. Each Annual Conference shall have power to receive into the Itinerancy, and to ordain, such preachers as may be recommended to that body by the Quarterly Conference.—The President, assisted by two or more Elders, shall perform the ordination.

ART. XII. The Annual Conferences shall fix the times and places of their sittings.

ART. XIII. Every person whose name is entered on the list of travelling preachers, shall be subject to the appointment of the Conference, and receive the same allowance as is provided in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

ART. XIV. It shall be the duty of the Preacher in charge of any Station or Circuit, as soon as practicable after his arrival in his circuit or station, to assemble the Quarterly Meeting Conference, that he may obtain the necessary information for the proper understanding of the condition of the circuit or station, and for enlisting all the helps within its limits, for carrying on the great work of the Lord.

ART. XV. Nothing contained in these articles is to be so construed as to interfere with the right of property belonging to any member of this association, as recognised by the laws of the State, within the limits of which the member may reside

ART. XVI. There shall be a general Convention, to be held in the City of Baltimore, on the first Tuesday in November, 1830, to be composed of an equal number of Ministers and Lay representatives, chosen by the Annual Conferences respectively.

ART. XVII. Supernumerary and superannuated Ministers, shall be entitled to the same amount of support which is allowed to those more effective. And if any circuit or station should be willing to support any one or more of such supernumerary or superannuated ministers, for any indefinite number of years, the privilege shall be granted them.

Resolved, 1*st*, That Agents be appointed, with full powers to travel through the different States, and assist in carrying into effect the Articles adopted by this Convention, and employ such other persons to aid them as they may deem proper.

Resolved, 2*ndly*, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a Constitution, a Book of Discipline, and a Hymn Book, to be submitted to the Convention to be held on the first Tuesday in November, 1830, in the City of Baltimore.

REMARKS.

It should be recollected, that the foregoing Articles, are only intended as a sort of temporary instrument of confederation, to remain in force until the General Convention, to be held in November, 1830, and to bind Reformers together, until the regularly appointed representatives of the people shall establish such rules for the government of the church, as may accord with Reason, Revelation, and the circumstances and wants of the Church. We should also remember, that if we now associate under these *temporary* Articles, we will thereby be prepared to bear our part in the enactment of such *permanent* rules, as we may think best calculated to advance the glory of God, and the prosperity of the Church; and in the enacting of those rules, we will have a share and an influence, in proportion to our *numbers*; whereas, if we stand aloof, on account of *real* or *imaginary* defects, in the present temporary Articles, we will at once discourage our brethren, who have suffered in the same cause, and put it out of our power, to contribute any thing, towards the remedying of these defects which we may suppose to exist.

Our opposers have laboured industriously to create a belief, that agreeably to the 15th Article, *slavery* is allowed in our society or Church; but we would ask—do the "General rules" prohibit slavery? Does the "moral discipline" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, prohibit slavery? If they do not, then slavery is not prohibited in that Church. But if they do, as our old side brethren contend, then is slavery prohibited in the Associated Methodist Churches. For both the "General rules" and the "Moral discipline" of the Methodist Episcopal Church are *adopted* in the first of our Conventional Articles. But it is urged that there is an *exception* made in that Article. But no one supposes *that* exception to embrace the "Articles of faith" there adopted: and the "General Rules, and moral discipline," are placed precisely on the same ground; and it is clear that the *exception* there named, cannot by any fairness of construction, be made to apply to the one or the other. But giving the Article its most unfavourable construction, the remedy is completely in the hands of the people, who can promptly correct the matter at the proper time; for it is not with us as with the *old Church*, "submit, or withdraw," but "amend and improve, ever aiming at perfection."

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